

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

BY
VARIOUS CONTRIBUTORS

Under the direction of
EDWARD EYRE

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EUROPE SINCE THE
REFORMATION

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A CHRONICLE OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EVENTS FROM 1640 TO 1914

I. THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA (1648)

DURING the later phases of the Thirty Years War there had been not a few more or less sincere efforts for the restoration of peace. But offers of mediation and projects for settlement led to no result, until at last in 1641 it was arranged that representatives of France and of the Empire should meet at Münster, and those of the German princes, the Swedes, and the Empire at Osnabrück, for an exchange of views without, however, any cessation of hostilities. The date fixed for the opening of these conferences was the month of March 1642. But various incidents delayed the proposed negotiations, and the envoys of the belligerent Powers did not come together until March 1644. Four more years went by before the negotiations ended in a settlement.

During all these years the fighting continued, and the fortune of war was more and more adverse to the imperialist cause. When Richelieu made France the open ally of Sweden and the North German princes, a heavy weight was thrown into the scales against the Habsburgs. The famous cardinal-statesman died on the 4th December 1642, but he left his policy in the hands of able administrators and brilliant leaders in war. The campaign of the following year opened with the victory of Rocroi (15 May 1643), when the young heir of the House of Condé broke the array of the Spanish infantry, whose boast was that they had held their own on the battlefields of more than half a century. This was the first of a series of victories that marked a new rise of French military power and prestige. While the peace conferences in Westphalia were 'dragging their slow length along' the war was carried into South Germany. Saxony had to abandon the imperial cause; Maximilian of Bavaria—long the best ally of the Emperor Ferdinand III—saw his dominions overrun and was a refugee at Salzburg; and Vienna itself was menaced by the advance of the enemy, when at last, on

the 24th October 1648, the Treaty of Westphalia was signed by the envoys of the belligerent Powers, in identical drafts, at Münster and Osnabrück.

Peace had come because it was impossible for Germany to prolong the conflict. The long years of war had reduced all its states, on both sides of the quarrel, to tragic ruin that could not be repaired for more than a century. Agriculture, commerce, industry were all but destroyed. The numbers of the people had been reduced by at least a half. Amidst the general impoverishment of their patrons, art and literature were in utter decay. This was the situation in the German lands when the treaty was signed that regulated the European situation for over a century, until the Seven Years War and the French Revolution.

The Empire had to pay a heavy price for peace. France was to retain possession of Metz, Toul and Verdun, Moyenvic and Pignerol, with the cession of the province of Alsace 'without any reservation, and with every kind of jurisdiction, supremacy, and sovereign power'. Sweden obtained possession of western Pomerania, with the islands of Rügen and Wollin, the mouths of the River Oder, Stettin, Verden, Bremen, and Wismar—all these, however, continuing to rank as territory of the German Empire. Brandenburg increased its dominions by the cession of eastern Pomerania and on its western borders the cities and lands of the former prince-bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt. Bavaria retained the Upper Palatinate, and Hesse-Cassel had some minor gains. The independence of Holland and Switzerland was recognized, and they had no longer any connexion with the Empire. The Spanish Netherlands were attached to the Empire but the Emperor undertook not to intervene in the war that continued between France and Spain.

As for religious matters—Catholics and Protestants were to remain in possession of all properties that they held in 1624. Toleration was extended to the Calvinists as well as the Lutherans. But as regards toleration in general, the principle was accepted that the head of a state might dictate the religious professions of his subjects—'Cujus regio ejus religio'.

In German States those who now refused a change of religion would be free to sell their property and go to some other state.

Suggestions for a political and administrative reorganization of Germany were left in the region of vague promises. Practically, the 'Holy Roman Empire' had come to an end. For each and all of the German princes now possessed full and entire territorial independence, with the right of concluding treaties with foreign sovereigns, on condition only that these should not be directed against the Empire or the Emperor.

Whatever protests they called forth at the outset, the treaties of Westphalia were generally accepted as the basis for the new situation in modern Europe. France was firmly established on the middle Rhine. But Austria found compensation for her failures in the submission of Bohemia and the union with Hungary. Germany had become an oligarchy of princes, and the ideal of her national unity belonged to a far-off future.

2. THE MINISTRY OF MAZARIN (1643-56)

i. *Up to the Fronde*. The death of Richelieu did not lead to any change in French foreign policy. But in home affairs there was a period of weakness and disorder so serious that it might well have seemed the prelude to a collapse of the royal authority.

Louis XIII had died a few months after his great minister, leaving the Crown to a boy king, only five years of age, under the regency of Anne of Austria. She had for her assistant an Italian prelate, Cardinal Mazarin, who had already devoted himself entirely to France and secured the opening successes of his remarkable career. Mazarin, who could rely upon the complete confidence of the Regent, induced the Parlement of Paris to annul arrangements made by the last will of the late king, so that Anne of Austria became practically the sovereign ruler of France, and the Cardinal was appointed her Prime Minister. Those who felt that they were out-manœuvred by this step attempted to form an opposition cabal, but the group was broken up by a few arrests and decrees of exile.

A more serious opposition arose in the Parlement of Paris. It took the form of an ambitious attempt to use its judicial powers

so as to play a part in political affairs and take the place of the States-General, which had met for the last time in 1614—a meeting that only revealed its utter lack of authority.

The finances were in a state of disorder that had resulted in an annual deficit of from 40 to 50 millions of louis. Mazarin attempted to deal with this by drawing on the revenues of the coming years. In 1643 three years of the revenue had been thus forestalled. There were some risings of the country folk, but these were soon repressed. The opposition of the Parlement was a more serious matter. It followed the traditional practice of presenting 'humble remonstrances'. The Regent replied to these by warrants of arrest and exile (March 1645) and for some months the magistrates suspended the sittings of their courts.

Among the nobles, the magistrates, and the public there arose a general movement of hatred and contempt for the Cardinal. It found popular expression in the wide circulation of the 'mazarinades'—handbills of satire and jest directed against him. His avarice, and his reckless speculations, were making the state of the finances still worse. All through the year 1646 there was a succession of edicts and taxing decrees, against which the Parlement protested. Alarming rumours were circulating, and there was talk of the example given by the agitation against Spanish rule at Naples, and the successful war of the English Parliament against its king.

Early in the summer financial troubles had reached such a climax that there was danger of the payment of interest on the public debt being suspended and the wages of thousands of government officials and employees being left in arrear. On the 31st May the Parlement of Paris held a conference with the representatives of the Exchequer Courts and other public bodies to organize united action in defence of their rights and interests, and drew up a 'Decree of Union'. The Regent declared it of no effect, but on the 15th June the Assembly reissued it, and at last on the 30th June Mazarin gave way and the improvised Assembly prepared a project of reform. It did not go so far as calling for an elected parliamentary body, but it took a step towards a constitutional monarchy by proposing that all decrees

for the levy of taxes should be conditional on their being freely 'registered' or declared valid by the existing Parlement of Paris.

The Queen and Mazarin rejected this proposal and the Parlement insisted on it. On the 26th August there was a *Te Deum* at Notre Dame for Condé's decisive victory over the imperialists at Lens. As the members of the Parlement left the cathedral several of them were arrested. Next day Paris was in revolt. There were some twelve hundred barricades in its streets. On the 28th Anne of Austria and Mazarin surrendered.

ii. *The Fronde*. On the 13th September the Regent with her children, accompanied by Mazarin, left Paris for Rueil. Condé, the victor of Lens, was invited to join them there. Though he disliked the magistrates and the lawyers he had no goodwill for the Cardinal. In the negotiations with the Parlement which followed, Mazarin found himself in a humiliating position. He was excluded from the conferences, but he still held his title of minister. On the 24th October, the same day on which the envoys of France at Münster signed the Peace of Westphalia, the Regent surrendered to the demands of the Parlement, which imagined it was victorious.

The court returned to Paris, but it was soon evident that its submission was a mere pretence. The peace with the Empire had set free large bodies of troops, and these were moved to the neighbourhood of the capital. When this move was completed, the court issued decrees for fresh taxes and in the night of the 5th-6th January 1649 left Paris for St. Germain. The Parlement was banished to Montargis. This meant civil war.

The Parlement, which had been joined by several of the great nobles, appealed to the provinces to come to the rescue of the liberties of the people (18 January). The people, however, and particularly the Parisians, were disgusted by the proposal of the princes to call in Spanish aid, and from this time onwards viewed the whole movement with indifference if not hostility. An offer to summon a meeting of the States-General for the 15th March was not taken seriously. The provinces were astir and there were *privilegiés* and malcontents in Picardy, Normandy, Poitou, Guyenne, Languedoc, and Provence.

On the 22nd February negotiations began. Mazarin was at last alarmed at the hatred he had provoked, and the leaders of the Parlement were anxious at the discovery that their allies of the nobility were welcoming offers made to them by the King of Spain (still at war with France). The princes (the heads of the great feudal houses), who were ready for everything, even for treason, to gain the object of their ambitions, had just concluded a secret bargain with him. On the 11th March, Mathieu Molé, in the name of the Parlement, signed the agreement with the court known as the 'Peace of Rueil'. The nobles made their individual peace with the court on the best terms they could secure. It seemed that the troubles were at an end.

But soon the 'Fronde of the Parlement' was followed by the 'Fronde of the Princes'. There were no bounds to Condé's ambition, and he was aiming at supplanting Mazarin. The Cardinal had him arrested at the Palais Royal (18 January 1650) and he was imprisoned, first at Vincennes, then at Havre. Paris let matters drift, but there was agitation in some of the provinces.

The situation was becoming serious on account of the alliance between the princes and the Spaniards. The forces of the Fronde were under the leadership of the great Turenne. But this league with the foreign enemy which had altered the ideas of the Parlement of Paris had the same effect on the Parlement of Bordeaux, where the Princess of Condé had to give way to the royal troops (October 1650).

Mazarin hurried back to Paris. There he found that the Fronde of the Parlement and the Fronde of the Princes had got together and joined hands, and were crying out for the release of Condé and the resignation of the minister. Anne of Austria wanted to temporize, but on the 5th February 1651 Mazarin took to flight. A decree of the 8th February banished him and his household from the kingdom, and three days later Condé was set at liberty. But this success of the Parlement was followed by further disunion. The Parlement was at variance with the nobles, and Condé after a quarrel with Paul de Gondi (the future Cardinal de Retz) entered the service of

Spain and tried to raise an insurrection in Guyenne (September 1651).

The situation was now full of peril. The Regent recalled Mazarin, and he came back from the Rhine escorted by a band of Spanish and Polish mercenaries. He arrived at Poitiers on the 28th January 1652 and was at once reappointed as minister. His first act was to entrust the command of the royal army to Turenne who, realizing the fatuity of the cause to which he had previously attached himself, now offered his services to the King. Turenne concentrated his forces on the Loire about Gien. In April Condé, who had returned from Guyenne, made his way to Paris.

Notwithstanding his efforts, the capital persisted in its neutrality, closing its gates against the troops of both parties in its hostility to all promoters of civil war.

In the summer Turenne's forces encamped near Paris. He would have entered the city on the 2nd July only that the cannon of the Bastille had fired upon the vanguard of the royal army. Four years of violence and misery had opened the eyes of the Parisians to the policy of the princes, who were bringing the Spaniards and the levies of Lorraine to within a few leagues of their city. On the 9th September a deputation headed by Retz begged Louis XIV (now come of age) and the Queen to return to Paris, where there had been a complete change of opinion, and Mazarin was becoming popular. On the 21st October the young king and his mother had an enthusiastic reception in the capital. Condé had joined the Spanish army, and the Parliament was warned that henceforth it was not to busy itself with State affairs and the administration of the finances. There was no protest.

Mazarin was waiting for his opportunity. Thanks to the dissensions of the time the enemy had penetrated into the kingdom and captured some important fortified towns. The Cardinal put himself at the head of an army, and in a few days retook several of them, and returned to Paris in triumph (2 February 1633). All that now remained was to trample out the last embers of the civil war, especially about Bordeaux.

This was accomplished by the month of September, and then the royal authority was fully established everywhere. From the political and social point of view the Fronde was a failure for which there was no compensation. It had left nothing but ruin and misery. The Parlement and the princes, whose views did not extend beyond their own personal interests, resigned themselves to submission without foreseeing that it would very soon be transformed into servitude.

The lack of policy and of patriotism of Parlements and princes played a large part in the creation of that mentality among the French people which was soon afterwards so easily to accept the absolutist claims of Louis XIV. 'Quel dommage que des braves gens comme nous se coupent la gorge pour un faquin,' said Condé to Turenne, and people at large had come to feel that any tyranny was better than liberty as irresponsibly used as it was by *ces braves gens*.

iii. *Towards a general peace.* After internal peace was restored to the country the foreign invader had to be driven out. The record of the campaigns of 1653 and the following years tells of the successful strategy of Turenne. He was often opposed to Condé who served to the end in high command on the Spanish side. The Parlement of Paris was at first not entirely convinced that it had lost all its power, and made some attempts to reject or at least to discuss the new taxes. At last it drew down on itself a rough lesson. On the 13th April 1655, the members were in session in their 'great hall' when the King entered wearing his hunting dress. He forbade them to meet for any such deliberations and debates, using incisive language that tradition has summed up in the famous saying: 'L'État c'est moi.' Whether or not he actually used these words, they have become a formula of absolutism, the practical commentary on which was supplied by the sixty years of his reign. Mazarin used more conciliatory language, and Turenne, who was always very favourably heard by the Parlement, explained to the magistrates the necessity of granting the Government the financial resources required for bringing the war to an end.

Leaving the direction of its operations to the general, who was

conducting them so well, Mazarin devoted his attention to diplomacy. He tried to obtain the support of Cromwellian England but could not get as far as an actual agreement. He negotiated with Spain, and his envoy, Hugues de Lionne, spent several months at Madrid without any result. Meanwhile, the fighting continued chiefly on the Flanders front. On the 13th-14th July 1656 Condé won a considerable advantage over Turenne in a battle before Valenciennes. The conditions proposed by France seemed to be excessive and Don Louis de Haro broke off the negotiations in September; Lionne left Madrid for France, and Mazarin began again to look for support from England.

3. YEARS OF CONFLICT IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND (1640-60)

i. *Charles I and the Parliament.* While Germany was being devastated by the closing campaigns of the Thirty Years War, and France was impoverished by the troubles of the Fronde, England was passing through trying times of civil strife and a revolution. Charles I had inherited from his father with his kingdom a load of debt and an idea. The idea was that of ruling without the Parliament a nation that had a long tradition of representative government. On the 10th March 1629 he proclaimed the dissolution of the House of Commons, and as he laid aside his royal mantle after the ceremony he swore he would never again put it on for an opening of Parliament. England had then the experience of eleven years of absolute monarchy until the 13th April 1640. That day London saw once more a Parliament assembled at Westminster with the King wearing the royal robes he had sworn never again to put on for such an occasion. The first debate opened with a two hours' speech from John Pym, who since the Parliaments of James I had been an opponent of all attempts to extend the authority of the Crown. He now denounced the errors, abuses, and illegalities of the Government during the last eleven years.

Since the first years of the Renaissance absolutist theories of kingly power had been gaining ground in the greater part of

Europe. In England the Stuarts had inherited from the Tudors a plenitude of royal authority, reinforced by the legislation of Elizabeth which made the Crown supreme in Church as well as State. Charles I had no doubt that he reigned by Right Divine over both, and counted it no small part of his duty as king to maintain this twofold sovereignty intact.

Short-lived Parliaments, elected at irregular intervals by a handful of voters largely under the influence of the great land-owners, were no serious check upon the action of the Crown. There was as yet no cabinet of ministers representing a parliamentary majority. Government was in the hands of the King and his Council and Secretaries of State, chosen by himself. In the reign of James I there had been in the House of Commons some beginnings of frank criticism of royal policy and action. There was a further growth of opposition in the first brief Parliaments of Charles I. Religious or sectarian questions played a great part in the politics of the time even among men on whose lives religion of any kind had little, if any, influence.

ii. *The religious situation in England.* The Elizabethan Reformation was an event of recent memory, as near to the times of Charles I as early Victorian times are to the England of to-day. The Penal Laws against Catholics were still part of the law of the land, but under Charles there was a marked relaxation of their enforcement. His mother, Anne, the daughter of Frederick II of Denmark, had been married to his father when James was still only James VI of Scotland. In England she had lived a very retired life, one reason for this being that she was secretly a convert to Catholicism. His queen-consort was a Catholic princess, Henrietta, the daughter of Henry IV of France. Catholics still formed a considerable element in the English people, especially in Lancashire and the north, but they were nowhere strong enough to play a serious part in the politics of the time. When the Civil War came they rallied to the side of the King, in gratitude for the tacit toleration he had given them, and in dread of a victory of his enemies who were fanatically opposed to them, and whose advent to power would renew the persecution.

The Established Church was supposed to represent the reli-

gion of the English people, but it was not a united body, and outside of it there was a growing mass of Protestant Dissenters. This separatist movement had begun at the very outset of the Elizabethan Reformation. Its pioneers declared their hostility to any form of religion imposed by the State, any officially imposed uniformity of Sunday services. Episcopacy they denounced as a 'remnant of Popery'. Their congregations depended for the form of their services on the preachers, who drew together bodies of followers in gatherings that soon became a subject of suspicion to the public authorities. These assemblies were described as 'illegal conventicles'. The leaders and propagandists of the movement incurred sentences of fine and imprisonment; two of them in Elizabeth's reign were prosecuted and hanged on a charge of sedition, and many of the Dissenters took refuge among the Calvinists in Holland.

Dissent increased under James I and under his successor it became a formidable force in politics. For the absolutist ambitions of the King affected both civil and religious life, and the Nonconformists regarded themselves as champions of civil and religious freedom—though in their eyes the Catholic minority had no claim to either.

iii. *Strafford and Laud*. The two most important supporters of the King's claims as ruler by Right Divine of Church and State were Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Wentworth was the son of a Yorkshire baronet, from whom he inherited the title and estates that brought him £6,000 a year. He served the King as President of the 'Council of the North' at York, which exercised wide powers in northern England, and then as Lord Deputy and Lord Lieutenant in Ireland. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Wentworth and later received the higher rank of Earl of Strafford.

Laud was the son of a prosperous tradesman at Reading. From its Free School he went to St. John's College, Oxford, where he won a fellowship at the age of twenty. After taking Anglican orders he attracted the attention of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the friend of Charles's youth, who had an unbounded influence over the King in the first years of his reign.

The Duke brought him into close touch with the King, and Laud rose rapidly in the dignities of the Established Church. After holding in succession three bishoprics, of which the last was London, he became Archbishop of Canterbury and the King's right-hand man in Church affairs. He was made a member of the Privy Council and of two important tribunals with exceptional powers, the Star Chamber, which dealt with civil questions, and the Court of High Commission for ecclesiastical matters.

Laud belonged to a school of Anglican divines of the seventeenth century, learned and earnest men, whose patristic and historical studies led them to adopt views that represented a reaction from the ultra-Protestantism of the Elizabethan Reformers. They put forward in their writings and followed in their practice opinions that led to their being regarded by large numbers of the clergy of the Establishment, and openly denounced by the Nonconformists, as disloyal 'Romanizers'. But they had little desire for reunion with the Holy See. They held plainly enough the theory of independent national churches, and they were zealous servants of the Royal Supremacy. In many ways they were far-off precursors of the Tractarian movement of the nineteenth century. Newman, in his Oxford years, and other writers of the same school continually appealed to their authority.

In the King's Council and in the courts Laud was a zealous opponent of Nonconformists of every kind, whom he regarded not only as heretics from the Churchman's point of view but also as dangerous promoters of disloyalty, and he was active in the promotion and execution of measures for suppressing Independent and Presbyterian 'conventicles'. In the Established Church he set himself the task of remodelling and regulating public worship in accordance with his High Church views. For the King's guidance he drew up a catalogue of the clergy. Each name was marked either with the letter 'O' for 'orthodox' or 'P' for 'Puritan', as a guide to promotion for the former and a careful watch upon the latter.

A measure which he adopted with the support or tacit sub-

mission of most of the episcopate was a reversal of one of the most significant acts of the Elizabethan Reformers. When the Act of Uniformity of 1559 was passed, abolishing the Mass and substituting the Service of the Book of Common Prayer, it had been ordered that throughout England the altars should be demolished and the consecrated altar stones devoted 'to base and common uses'. In the few days in the year when the new Service of the Lord's Supper took place the substitute for the discarded altar was to be a temporary table on trestles set up, not in the deserted sanctuary but elsewhere in the cathedrals and parish churches.

Laud's new order, enforced in spite of some local opposition, was that the table on trestles was no longer to be used, but a permanent 'Communion table' was to be set up in the east end of all churches with a rail in front of it. To give effect to this order there had to be, in some of the parish churches, the removal of stately monuments erected to the memory of local notables, on the site of the old altars in apse or chancel.

iv. *The situation in Scotland and the first conflict with England.* Like all the kings of the Stuart line Charles was the sovereign not of one 'United Kingdom' but of three kingdoms each with its own characteristic customs, traditions, and laws. His quarrel with Scotland was the outcome of an ill-advised attempt, under Laud's advice, to impose on the Presbyterians episcopal government and the use of the Anglican Prayer Book in the Sunday services.

The Scotland of his time might almost be described as not one but two countries bearing the same name. The Highlands were a Keltic land, where the clan system was still in full vigour. The people spoke the Gaelic language of their forefathers, lived under their traditional laws and customs, and except in the country of the Campbells clung to the old Faith that had been preached to the clans by the Irish monks of Iona. Beyond the 'Highland line', where Stirling Castle was practically a frontier fortress, the King's writ did not yet run, and the Highlander regarded the 'Sassenach' (i.e. Saxons) of the Lowlands as an alien race.

It was thus only in the Lowlands that Charles had anything more than an almost nominal rule. And the Lowlanders were jealous of any interference with their affairs by a government far away in London. They had their own Parliament and side by side with it the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, whose power and influence became greater than that of the older lay institution.

In England while the abbeys and other religious houses were laid in ruin, and their lands confiscated to the Crown and its favourites, the cathedrals had been spared to be handed over to the new State episcopate. In Scotland nearly all the cathedrals shared the fate of its ruined abbeys, and the Reformers denounced Prelacy as an evil thing. James I after his accession to the English throne had made a half-hearted attempt to create a Protestant episcopate in the Lowlands. He appointed bishops who were to bear the titles of the old sees, but few accepted them; they exercised no effective jurisdiction and were, at most, titular prelates. Charles I gave a first shock to the thorough-going Scottish Protestants when he was crowned by one of these prelates with the Anglican ritual in Edinburgh, on his first visit to Scotland (1633). This was followed by a series of rash attempts to graft English Episcopalianism on the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, at the very time when his policy of governing England without a Parliament was involving him in serious difficulties. New canons for the regulation of Church affairs were sent from Whitehall to Edinburgh. The surplice was to be worn by parish ministers over the black Geneva gown, which was the badge of northern Presbyterianism. A new Prayer Book was to be used in all parish churches, and holders of some of the lands and revenues that had been appropriated from the Church at the Scottish Reformation were menaced with legal proceedings for their forfeiture. Open resistance began with a riot in St. Giles's Church at Edinburgh when the new Prayer Book first came into use in the summer of 1637. A council was formed to direct the movement of resistance that followed. In February 1638 there began in Edinburgh and spread throughout the country the signing of copies of the

National Covenant of some fifty years before, by which the Reformers had pledged themselves by oath to oppose 'Popery' and accept and defend as the religion of the land the doctrine and discipline of Presbyterianism. The General Assembly met at Glasgow, refused to admit any members who had not signed the Covenant, defied the order of Charles's representative in Scotland to dissolve—deposed the bishops, and declared the nullity of all the King's legislation for the Presbyterian Church. It was practically an act of rebellion.

The King got together a small and poorly equipped army, of which he took command at Berwick. The Covenanter Assembly of Glasgow had also levied an army, which marched to the Border under the command of Alexander Leslie. He had served under Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years War and held the rank of Field Marshal in the Swedish Army. He had among his officers and soldiers many other Scottish veterans of the great war. The King did not put the quarrel to the wager of battle. Negotiations were opened and 'the Pacification of Berwick' was signed, Charles making some minor concessions and agreeing that further details should be settled in concert with the Scottish Parliament, when the King returned to Whitehall.

But the negotiations between Whitehall and Edinburgh led to no result. The northern Parliament refused any material concession and accused the King of making impossible demands. He temporarily recalled his representative in Ireland, Baron Wentworth, to act as his adviser, and recognized his services since he had gone to Dublin six years before by promotion to the rank of Earl of Strafford.

v. *The situation in Ireland: Strafford's policy.* Strafford had chosen for his motto 'thorough', and from the King's point of view his government of Ireland had been a thorough success. The English dominion in Ireland had been largely extended under the Tudors. The Protestant Reformation widened the rift between the English rulers of the land and those who held to the old Faith. These were not only most of the Irish chiefs, but also many of those descendants of Anglo-Norman invaders who in the course of time had become, like the Burkes and the

Geraldines (Fitzgeralds) *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*—‘more Irish than the Irish themselves’. The Elizabethan conquest of Munster became a war of extermination, and wide tracts of devastated and all but depopulated land were parcelled out amongst English settlers. English policy had now as a dominant feature the plan of replacing a large number of the Irish by settlers from Britain, leaving only a landless remnant of the Gael to be ‘hewers of wood and drawers of water’ for the colonists. There had been Irish appeals for help from Spain, but these were given irregularly and inadequately. Philip II had larger schemes in hand, and did just enough to keep the Irish resistance alight as an embarrassment to England.¹

When James I came to the throne he placed the policy of confiscation and resettlement in Ireland on more business-like lines. The resistance of the O’Neils in the north was broken; Tyrone and Tyrconnel abandoned what seemed a hopeless struggle and left Ireland to spend their last years in Rome (1611). The ‘flight of the Earls’ left nearly all Ireland in the hands of the Dublin government. The lands of the O’Neils were confiscated, from those held by the chiefs down to little farms of mere squatters. For once the Lord Deputy and the Dublin Council invoked the old Brehon Law that made all the land of both chief and clansmen tribal property. All these lands were transferred to new owners: London city companies, speculators, and a host of new Presbyterian settlers from Scotland. A new settlement of extensive lands in Leinster followed. Throughout the greater part of Ireland the English system of land laws was substituted for the old tribal partnership. A land revenue was provided for the exchequer. War had ceased, but the new settlement was not quite complete. In the Wicklow hills, and in a broad belt through the bogs and forests of central Ireland to the region of lake and mountain beyond the Shannon, landless men squatted here and there, tilled little patches of ground, trapped and hunted bird and beast, and when opportunity offered drove off cattle from border farms of the

¹ Philip, however, did a service to Ireland by providing for the education of Irish students in Spain and in Flanders.

settled lands. Raids were made against these outlaws with scanty success. They could defy the law of the Sassenach. (Law-abiding folk called them the 'Tories' and by a strange evolution the name became later that of the party of 'law and order' and 'strong government'.) In the north-west, under the protection of local chiefs, the peaceful life of some of the old religious houses still continued. It was in those times of the new settlement that the Franciscan, Michael O'Clery, returned to his native Connaught to spend long years collecting and copying Gaelic manuscripts and composing, with the help of his three colleagues, the *Annals of the Four Masters*, making the friary of Donegal the centre of these activities.¹

This brief survey of preceding events in Ireland shows that when Charles I sent Wentworth (soon to be Strafford) to govern his Irish kingdom he might well count it a secure possession of the English Crown, and accept his Lord Deputy's idea that it might be made to provide him with money and men to use, if need be, in dealing with opposing factions in his other two kingdoms of Scotland and England.

One of Wentworth's first steps was to summon the Irish Parliament to meet in Dublin, after having packed the Privy Council with men he could depend on. The Parliament had very limited powers. Under the legislation of Henry VII it could introduce no Bills without the previous assent of the Privy Council in London. As Wentworth frankly warned the Irish Lords after he had obtained a large vote of money from the Commons, Irish Acts of Parliament were really only petitions to the King. Catholic freeholders and burghers had still the vote at the infrequent elections, and could sit in Parliament. Strafford took care that in the Commons they were nearly equal in numbers to the Protestants, and relied on a small group of

¹ The original manuscripts and copies of manuscripts collected by Michael O'Clery and his colleagues were kept at the Franciscan College of St. Antony at Louvain until the French Republican invasion of Belgium. On the eve of this peril the collection was saved from the dispersion, that was the fate of so many other libraries, by being sent through Holland to Ireland. It is now in the library of the Franciscan Friary at Merchants' Quay, Dublin, and is recognized as one of the most valuable treasures of early Irish history and literature in the world.

his own placemen to decide every division, while holding out to the Catholics the hope of a relaxation of the penal code. He thus secured a generous subsidy for the Crown, and then took care that nothing more was done and soon closed the session. Further funds were provided by a commission appointed to examine the titles of landholders in Connaught, and servile juries gave a series of verdicts that made every title void or doubtful, so that the holders were forced to buy new grants. All over the country there was an inquiry into titles of confiscated Church property, and the proceedings of patrons of livings with endless discoveries of malversation of lands and rents, with solid gains for the Crown, and for the Established 'Church of Ireland'.

The Lord Deputy proceeded to apply to the Protestant, and intensely Protestant, 'Irish Church' High Church regulations such as his friend Laud had introduced in England. Among the Scots settlers in Ulster most of the parishes were in the hands of Presbyterian ministers. These were expelled from their livings and replaced by clerics of the State Church.

In the interest of the English cloth industry, the Lord Deputy, as far as possible, suppressed all weaving of cloth in Ireland. But in the later years of his rule he brought experts from Flanders to introduce flax-growing and linen weaving. He did a real service to the Irish ports and the fisheries by fitting out guardships to drive off the Algerine corsairs who had been active off the south coast. Trade improved and there was a remarkable increase of the revenue. Some of the resources thus supplied were used for raising and equipping an army. When Wentworth crossed over to Dublin in 1634 the only military force at his command numbered about 1,000 men, dispersed in various garrisons. Five years later the Royal army in Ireland, without counting such detached posts, could muster 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse. Many of the officers were Catholics, and Catholics enlisted in the ranks in large numbers. The relaxation of the penal laws had favourably impressed the Catholic body, and they regarded the Puritans as likely to be persecutors if they gained the upper hand over the King.

vi. *War with Scotland and conflict with the English Parliament.* Wentworth returned to Ireland (now as Earl of Strafford and the King's Lord Lieutenant) in November 1639 to obtain a subsidy from the Dublin Parliament, and concentrate the available force of his Irish army in the north-east of Ulster, ready for a move into Scotland. He was back at Whitehall in April 1640. In England matters were moving fast to a crisis. Parliament was in session at Westminster, a Parliament dominated by the King's opponents and seeking ways of giving practical effect to Pym's denunciation of his absolutist policy. Leslie with the Scottish army had crossed the Tweed, breaking off the dilatory negotiations that had followed the truce of Berwick. The Commons had decided not to grant any supplies to the King unless there was peace with Scotland, and in England an end of government by royal decrees enforced by arbitrary courts.

It was easy for the opposition leaders to dilate upon Pym's indictment of the King's policy during the years in which he had tried to govern without a Parliament. They denounced Laud's attempts to 'Romanize' the Church of England; the leniency shown to the Catholics; the stern measures against the Dissenters; the imposition of Prelacy on Scotland. Strafford's Irish policy was interpreted as including a scheme for levying a 'Papist' army to coerce England and Scotland. There had been government by royal decrees, enforced by the harsh penalties of the Star Chamber and the High Commission courts of servile judges without juries.

It was argued that the King had evaded the summoning of Parliament by levying taxes by royal proclamation. The most notable of these was the 'Ship Money' and there was a general belief that it had not been entirely used for its avowed purpose, which was the creation of an effective navy. The English kings had long possessed an undisputed right to call on several of the ports to provide armed merchant craft for the defence of the realm in time of war or peril of war.

Fleets thus improvised were mostly out of date, for a new type of ship specially built for the battle-line had developed. Charles

ordered the ports to provide not ships but money for building them in the royal dockyards. He then went farther and made 'Ship Money' a general and permanent tax on the whole country. This had aroused widespread opposition led by John Hampden, a wealthy landowner and, on the mother's side, a first cousin of Oliver Cromwell.

Hampden was a member of the Parliament of 1640. On the 4th May he moved that the Commons should provide a moderate grant of money for the Crown, if the King would definitely abandon all claim to levy ship money. Next day, on Strafford's advice, Charles dissolved Parliament. He was in desperate straits for money, and the Exchequer had recourse to strange shifts to find it. Some London aldermen were sent to prison for refusing a loan. It was evident that before long Parliament would have again to be summoned. Meanwhile, an agitation in support of the opposition spread through the country. Bad news for the royal cause came from the north. Leslie with his Scottish army had advanced to the Tyne, defeated the King's levies at Newburn and occupied Newcastle and Durham. On the 21st October a treaty was signed at Ripon. It was really an armistice for further negotiations in London, the Scottish army remaining in the north, with England providing for its daily supplies.

vii. *The Long Parliament (1640-60)—Fall of Strafford.* A new Parliament destined to be famous as 'the Long Parliament' assembled at Westminster on the 3rd November 1640. The malcontents were in an overwhelming majority in the Commons and strongly represented among the Lords. One of the first resolutions of the Commons insisted on the enforcement of the law against Catholic priests. The King weakly yielded the point, and issued a royal proclamation banishing all Jesuits and seminary priests under penalty of death. No doubt he hoped to make it a dead letter, but next summer saw the first of a new series of executions of priests at Tyburn, a series that continued for years with the Puritans in control of London.

The next step of the Commons was to renew its protest against the King's policy, and strike at the man whom they

held to be its chief agent. On the 11th November, after a four hours' debate, the Commons agreed to a resolution demanding the immediate arrest and impeachment of Strafford under the accusation of high treason, in that he had 'endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm' and 'to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government'. Led by Pym three hundred members crowded to the House of Lords to present their resolution and obtain the immediate assent of the peers. Strafford rose to make a protest, but was told he must stand aside and present his defence elsewhere. He was arrested and conveyed to the Tower of London, which was held by a small garrison under an officer on whom the parliamentary leaders could rely.

Preparations were made for his trial, and the indictment was drafted, but leading lawyers suggested doubts as to whether a conviction could be secured upon it, and when the actual trial began the managers of the case decided it would be a long business with a doubtful result. They therefore had recourse to a Bill of Attainder in Parliament, that terrible weapon of tyranny invented in the time of Henry VIII by Thomas Cromwell, who was ultimately himself one of its victims. It meant trial by debate, and conviction and sentence to death by the vote of a majority. The Bill passed the House of Commons in April 1641, but the Lords hesitated to accept it. The King had promised his protection to Strafford, and had been busy with schemes to save him. There was a hopeless plan for liberating him by a capture of the Tower. Another, supposed to have been suggested by Queen Henrietta Maria, was to bring the army levied against the Scots, and still in Yorkshire, to London and attempt a *coup d'état*. But nothing was actually done save to appeal to the peers to spare the fallen statesman. But they heard of the proposed use of the army and passed the Bill of Attainder. It now needed only the King's signature. He made a feeble attempt to delay it, but after a riot in Whitehall that made him fear for the life of the Queen and his sons, he yielded and appointed two commissioners to sign for him. On the 12th May Strafford was beheaded on Tower Hill. Laud had already been impeached and sent to the Tower. For a time it seemed

as if the King was cowed into submission. He accepted a resolution of the Commons that the House could not be dissolved without its consent, and assented to Bills giving Parliament the right to assemble at least once in three years, even if it were not summoned; and abolishing the Star Chamber and the High Commission. There were projects for the abolition of episcopacy and the handing over of the dioceses to the control of lay committees. Parliament had induced the Scottish army to withdraw from the north, and disbanded the English forces in Yorkshire. The Dublin Government had disbanded most of Strafford's army in Ireland. The only army in the three kingdoms was that of Scotland.

viii. *The King in Scotland—The Irish Rising.* In August 1641 the King went to Edinburgh, nominally to give his assent to Acts of the Scots Parliament. He was thinking of a possible counterstroke, with Scottish support, but all attempts to obtain promises of help from the army gave no hopeful result. In November he returned to Whitehall and had a friendly reception in the City of London when he assured the mayor and aldermen that he meant to rule as a constitutional king and 'maintain the Protestant religion, as in the days of Elizabeth and of his father'.

While Charles was in Scotland news had come of an Irish rising in Ulster. Ireland had been regarded as a thoroughly subjugated country and there was no suspicion that Irishmen whose very names gave them influence with their fellow countrymen had been preparing for armed action and corresponding with the exiles abroad. Only on the very eve of the outbreak the Lords Justices and the Council in Dublin got some hint of what was coming. In October, though the attempt to surprise Dublin Castle failed, a great part of Ulster blazed up into sudden revolt. There was a panic flight of settlers from the forfeited lands into the towns. For the moment resistance was hopeless, for outside Dublin the Government had only a few small garrisons in walled places. There were tales of an organized massacre of the Protestants, an Ulster St. Bartholomew, but only in one district, where a weak, hot-headed man

was in command of the rising, was it stained by such atrocities. The insurgents were joined by numbers of officers and soldiers of Strafford's disbanded army. In the following months the revolt spread to Leinster and then into the west, and the worst news for the Dublin Government was that numbers of the Irish lords and Catholic landowners of Norman and English descent were joining the movement.

The Council begged for help from England. But there was no army in England, and Parliament could only recruit a force to be sent to Ireland by enlisting volunteers, who would come chiefly from the county militia. Normally it would be for the King to commission the officers. His opponents at Westminster were insisting that this right should be transferred to them. They dreaded the formation of an army officered by Royalist nobles and gentlemen, which Charles might use, not to suppress the Irish revolt, but to re-establish his own power in England. There were suspicions—baseless so far—that he was in correspondence with the 'Popish rebels'.

ix. *The King's attempt to arrest the five Members—Civil War begun in England.* The King had got together a guard for his palace, recruited and officered by his friends. He was now tempted by a rash idea of a *coup d'état* that would deprive the Commons of their most active leaders. He directed the Attorney-General to prepare indictments against Pym, Hampden, and three others on charges of treason. On the 4th January 1642 he went to the House of Commons with an escort of pikemen and musketeers, and leaving them to guard all approaches, entered the House, and declared that he had come to arrest five traitors and gave their names. They had received timely warning and taken refuge in London. Charles asked the Speaker where they were, and received the reply from Speaker Lenthall that he could not say anything without the direction of the House. 'The birds are flown,' exclaimed Charles as he turned to go away amid the outcries of the members. Two days later the fugitives were brought back to the House escorted by detachments of the city militia. Charles had left Whitehall the day before and gone to York.

Some months of fruitless negotiations followed while both parties to the quarrel were preparing for war. Queen Henrietta had crossed to the Continent taking with her all the Crown jewels Charles could lay hands on to pawn or sell them and buy arms and ammunition for the Royal army. The King was enlisting officers and men and obtaining promises of reinforcements for his new army from the north and west. The first 'act of war' came when the King attempted to occupy Hull, where there was a magazine of arms and munitions. The governor closed the gates of the town against him. The King marched on to Nottingham, where on the 22nd August at a parade of his force he displayed the Royal Standard, while heralds proclaimed that he was reluctantly taking up arms against traitors and rebels, and called for the aid of all loyal Englishmen. There had been already in various places skirmishes between rival parties of Royalists and Parliamentarians, but now the civil war began, with improvised armies, that even in the most important battles seldom put in line the numbers of a single infantry division of to-day.

Thus, for instance, at Naseby the Royal army was not quite 10,000 strong. Against it Fairfax and Cromwell brought about 13,000 into action (but the England of 1642 had not as large a population as modern London).

There is no need to trace here in any detail the story of the war years. On a smaller scale it was not unlike the long conflict of the Thirty Years War—a mixture of political and religious causes combining to influence its origin and the course of events and the original parties to the quarrel seeking and forming alliances with neighbouring states. Primarily an English civil war, it was thus linked up with wars in Scotland and Ireland.

At the outset the King had considerable advantages on his side. Cavalry was still the most important arm on the battlefield. It is easy to understand how, in the popular language of the time, the Royalists came to be called the 'Cavaliers', for the forces that mustered on the Royal side were largely drawn from the country districts, and the cavalry were led by a landed gentry who found their recreation in field sports, and recruited

their followers from neighbours, tenants, and dependants who had been good horsemen from early youth. Officers and men were well mounted, and in the main Royal army they had for their leader the King's nephew, Prince Rupert, who, young as he was, had already served as a cavalry officer in the later years of the great war on the Continent. There was no better leader for a mounted onset, but he had one deadly defect. Again and again, in battles from Edgehill to Marston Moor and Naseby, he swept away the opposing cavalry on the wing opposed to him, and then threw away the advantage thus gained by pursuing the broken enemy, instead of flinging his victorious squadrons on the exposed flank of pikemen and musketeers that formed the centre of the battle-line.

On neither side was there, at the beginning of the war, any large number of what we would now describe as trained soldiers, for England had no standing army. Even the 'trained bands' of the county and city militia were mostly trained only in name. In many counties they had only an annual muster for a single day. It was a gain to the Parliamentary leaders that London was solidly on their side, for its citizen militia could supply an organized force composed of young men who made military drill and parades part of their recreations.

The King's opponents had the one really great leader who came to the front in the war. In its first year he was only a captain of horse commanding a small detachment of volunteers from the eastern counties. This was Oliver Cromwell, one of a family that had grown rich under Thomas Cromwell's plunder of the monasteries a century earlier. He was a member of the Long Parliament, but had not been very prominent in its proceedings. He was an 'Independent' in religion opposed to any central government in Church affairs, whether it was Prelatist or Presbyterian. This was all he meant by religious freedom, for he united in one common condemnation the Catholics, the Established Church, and the Anabaptist sect. A professed champion of constitutional freedom, he lived to govern as a military dictator. Though he had no previous experience of war till he took up arms in 1642, he proved to be

a soldier of consummate ability, not only on the battle-field, but in organizing and training men for war, and designing and carrying into effect a successful plan of campaign.

x. *Royalist march on London.* After raising his standard at Nottingham the King and his advisers decided on an attempt against London, the chief stronghold of the enemy. From Nottingham the King marched westward, collecting reinforcements on the way and, after organizing his army at Shrewsbury, began his march on London by Oxford and the Thames valley. At Edgehill, on the border of Oxfordshire, on the 23rd October he fought his first battle, an indecisive affair. But Essex who commanded his opponents drew off in the night and left the way clear for the advance of the Royalists. On the 11th November the King reached Hounslow. Next day Rupert cleared a Parliamentary force out of Brentford and the King's vanguard was only seven miles from Westminster, with a stretch of open country in its front. On the 13th the London trained bands mustered at Turnham Green to bar the way. There was every chance that, if the King had pushed on, these raw citizen-troops would have been broken, and he would have reached Whitehall. But after a brief cannonade at long range the King threw away the one opportunity he ever had of marching into his capital, and that afternoon the Royal army began its retreat to Oxford. The university city became for some years to come the temporary capital of the Royalists, and was rapidly entrenched with a circle of advanced posts in adjacent towns and villages. An ambitious plan was formed for a converging advance on London from west, north, and south in the following spring. It was never carried into effect, for the small improvised armies could not be combined in such a large scheme, and for some time to come the war became a complex of little conflicts by detached local forces, with hardly any unity of purpose.

In the first winter the Parliament secured the promise of help from Scotland. In the summer of 1643 envoys were sent to Edinburgh to arrange an alliance between the Presbyterians in Scotland and the Puritans in England. There was to be a Covenant pledging both peoples against Episcopacy, and

steps were to be taken to reorganize the Church of England on Presbyterian lines. The traders of London provided a subsidy for the Scottish army, and eventually Leslie's veterans crossed the Tweed, and York became the centre of Royalist resistance in the north.

xi. *Success of the Irish Revolt—The Confederation of Kilkenny.* The King had hoped to obtain help from Ireland. But when he set up his standard at Nottingham the revolt, that had begun in Ulster a year before, had spread all over the country. Only Dublin, some towns in Ulster, and some of the ports were held by the English Government. By the autumn of 1642 the revolt of twelve months before had developed into a revolution. A league of all insurgent Ireland—Gael, Norman-Irish, and Anglo-Irish—had been formed. A government had been organized and in the autumn a representative body, the 'Confederation of Kilkenny', met in the old city on the Nore, where the Anglo-Irish Parliaments of the Pale had several times been convened in Plantagenet times. Its citadel built by Strongbow was now held by an Irish garrison and Mass was again said in the cathedral of St. Canice. An Executive Council directed the Government and Provincial Councils were established in the four provinces. Judges and magistrates were appointed; an official printing-press and a mint were equipped. The military forces of the Confederation were strengthened by the arrival of Irish officers from the Continent. Owen Roe O'Neil, who had served with distinction in the Spanish army, had already landed in the north bringing with him nearly a hundred other Irish officers and a cargo of munitions. The Confederation instead of securing unity of command by making this singularly able soldier generalissimo of all the insurgent forces named him only commander in Ulster, one of the local commanders for the four provinces. This divided command was no doubt a result of the disunion as to political purpose that from the very outset was a peril to the Confederation. Many of the Gaelic Irish, and amongst them Owen Roe O'Neil and his friends, cherished the hope of an independent Ireland, while the leaders of Norman and Anglo-Irish descent hoped at most for local independence

under the English Crown. Both parties were at the outset united in the common purpose of securing freedom for the Catholic Church in Ireland and civic freedom by the establishment of a free Parliament of the nation.

But there was also a rift in the forces of English government in Ireland. The King's official representative was the Earl of Ormonde, the head of the Anglo-Norman family of the Butlers. He was a boy in England when his father died (1619), and James I made him a ward of the Crown, separated him from his Catholic relatives and had him educated as a Protestant. He had served in the army in Ireland under Strafford, and when Strafford was recalled to England in 1640 the King had appointed him commander-in-chief of the forces. He had won some local successes against the insurgents in the first stage of the Irish revolt, but he was suspected and continually hampered by the civil government in Dublin, the Lords Justices, and the Council, whose sympathies were with the Parliamentary party in England, and who were so confident in the ultimate subjugation of the 'Irish Papist rebels' by England that they were chiefly active in preparing lists of rebel landowners for future confiscations of their property. With the King involved in a struggle with the Puritan forces in England, and the Scots allying themselves with this English rebellion, Ormonde was inclined to make terms with the Confederates of Kilkenny, and favoured the King's secret overtures to them. Peace in Ireland might be purchased by the promise of religious liberty for the Catholics and a free Parliament in Dublin, and Irish help for the King might counterbalance the promised aid of the Scots to the English rebels. He therefore welcomed Charles's order to enter into negotiations with the Confederates, and on the 15th September 1643 a truce for one year was arranged. Ormonde was promoted to the dignity of the King's Lord Lieutenant in Ireland. The peace was not complete, for Monro, who commanded the Scots garrison at Carrickfergus, asked for reinforcements from Scotland to continue the war with Owen Roe in Ulster, and the English commanders at Cork and Sligo continued to raid the neighbouring Irish lands.

xii. *Progress of the war in England—Cromwell's rise to command.*

In England in the first two years of the war the royal cause seemed hopeful, if judged only by local victories here and there, and large districts passing under the dominance of the Cavaliers. But the Scottish alliance had become a serious menace in the north, and a new factor of military importance for the Parliament was developing in the eastern counties. After the first battles of the war Cromwell had been urging that if the Cavaliers were to be beaten it would not be by haphazard levies, often of very poor material. Against 'gentlemen of honour, courage and resolution' they must have 'men of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go'. He had been promoted to the rank of colonel when he took the leading part in the formation of a force raised by an association in the eastern counties, which provided expenses and pay for recruiting and training picked men of whose zeal for the cause there could be no doubt. He expanded the troop of horse he had commanded at Edgehill into a well-mounted cavalry regiment. Carefully drilled and subjected to a severe code of discipline, this eastern force became a regular army. The Earl of Manchester, who had led the opposition to the King in the House of Lords before the war, was appointed its general with Cromwell commanding its mounted corps. Its active service began in the autumn of 1643, when it raised the siege of Hull and drove the Royalists under Lord Newcastle out of Lincolnshire. Next year the north, long regarded as the stronghold of the Royalists, passed under the control of the King's enemies. The Scottish army joined hands with the Parliamentarians under Fairfax, drove Newcastle into York and besieged the city. Manchester and Cromwell with the eastern force came up to aid in the attack. Rupert was sent northward to save the city. On his approach the siege was raised and the Prince joined hands with Newcastle. On the 2nd July on Marston Moor, seven miles west of York, the combined forces of the Cavaliers met the Scots and English armies in a hard-fought battle that ended in a complete defeat of the Royalists. It was Cromwell's horsemen who decided the day. He charged and routed Rupert's cavalry, the first time they

had been defeated—and he then fell upon the rear of the Royal centre. 'We never charged but we routed the enemy. God made them as stubble to our swords,' wrote Cromwell in his report to Westminster.

In the winter there was an attempt to patch up a peace. Commissioners from both parties met at Uxbridge, but the proposed compromise broke down on the determined refusal of the King to substitute Presbyterianism for Episcopacy in England. The Parliament and the joint Council of English and Scottish delegates were preparing to end the war by force of arms, and organizing on the lines adopted by Cromwell in the eastern counties an army of 22,000 men, which was not to be diverted to local objects but used as its main striking force.

. xiii. *Montrose in Scotland—Decisive defeat of the Royalists at Naseby.* The King had again been hoping for help from Ireland. Ormonde had so far sent only 2,000 men, who were defeated and dispersed on their march through North Wales. Negotiations were in progress with the Confederation of Kilkenny, but it was now divided by rival parties. In the preceding autumn 1,200 Irish had been sent to the north of Scotland to assist a daring enterprise of the Marquis of Montrose, the chief of the Grahams. Montrose was a friend of Charles since their meeting during the negotiations for the Pacification of Berwick in 1639. He was with the Royalists at Oxford when he set out in disguise to raise the Highland clans on the King's side, promising to meet him again at the head of an army. He had won a series of victories, but had found it difficult to keep the clans together, and so far impossible to carry out his proposed descent into the Lowlands and march into England. But the reports of his victories led Charles to attempt to join forces with him, marching to the north, and on the way dealing with Leven's small Scottish force in Yorkshire.

Leaving a small garrison in Oxford, he began his move to the north, with 10,000 men, pursued by a slightly larger force under Fairfax and Cromwell. He was overtaken and brought to action near the village of Naseby in Northamptonshire on the 14th June 1645. On the King's right Rupert scattered the enemy's

horse, and once more committed the folly of pursuing for miles. On the other flank Cromwell led a charge that broke up the Royalist horse under Sir Charles Langdale, and then attacked the infantry in the centre, who so far had held their own against Fairfax's foot. Surrounded and broken into detachments, few of the Royalists escaped death, wounds, or capture. Thousands surrendered. The King escaped from the battle with a small mounted escort; he had lost the only important force at his disposal, with its artillery, muskets, and supplies, and, amongst the abandoned baggage of his head-quarters, dispatch boxes containing not only his private correspondence with Ireland and Scotland, but also (a secret kept till then) letters inviting the aid of continental Powers against his rebellious subjects.

xiv. *The King takes refuge with the Scottish army.* In the months after Naseby the Royalists in various parts of England were dispersed and disarmed, and town after town was captured by Parliamentary armies. When Oxford was in imminent peril of capture the King left the city in disguise, and, in the hope of making better terms with the Scots than with the Parliamentary leaders, he surrendered to the Scottish army, then besieging Newark in Nottinghamshire. By his order the town opened its gates to the besiegers.

He was transferred to the Scottish head-quarters at Newcastle, where, though practically a prisoner, he was treated with respectful courtesy, and in the months of negotiation that followed was allowed to receive Commissioners from the English Parliament and correspond with his queen in France. The Scots assured him that if he would agree to establish Presbyterianism in England, as in Scotland, they would fight to the death in his support. English Commissioners from Westminster offered peace and a welcome for the King's return to his capital if he would govern through the Parliament, give it a voice in foreign policy and control of the militia, substitute the Presbytery for the Episcopate, and enforce the laws against Catholics. Charles played for delay in a settlement, hoping Montrose might yet turn the scale in Scotland, but the campaign of the Highland leader ended in defeat and his flight to the Continent.

Charles refused to sacrifice the bishops and proposed a compromise with no result, and at last the Scots accepted the offer of the English Commissioners to find £200,000 towards the expenses of their army if they would take it back to Scotland and hand over the King to them. The Scots marched away and left Charles to be escorted to Holmby House in the midlands (30 January 1647).

xv. *The King in the hands of his opponents—Conflict between Parliament and the Army.* Though the King was now practically a prisoner in the hands of the Commissioners of the Parliament, they treated him with respect and renewed the efforts for a settlement with him on the basis of the proposals already discussed at Newcastle. The Commissioners were representatives of the Presbyterian majority that now dominated Parliament, the element that counted in the minority being that of the Independents, who had no more liking for the prospect of England being controlled by a Presbyterian Assembly like that of Scotland than they had for the restoration of an Episcopalian Establishment. And the Independents (regarded by the Presbyterians as heretical sectaries) were also the dominant element in the army.

The majority at Westminster now took a very dangerous course. They regarded the war as ended, and thought it would be a popular move to get rid of the taxes collected for keeping the regular army on foot, taxes that had of late been collected with some difficulty. They decided that the army must be disbanded, the soldiers being given the opportunity of enlisting for service in re-establishing English rule in Ireland, and only a small mounted force being retained in England. The soldiers, whose pay was in arrear, refused to disband, held meetings and formed a committee to deal with political questions. It began by demanding full payment and an indemnity for all actions in the civil war, backing this demand with talk of a march on London.

Cromwell had been sent with some other officers to the army to avert open mutiny. But on his return to Westminster he discovered that the Commissioners at Holmby were ready to

accept a settlement with the King on the basis of Presbyterianism being established in England, with freedom of worship for the Episcopalians, but not for any other form of religion, and further, there were rumours that the Presbyterian leaders of the majority in the Commons hoped to have the support of a Scots Presbyterian army, of the trained bands of London, where Presbyterianism was dominant, and of a rally of the lately defeated Royalists, to meet any opposition of the army of England in case this agreement was completed, and the King brought back to Whitehall. The army had for some time been concentrated in north Essex and about Cambridge, with its head-quarters at Saffron Walden. Feeling he was now strong enough to take a leading part in the conduct of affairs Cromwell sent a troop of horse to remove the King from Holmby House to Newmarket, where he would be in the power of the army Council (7 June 1647).

The Presbyterian majority at Westminster protested against the King being thus removed from the custody of their Commissioners, and began openly to levy troops in London for its defence. The city was strongly on the side of the Presbyterians, and on the 27th July a London mob actually invaded the House of Commons, insulted the Speaker, and threatened the minority with violence. Two days later Speaker Lenthall, taking the mace with him, and accompanied by several of the minority members, took refuge with the army, declaring that the freedom of Parliament was at an end and all acts and resolutions adopted in his absence were void. The army marched on London, occupied the city without firing a shot, put a garrison in the Tower, pushed on to Westminster, reinstalled the fugitive members, and took up its quarters in the western suburbs with a cavalry camp in Hyde Park.

xvi. *The King at Hampton Court—Renewal of the Civil War.* In August the King was brought to Hampton Court, where he lived for nearly three months 'rather in the position of a guarded and attended Prince than as a conquered and purchased captive'. He received many visitors, amongst them Cromwell, who proposed a peace settlement with Parliaments elected every

two years and vested with wide powers, while there was to be religious freedom for Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents, in fact for all but the Catholics. Charles was secretly negotiating with the Scots, and in growing fear of the army. There were rumours of rising hostility among the soldiers to any settlement with him, and proposals among the extremists that he should be brought to trial. On the 11th November he escaped from Hampton Court, and reached the Isle of Wight, apparently hoping that he would be able, if need be, to cross to the Continent. He found himself closely guarded in Carisbrooke Castle. But in the last days of the year he was able to complete his agreement with the Scots. They were to move in the early spring.

In April 1648 they crossed the Border led by his agent in Scotland, the Duke of Hamilton. They were joined by numbers of Royalists, and in the south-east of England and in Wales the Cavaliers and some of the Presbyterians took the field as Allies. But by the end of August the new civil war was over; Fairfax had dealt with the southern insurgents, while Cromwell crushed the rising in Wales and then completely defeated the Scots and their English friends at Preston in Lancashire. The Presbyterians in the Commons had made renewed offers to the King, and passed a Bill for the suppression of the 'heretic sects'. The victorious army now proceeded to deal with both the King and the Commons. On the 5th December the House had passed a resolution declaring the time had come for a reconciliation with Charles. Next day one of Cromwell's colonels marched into Westminster, seized the approaches to St. Stephen's, and admitted only the Independent members and bade the rest begone.

xvii. *Trial and execution of the King.* The remnant of the Long Parliament, thus placed in power by the soldiers, now resolved to bring the King to trial for 'treason against the nation' (1 January 1649). When the Lords, now reduced to a small number, refused to join in these proceedings, a resolution was adopted that the House of Commons, as the elect of the people of England, was the supreme power in the country and had no

need of either the King or the House of Lords. The judges refused to have any part in the proceedings, and the Commons decided to form themselves into a 'High Court of Justice'.

The King had been brought a prisoner to Windsor Castle in the middle of December. On the 19th January he was removed to St. James's Palace. Next day he was brought before the improvised 'High Court' in Westminster Hall. One hundred and thirty-five members of the Commons had been summoned to act as his judges. Only sixty-seven had responded to this call. He refused to plead to the indictment and protested against the claim of the court to represent the people of England. Twice more, on the 22nd and 23rd, he was brought before the court, and again repeated his protest. On the 26th the court met to come to a decision. A vote was taken and he was declared guilty and sentenced to death by 55 votes against 16. The 55 signed the warrant for his execution. They were less than one-third of those appointed to constitute the High Court, itself appointed by a minority of the House of Commons.

Heavily guarded, the King was brought again to Westminster Hall next day to hear the sentence of the court read. In the forenoon of the 30th he was beheaded on a lofty scaffold erected outside the windows of the Banqueting House in Whitehall. Thousands gathered in the broad roadway, kept aloof from the scaffold by lines of troops facing towards Westminster and Charing Cross.

During the trial in Westminster Hall there had been shouts of 'God save the King' from the onlookers, and there were rumours that a rescue might be attempted at the last moment. As the King's head fell there were outcries from the people and the troops at once hustled them out of Whitehall.

The execution by warrant of a faction had—to put the matter plainly—no more legal sanction than the proceedings of a drum-head court-martial. The resistance of Parliament to the King had begun in the name of freedom and constitutional rule. The course of events since the Long Parliament elected in 1640 had brought England under the rule of the sword.

4. THE YEARS OF THE COMMONWEALTH (1649-60)

i. *The Puritan Republic—Cromwell in Ireland.* The handful of members at Westminster passed a resolution declaring that England was now a Commonwealth (plain English for 'Republic') without either King or House of Lords. In Ireland Ormonde proclaimed the Prince of Wales as 'Charles II'. The Scottish garrison of Carrickfergus declared for the new king; the Catholics joined hands with the Royalists. Every garrison in Ireland except those of Dublin and Derry was either captured or came over to the side of Ormonde and the Irish leaders, but he failed in an attempt on Dublin, which had been strongly reinforced from England. On the 15th August Cromwell arrived there, with an army of 8,000 foot and 4,000 horse, the pick of the victorious Puritan forces in England. He came as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by warrant of the Parliament.

In September he marched northward, and on the 11th stormed Drogheda. The garrison of over 2,000 men from Ormonde's army was commanded by an English Cavalier, and many of his officers had fought in the war in England. Cromwell had ordered that no quarter should be given to the defenders and all but thirty were massacred, and all but two of the priests in the place were killed. Cromwell's more enthusiastic admirers have tried to make out that this was the total extent of the slaughter, and argued that the custom of war at the time deprived the defenders of a stormed city of the right to quarter. But there is contemporary evidence, some of it from one of his own officers, that in their blood fury the victors slew even defenceless townsfolk, including women and children, putting to the sword 'the flower and choicest of the women and ladies' who had taken refuge in a church. There was another atrocious massacre when Cromwell moved southward and captured Wexford on the 12th October.

In November the sudden death of Owen Roe O'Neil deprived the northern Irish of their best leader. Bad weather in the mid-winter checked any serious operations, but by the early

summer the greater part of Ireland up to the Shannon line was in Cromwell's hands. Then he was recalled to take command of the army in England, and deal with a peril from Scotland. He handed over the command in Ireland to his son-in-law, Ireton, with the title of Lord Deputy.

ii. *Scotland declares for Charles II—Cromwell's campaigns of Dunbar and Worcester.* In the spring of 1650 Montrose had returned to Scotland and made an unsuccessful attempt to raise a Highland army. He was hunted down and captured by his old opponent Argyll and hanged at Edinburgh as a traitor to the Covenant. But the execution of Charles I had caused strong feelings of resentment among many in Scotland. Negotiations, opened with Charles II at Breda in Holland by envoys from Edinburgh, led to his being promised recognition as King of Scots if he would take the Covenant. On the 24th June he was welcomed at Leith, and in Edinburgh he signed a disgraceful declaration as a prelude to his coronation as King of Scotland. It was a disgrace to him because he not only declared that he would rule as a Presbyterian king: he repudiated the peace made by Ormonde with the 'bloody Irish rebels', denounced 'Popery', and also acknowledged that his father had sinned when he married his 'idolatrous mother'. The English Parliament offered Fairfax the command of the army that was to deal with this revival of Royalty in Scotland. He refused on the ground that the Scottish people had a right to choose their own government. Cromwell was recalled to take this new command. He had no constitutional scruples, and as soon as a sufficient force was concentrated he marched into Scotland and advanced on Edinburgh, following the roads along the east coast and receiving his supplies from the fleet. He had one of his few failures in an attempt to occupy Edinburgh, and drew back to Dunbar to keep in touch with the fleet. Here, on the 3rd September, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Scottish army that challenged him to battle. This enabled him to besiege and occupy Edinburgh. Another Scottish army was north of the Forth on the middle course of the river, with Stirling for its advanced post, guarding the best crossing. The King was with

it and he had been joined by some Royalists from England. An early and prolonged winter, during which Cromwell was for some time dangerously ill, deferred any serious operations till the summer of 1651. Cromwell took the field again in June, and, after a preliminary threat to Stirling, decided to use the fleet to pass his army across the Firth of Forth and attack the Royalists by a march into Perthshire. This left the way to England open to the enemy, and Charles and the Scottish leaders decided on a dash southwards. The movement began on the 31st July, a minor force being left on the line of the Forth. Cromwell, as soon as he discovered the danger to England, handed over part of his army to General Monk and with the rest recrossed the Firth and began a forced march for the Border and then on through Yorkshire, while the Royal army moved on the other side of the hills into Lancashire. The Parliament hurried all available forces to Cromwell's help. Charles hoped for a widespread English rising in his favour, but not many joined him, and when he reached Cheshire he gave up any immediate march on London and turned southwards to collect reinforcements from Wales and the west of England. At Worcester, on the 3rd September, Cromwell launched a convergent attack of several columns on the Royalists, and completely defeated them, making some thousands of prisoners. Charles escaped from the rout and in disguise made an adventurous journey to the Sussex coast and crossed the sea to France.

iii. *End of the Irish War—The Cromwellian 'Settlement of Ireland'.* Cromwell returned to London to take control of the Government. Monk disposed of what was left of the Royal army in Scotland and in the following summer Ireton brought the war in Ireland to an end, by receiving the surrender of Limerick, the last stronghold of the Irish army agreeing to a capitulation after a prolonged defence of the place.

Thousands of officers and soldiers who had fought on the Irish side went abroad to serve in the Spanish, French, and Austro-German armies. Numbers of Catholic traders in all the ports from Galway to Waterford broke up their homes and

went to seek employment or start a new attempt at business in Antwerp, Nantes, and Bordeaux or in the Spanish ports.

Ireland was a ruined land at the mercy of the victorious Cromwellians. Wide tracts of land had gone out of cultivation, and war, famine, and fever had depopulated whole districts. It was a sign of the evil time that the wolves had increased in numbers, and in hard weather came prowling into the outskirts of the towns. The new government decided that the desolation of the country and the fact that so many of its people were conquered 'rebels' presented a splendid opportunity for a resettlement of Ireland.

The Catholics, the vast majority of the people—were under a double ban, proscribed for their faith as well as for their long fight for freedom. 'I meddle with no man's conscience,' Cromwell had said, when he arrived in Ireland, and then added: 'But if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing with you, and to let you know where the Parliament of England has power, that will not be allowed.' Priests were proscribed under penalty of death. They lived a hidden, hunted life, often gathering their congregations in the mountains, with a rock for their altar, and scouts posted to guard against a surprise by the priest-hunters. Few were brought to trial; the victims of the ban were mostly summarily executed on arrest—shot, hanged, or (to use Cromwell's own words in a letter from Dublin) they were 'knocked on the head'. Catholicity was outlawed. In many towns there was a standing order that no Catholic must reside in or even enter them.

Under the capitulations that closed the war in Ireland some 30,000 of the soldiers and officers who surrendered were transported to the Continent at the cost of the Government. There were further transportations of a very different kind, the victims being poverty-stricken folk, widows, orphans, landless men. These were shipped off as 'indentured labourers'—in plain English, 'slaves' for the American plantations. Some of the slave traders of Bristol, who had so far dealt in negroes, now speculated in white folk. There was a good demand for young

women and girls under fourteen years of age. These were to supply mistresses for the white settlers and consorts for the black slaves.¹

The lands of all who had taken part in the 'rebellion' or submitted to the authority of its leaders was declared to be forfeited to the State, and the Irish Catholics were to leave the three provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster by the 5th May 1654 at latest, under pain of death if they returned. They were to depart to the country west of the Shannon (Connaught and County Clare). There small holdings would be assigned to them. More than half the land of Ireland was thus cleared for new Protestant settlers, the lands of several counties being devoted to soldiers who had fought for the Puritan cause. For the rest settlers were to be brought from Scotland and England. There were to be also settlements of disbanded soldiers along the Connaught coast and the banks of the Shannon to serve as a safeguard against the deported Irish returning to their old lands. Three-fourths of Ireland was to become an Anglo-Scottish colony with the Irish penned up in the west, like the natives of some oversea colony collected in a reservation to make room for the white conquerors of their lands.

The Parliaments of Ireland and Scotland were abolished. Both countries were to send a few members, elected by those who had stood by the Parliament, to Westminster at a later election. Both countries were under military rule. In Scotland all the strong places were garrisoned by English troops, and the administration of the law was confided to judges from England.

iv. *Cromwell's rule in England—The new Republican Absolutism.* In England and Wales Cromwell at first tried to govern with the help of what was left of the Long Parliament. He had the army at his back, and he proposed that a committee of officers

¹ John Thurloe, Cromwell's Secretary to the Council, writing to Ireland on the 11th September 1655, refers to the 'supply of younge Irish girls', and remarks that 'concerning the young women, though we must use force in taking them up' yet it will be 'much for their own goode' and of advantage to the public. Writing a week later he suggests that it might be well to send out '1,500 or 2,000 younge boys of 12 or 14 years of age', and this may be 'a means to make them Englishmen, I meane rather, Christians'.

and members should arrange for the election of a new Parliament, with securities for avoiding the return of Royalists. The Parliament prepared a Bill providing that all who still sat should be members of the new House without re-election and have the power of cancelling the election of any new member whom they judged to be undesirable. The Bill was to be passed on the 19th April (1653). That morning Cromwell went to Westminster with a company of soldiers, and leaving them outside took his seat in the House. He rose to address the members. They had done good work, he admitted, but latterly their action had been ill-advised, unjust, and self-seeking. There were interruptions, and he turned angrily on his opponents, telling them he had enough of this, and would end it all. He called in his escort, turned the members out, carried off the mace, and locked the doors. It was not a dissolution but a summary abolition of Parliament at the point of the sword.

He convened another Parliament, but it was only an irregular makeshift, for the members were not elected but chosen by Cromwell and his soldier friends. It met in July and came to an end in December. Its proceedings were a scene of factious disputes. Early on the 11th December a group of Cromwell's friends met in an all but empty House, and declared this strange Parliament was dissolved and all future conduct of affairs must be in the hands of Cromwell, who now became 'Lord Protector of the Commonwealth'.

He and his group drew up a new Constitution. He was to govern with the advice of a Council of State nominated by himself. There was to be a Parliament of the Commons only, but its chief check on arbitrary rule was removed by the proviso that the Protector was to nominate all officials and have a fixed annual grant of funds sufficient to maintain the army and navy and pay all ordinary expenses of government. The new Parliament, elected on a narrow franchise that excluded all Royalists, met on the 3rd September 1654 and was dissolved in the early days of 1655 when the Protector found they were bent on limiting his powers. England and Wales were then divided into ten districts, each governed by a major-general of the army.

v. *Wars with the Dutch and Spaniards—Persecution in England.* While Cromwell was engaged in his Irish and Scottish campaigns war had begun with the Dutch, with Blake (who had done good service against the Royalists in the west of England during the civil war) in command of the fleet, under the title of 'General-at-Sea'. He proved to be a very successful admiral. As Protector, Cromwell approached the Spanish Government with an offer of alliance, asking in return for freedom of English trade in the West Indies and an English occupation of Dunkirk, to be exchanged for Calais after it had been taken with his help from France. The negotiation ended in Spain's rejecting his offered help, and Cromwell sent Blake to the West Indies to compel a concession of trading rights to England. The war with Spain gave Jamaica to England, and Cromwell became the ally of France. A small army of 6,000 of his veterans fought on the French side against the Spaniards in the Battle of the Dunes, and took part in the capture of Dunkirk, which was handed over to England as the reward of this help and that of Blake's fleet. Cromwell had summoned a second Parliament to obtain a vote for the expenses of the war and, though he was given this, he dissolved the Parliament after acute friction with it in a second session.

Despite success in the war there was growing discontent in England at the prolonged rule of a military absolutism. The Royalists had had to endure exclusion from all civic rights and heavy fines levied for their support of the royal cause. The penal laws had been rigorously enforced against the Catholics, and Catholic landowners were heavily mulcted with fines for absence from the parish churches. Members of the Church of England saw cathedrals and churches in the hands of Presbyterian and Independent ministers, and though at first they were allowed to meet privately for the service of the Book of Common Prayer, Cromwell later banned even those meetings in dread of their becoming masked centres of Royalist conspiracy. Puritan rigorism added to the general discontent. The new preachers in the churches and the local magistrates banned both the May-day festivities and the Christmas revels as savouring of

superstition and 'Popery'. Though all forms of Nonconformity were tolerated, strange sects of extremists arose, some of which were hostile to the privileged Presbyterians and Nonconformists, and even like the 'Fifth Monarchy Men' distinctly unfriendly to secular government of any kind.

vi. *Death of Cromwell—End of the Commonwealth.* Cromwell's health was breaking down, and he was living amid rumours of conspiracies against him by Royalists on the one hand and sectarian fanatics on the other, and well-founded reports of widespread disaffection. He became seriously ill in the summer of 1658 and died on the 3rd September, the anniversary of two of his greatest victories. As if he had been king, he named his son Richard as his successor in the Protectorate.

Richard Cromwell ruled for only a few months. He summoned a Parliament which met on the 27th January 1659. Almost at once it was involved in a dispute with the army. Oliver had been both Protector and Commander-in-Chief. Richard was no soldier, and the army requested that the command should be given to General Fleetwood, who had married a daughter of Oliver Cromwell. Richard and the Parliament agreed that he should be chosen, but on condition that he was to rank as the new Protector's Lieutenant-General and the military should be subordinate to the civil power. The soldiers objected to any such subordination, the Parliament persisted, and the officers with a menace of mutiny forced the Protector to dissolve Parliament. A month later he resigned the Protectorate to retire into private life (25 May 1659).

The generals in and near London now took control. They invited the survivors of the Long Parliament, to which Cromwell had put an end six years before, to meet again. Forty-two members, including Speaker Lenthall, met at Westminster, but to the surprise of the soldiers began by declaring that every decree issued by Cromwell in England since their last meeting on the 19th April 1653 was illegal and invalid, and that the officers who had collected taxes for him ought to repay them. Once more the army and this fragment of a Parliament were involved in a quarrel. There was a tacit truce while General Lambert

hurried to Cheshire to suppress a local rising of the Royalists at once, lest it should set all England aflame. When Lambert returned to London the dispute between the soldiers and the politicians became acute. General Monk, who commanded the Parliamentary army in Scotland, took action to avert the peril of England lapsing into disastrous anarchy. Collecting all the troops that could be moved from Scotland he set out to march on London. He crossed the Border on the New Year's Day of 1660. At York he was joined by Fairfax, who commanded in the north of England, and he reached London on the 3rd February. He found the Londoners declaring they would not pay any taxes or find any money for government until a new and free Parliament was elected. He called up what were left of the Presbyterian members whom Cromwell had expelled from the House of Commons in 1648, to sit again at Westminster, and with a moderate majority thus secured, he persuaded the Commons to agree to the dissolution of the improvised Parliament and resolve that there must be new elections.

While these were in progress Monk and his friends were negotiating with Charles II in his exile at Breda in Holland. He agreed that if he were restored to England he would rule constitutionally and leave it to his first Parliament to complete the settlement of all grievances arising from the long years of strife. On the 1st May the new Parliament accepted the King's declaration, and voted that England must be governed by King, Lords, and Commons. On the 25th May the King, escorted across the narrow seas by the fleet, landed at Dover, and all England rejoiced at the prospect of the return of peace and civic order and the end of military rule.

5. THE PEACE OF THE PYRENEES (1659)

Austria—contrary to the engagements into which it had entered at Münster—did not abstain from passing troops into the Netherlands to assist Spain. The death of the Emperor Ferdinand III (1 April 1658), and the election of his successor, gave Mazarin the opportunity for sending Hugues de Lionne

and the Marshal de Gramont to Germany, and they succeeded in obtaining a pledge that the Archduke Leopold should not be elected without previously swearing to respect the clause of the Treaty of Westphalia concerning the neutrality of the Empire during the war between France and Spain (8 July 1658).

The Spanish Netherlands were henceforth isolated, and the court of Madrid was forced to treat for peace. Turenne's victory over Condé at the Battle of the Dunes (14 June) had led to the surrender of Dunkirk, which was handed over to England (in return for the help given in the battle by Cromwell's Ironsides). In October all of Flanders and part of Brabant were in the possession of the French armies. Defeated in Flanders, Italy, and Portugal, Spain could no longer defer the conclusion of peace.

In November the request for negotiations came from Madrid, accompanied by the offer of the hand of the Infanta Maria Theresa for the young king. In February 1659 the negotiations began in Paris, and the preliminaries of peace were signed on the 4th June; Mazarin and Don Luis de Haro were to discuss the final details of the settlement at a meeting on the Spanish frontier. Their conferences were held on the Ile des Faisans, an island of the lower Bidassoa, where its course marks the boundary. The debate continued from August to the first week of November, when, on the 7th, the final treaty of peace between France and Spain was signed, and with it the convention for the marriage of Louis XIV and the Spanish princess. This was the 'Treaty of the Pyrenees' which ended twenty-five years of war between the two kingdoms.

The treaty recognized the greater part of the conquests of France, which thus acquired Roussillon and the Cerdagne, Artois and several towns and cities in Flanders, Hainault, and Luxembourg. France renounced all claim to Catalonia, and Spain any rights in Alsace. Condé was granted full pardon, the right to return to France, the restitution of all his confiscated property, and a reappointment to his former governorship of Burgundy. It was more than a mere pardon: it was an amnesty for all the past.

The Peace of the Pyrenees confirmed the separation between Austria and Spain which was one of the chief results of the Treaty of Westphalia. Austria was held in check by the League of the Rhine, an agreement formed in 1658 between the princes of north and western Germany under Mazarin's influence, with the original purpose of insisting on the neutrality of the Empire in the Franco-Spanish war. Spain was now rendered helpless to oppose French ambitions. The Infanta Maria Theresa was to have a dowry of half a million crowns, payable in gold within eighteen months of the marriage, and, on condition of this payment, she renounced all rights of succession to her father that she might claim as the eldest daughter of the royal house of Spain. But Spanish finance was in an embarrassed condition, and if the dowry was not paid the King of France might easily allege that the renunciation of his wife's claims was of no effect, for the conditions on which it was made had not been fulfilled.

Mazarin's influence was now at its highest point in France and in Europe. Paris and France forgot old grievances and quarrels under the glamour of his success. The entry of Louis XIV into Paris on the 26th August 1660 was a triumphal progress. It was the twelfth anniversary of the 'day of the barricades'. He was greeted with a mad outburst of enthusiasm, and the magistrates and lawyers of the Parlement asked for the honour of being presented to Mazarin, to offer him their congratulations on the peace and 'their most humble homage'.

Three months earlier Charles II had landed at Dover and England had rejoiced at the restoration of the Stuart monarchy. Mazarin had used Cromwell as an ally against Spain, but during Charles's years in Holland the Cardinal had been more than once in friendly relations with him, and had even supplied from his own personal fortune some help to the exiled royalty of England. He naturally held that it was to the interest of France that her neighbour should be no longer a republic. The friendly relations between the two courts were strengthened by a visit of the widowed queen of Charles I to England in December 1660.

Occupied almost to his last hour with affairs of State, Mazarin died in the midst of his triumph and at the summit of his popularity on the 9th March 1661. He left a fortune of millions. Most of it he had acquired by doubtful means. His unbounded avarice had led him to introduce into the administrative branches of the royal government miserable abuses that were, as the years went on, extended, aggravated, and firmly established, so that they lasted until the Revolution. One cannot forget that he had provoked and prolonged the civil war, but his services led to his faults being overlooked. If at the outset he had neglected the education of the boy king, he recognized and realized the talents of Louis as he grew older, and there can be no doubt of the thorough training in political and military matters that he then provided for him. Finally, this foreigner left France a kingdom that had won power and respect among the nations, even though it was not yet prosperous in its internal condition. He had carried on the work of Richelieu and left the tradition of a national policy that had made France the arbiter of Europe.

6. LOUIS XIV AND EUROPE (1661-97)

i. *The War of Devolution.* On the 9th March 1661, the day of the Cardinal's death, the King held a council at which Fouquet, Le Tellier, Lionne, and Séguier were present. Speaking with the air of their master, he declared that 'having lost Cardinal Mazarin, on whom he had relied in everything, he had decided to be henceforth his own Prime Minister, and he intended that not one of them should sign even the least important order or the most ordinary passport without having received his orders'. The personal rule was beginning. It lasted for fifty years during which each day Louis never gave less than eight hours to the business of the State. Never before had France such a dominant influence in Europe. Never had she better generals, or abler administrators or a king more conscious of his royal duties, of the immense responsibilities of his position, and of the far-reaching capacities of his people.

Spain had not paid the dowry of half a million crowns in

gold, and the renunciation made by the Infanta when she became Queen of France was thus void. In 1662 Lionne made an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the Madrid Cabinet to concede this point. He was more successful in London, where Charles II agreed to everything, and also arranged to sell Dunkirk and Mardyck to France. Holland was not so accommodating and refused to recognize the 'right of devolution' set forth in the 'Customs of Brabant', according to which a father's property became without any possible dispute the inheritance of the children of his first marriage.

Queen Maria Theresa, as the only daughter of Philip IV of Spain by his first marriage, had thus a claim to inherit the Spanish Netherlands, and Louis XIV intended to secure this territory for her, and, if need be, to seize it by force. On the death of Philip IV (17 September 1665) Louis, who was above all anxious to round off the northern territory of France, appealed to the 'right of devolution', but it was not till May 1667 that his armies entered the Spanish Netherlands to take possession. In three months the King, Turenne, and Vauban, with a force of 35,000 men, were masters of the fortified towns of the Flemish coast district from Furnes to Oudenarde, and of Tournai, Lille, and Douai. By the month of August all this was effected and the Emperor Leopold approved of the King's action.

In January 1668 Holland, Sweden, and England formed a combination to oppose the progress of France. Louis replied by seizing Franche-Comté (still Spanish territory), an operation that took only a few days. When the news of this reached The Hague a defensive 'triple alliance' was patched up to compel the King of France to respect the frontiers defined by the Treaty of the Pyrenees. Louis XIV paused in the midst of his triumph and restored Franche-Comté, but he kept his conquests in Flanders and Hainault—Bergues, Furnes, Armentières, Courtrai, Lille, Douai, Tournai, Ath, Binche, Oudenarde, and Charleroi. These fortified places formed a series of enclaves—outposts of France that would make the adjacent territory untenable whenever a fresh forward move began.

It was on this very unstable foundation that an agreement

was arrived at which was dignified with the name of peace (2 May 1668). But this so-called Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was only a prelude to further hostilities.

ii. *War with Holland.* The intervention of Holland, a Republican and Protestant State, and a keen and formidable commercial rival, marked it for the vengeance of Louis XIV. His diplomacy first came into action to break up the Triple Alliance. Charles II abandoned it to unite with France, with the persuasive argument of a generous subsidy. The Emperor Leopold, the Electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria, and the King of Sweden, favoured the policy of France, and Holland was thus cut off from all who could have helped her. A friendly arrangement with the Elector of Cologne enabled France to establish the base magazines for the campaign on German territory and invade Holland by an advance along the lower Meuse without entering the Spanish Netherlands. An army of 120,000 was mobilized with 100 guns. It included a mounted force of 12,000. The King took command with Condé, Luxembourg, and Turenne. William of Orange commanded the Dutch army; but he could only delay for awhile the overwhelming forces opposed to him. The French advanced towards the Dutch Rhine, rapidly reduced its small fortresses, forced the river crossing at Tollhuis (on 12 June 1672) and invaded the province of Utrecht. The French had reached the heart of Holland and their cavalry were pushing towards Amsterdam. John de Witt, the Grand Pensionary (or President) of the Republic, made proposals of peace to Louis XIV, but the King replied with such harsh conditions that there was a popular movement for resistance at all costs. William of Orange was opening the dikes and flooding the country to save Amsterdam and western Holland. De Witt and his brother were murdered by a mob, and William was proclaimed Stadhouder (or Captain General) of the Republic. Unable to push their success over the flooded lands, the invaders fell back towards the frontier, the retreat of their farthest advanced detachments being a difficult march along the dikes amid the spreading floods, which the early winter soon covered with sheets of treacherous ice.

iii. *The Grand Alliance of The Hague.* The autumn saw the beginning of a coalition against France, known at the time as the 'Grand Alliance of The Hague'. It was formed by William of Orange taking advantage of suspicions and anxiety aroused in Spain and central Europe by the ambition of Louis XIV and the display of his growing armed force in the invasion of Holland. Spain had a grievance in a violation of the neutrality of the Spanish Netherlands by a French raid against western Holland, and was the earliest member of the coalition. The Emperor and several of the German princes soon joined the new alliance. The war spread to the Rhineland, and went on till the summer of 1678. At one period of the conflict Louis XIV had more than 300,000 men under arms, but on neither side, from first to last, was there any great concentrated effort to secure a decisive success. It was a war of separate local campaigns, to reduce a fortified place or occupy a district. On the whole the French armies had a fuller record of success than their opponents, and the most brilliant campaign of the war was that of Turenne in 1674-5, when he drove the imperialists out of Alsace, and crossed the Rhine and carried the war into Germany. It ended with his death by a cannon shot when he was reconnoitring the defences of the little fortress of Sasbach (July 1675). The French navy under Duquesne won three victories over the Spanish fleets off the coast of Sicily, and for awhile held command of the Mediterranean. The chief gain in the many land campaigns was the easy conquest of Franche-Comté, the last remnant of the old Burgundian inheritance of the Spanish Habsburgs.

iv. *The Treaty of Nijmwegen.* Both sides were tired of the war when in the summer of 1678 negotiations were opened at Nijmwegen and, on the 10th August, treaties of peace were signed by France, Holland, Spain, and the Empire. France obtained definite possession of Franche-Comté and the right of military occupation of the duchy of Lorraine; there was 'rectification' of the frontier of the Spanish Netherlands; the fortress of Maestricht which had been taken by the French was restored to Holland. The Dutch were now in full possession

of all their territories of 1673, and also secured a favourable commercial treaty with France.

Louis XIV was now at the height of his triumph, and not only his subjects in France but his admirers in the rest of Europe honoured him with the most exaggerated eulogies. His power seemed no less than his fame, but admiration was giving place to jealousy and suspicion. The King was going very far in letting it be too plain to the more important States that he was ready to defy them, and to minor Powers that he regarded them not so much as allies as tributary vassals. With both the result was a growing ill will.

v. *The League of Augsburg.* In 1680 the King of France was honoured by his people with the title of 'Louis le Grand'. In his pride he cast aside all prudence. He instituted a tribunal known as the 'Chambre de Réunion', the purpose of which was nominally to supervise the execution of the treaties, but actually to strain their interpretation to the utmost in his own favour and extend his acquisitions by claiming and enforcing possession of all feudal rights and indirect territorial gains dependent on the transfer to France of the cities and districts annexed at the Peace of Nijmegen. Strasbourg had been excluded from the cession of Alsace to France at the Peace of Westphalia. It had long been a Free City of the Empire, and had observed a strict neutrality during the Thirty Years War. Its citizens therefore preserved their independence, but on the 30th September 1681, in a time of general peace, French troops seized the city.

William of Orange signed a 'Treaty of Association' with Charles IX, the King of Sweden. The Emperor and the Spanish King gave their adherence to it, and the latter declared war against France. Louis replied by laying siege to Luxembourg, and encouraging the Turks to attack Austria. It was less in a spirit of friendship than in arrogant assertion of his power that when the Austrian capital was besieged by the invaders he offered the Emperor to send an army of 60,000 men to defend it. But Vienna was saved by Sobieski's Polish army. Shortly after this Louis took Luxembourg, and then the treaty known as

the 'Truce of Ratisbon' was arranged. It handed over to France Luxembourg, Strasbourg, and all the places claimed under the decrees of the 'Chambre de Réunion'.

The French fleet still held the command of the Mediterranean. It bombarded Algiers, and forced the Bey to agree to respect the French flag and the French trading ships in the western sea. The Genoese Republic was building war-ships for Spain in its dockyards. A bombardment of Genoa and a blockade of the port forced the Republic to break its contract with Madrid, and the Doge came to Versailles to present his 'humble apologies' to the King of France (1684).

When in 1685 Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes and abolished the immunities and toleration it secured for the Huguenots, he professed to be acting in the interests of religious unity in his kingdom. He had long been restricting the freedom of the Huguenots, and undoubtedly the chief motive of his action was to provide for uniform submission of all his subjects to his own personal power. The step he took increased the hostility of Protestants everywhere and deprived France of some of the most industrious of its people and of numbers of men of marked ability.

Ever since the invasion of Holland William of Orange had been the most active opponent of the ambitious policy of the French King, and he had now a further motive for his untiring effort to unite all those who saw in it a peril to every State in Europe. He won the Empire, Spain, Sweden, Bavaria, and the princes of Swabia and Franconia to an alliance with Holland, which came into formal existence on the 17th July 1686, under the name of the 'League of Augsburg'. War began again on the Rhine and its first great event was the invasion and devastation of the Palatinate by a French army. The Revolution of 1688 brought England into the League against France, which became known as the 'Grand Alliance' (September 1689). William of Orange had become, as William III, joint sovereign of England with his consort Mary, the daughter of James II. In Ireland outside the more recent English settlements in Ulster the people rallied to the support of James,

fighting not so much in the dynastic quarrel as for religious freedom and the recovery of their confiscated lands: James himself was for awhile in Ireland, but returned to France after the battle of the Boyne, in which the Irish army with a small number of French auxiliaries was defeated by William of Orange and the French Huguenot, Marshal Schomberg, at the head of a mixed force of Dutch, Prussian, British, and Danish troops with a contingent of French Huguenots and a small body of Ulster Protestant settlers. Louis XIV made the mistake of regarding the war in Ireland as a mere side-show and sent only scanty help to the Irish leaders. The war ended with the surrender of Limerick after an heroic defence, on terms embodied in a treaty which amongst other advantages guaranteed toleration to the Irish Catholics. The Irish Parliament, which represented only the English Colony in Ireland, refused to ratify the treaty, and a new period of persecution and confiscation began in Ireland. Sarsfield, who had been the soul of the defence of Limerick, embarked for France with some thousands of the Irish army, and thus began the formation of the famous Irish Brigade in the Royal army of France.

While King William was in Ireland, the French Admiral Tourville won for awhile the command of the Channel. He had combined a fleet from the Mediterranean with the northern French squadrons and was able to bring more than 70 battle-ships into action against an inferior force made up of 37 British battle-ships under Lord Torrington and 22 Dutch ships under Admiral Evertsen. On the 30th June 1690 the fleets met off Beachy Head, in sight of the land. The Allied fleets under a divided command failed to combine their efforts, and Tourville, concentrating a fierce attack on the Dutch, inflicted serious losses on them. But the battle was not fought to a finish, Tourville breaking off the fight when the ebb began and having wind and tide against him. He did not pursue the Allies when they withdrew up Channel, after burning several disabled ships in Pevensey Bay. They anchored in the Downs and the mouth of the Thames, and for the first time in recent history the French held command of the Narrow Seas. But the hope of a Jacobite

movement in England which would be supported by a French army was disappointed, and Tourville made no further use of his success than to harry English trading ships for the rest of the summer, and let loose upon them privateers from the Norman and Breton ports.

Louis XIV paid little attention to naval affairs, and was chiefly interested in developing the military power of France. This war with an island power made the command of the Channel all-important, but in the winter of 1691-2, when once more there were hopes of a Jacobite reaction in England and he was concentrating an army in western Normandy to support it by an invasion, he left Tourville to attempt the hopeless task of protecting his crossing of the Channel with a force only about half the strength of the combined English and Dutch fleets. The result was Tourville's defeat in May 1692, in the series of engagements remembered as the Battle of La Hogue, in which all but a mere remnant of the French battle-ships were destroyed. All hope of a landing on English soil was abandoned. It was the last serious naval action of the war.

In the land campaigns the large forces at the disposal of the King were divided into several detached armies operating for local objects often in far-separate theatres of war. There were more sieges than battles. The French marshals Luxembourg and Catinat added, in the earlier years of the conflict, new successes in the field to the roll of King Louis's victories, but there was nowhere any decisive result. After the fall of Namur, captured by the Allies in 1695, the military operations slowed down almost to a stalemate, and growing financial difficulties made Louis anxious for another period of peace, during which he might reorganize for further adventures in the future. Charles II of Spain, broken in health and half imbecile, was nearing his end and Louis looked forward to asserting a right to his succession. Peace and a break-up of the hostile coalition against France was thus all-important. His first step was to arrange a separate peace with the Duke of Savoy, and a treaty was signed at Turin on the 29th June 1696. Negotiations with the other Allied Powers followed. On the 20th September 1697 the

Treaty of Ryswick made peace with Holland, England, and Spain, and on the 30th October the Emperor added his signature.

It gave Louis XIV very limited gains for years of war, and he had to make important concessions to the Allies. He recognized William III as King of Great Britain and Ireland, and promised to give no further support to James II. He restored Lorraine to its ducal line. It was agreed that all towns and territories occupied by either the French or the Allies since the Treaty of Nijmegen (1679) should be restored to their former possessors, with one important exception, Strasbourg being definitely handed over to France. In the Netherlands the fortresses of Luxembourg, Mons, and Courtrai were restored to Spain, and the Dutch were to have the right to maintain garrisons in Namur, Ypres, and some minor places in the Spanish Netherlands as advanced safeguards of the territory of the Republic. But like the Peace of Nijmegen the Treaty of Ryswick was little more than a truce.

7. THE LAST OF THE STUARTS AND WILLIAM III (1660-1714)

i. *The Reign of Charles II.* It was on his thirtieth birthday that Charles, after a welcome in London, reached his palace at Whitehall. Since his escape from the lost battle of Worcester he had been nine years in exile—a time of many disappointing projects and of poverty and debt, with intervals when he found money and wasted it on dissipation. He was now, as he said, determined 'not to go on his travels again'. General Monk, to whom he owed his restoration, was raised to the peerage as Earl of Albemarle. Sir Edward Hyde, who had been his guardian in the first stage of the civil war, and the companion of his exile, was created Earl of Clarendon, and became his chief minister. A few weeks after the Restoration Clarendon's daughter, Anne, was married to the King's younger brother, James, Duke of York.

It was a Presbyterian Parliament that under the guidance of Monk had restored the King. The elections of 1661 sent to Westminster an Episcopalian majority—a Parliament in which

the Royalists mustered in such numbers that it was popularly known as the 'Cavalier Parliament'.

It was this Royalist Parliament that, despite the King's personal dislike of reprisals, insisted on the execution of several of the survivors of the 'High Court' that had condemned his father to death. The body of Cromwell was dragged from its tomb in Westminster to be flung into the common grave of criminals near Tyburn, and his head was spiked on Westminster Hall. Charles was strongly in favour of conciliation in England, and he issued a decree of toleration for both Catholics and Non-conformists. It was the Parliament that opposed it.

The Anglican bishops were restored to their sees and a conference of bishops and leading Presbyterian divines met in London to arrange a new settlement of religion on 'comprehensive lines'. It ended in disagreement, and Parliament passed a new Act of Uniformity that obliged every beneficed clergyman to subscribe to the use of a new Prayer Book,¹ by St. Bartholomew's Day (12 August 1662). On that day 1,200 Presbyterian and Independent clergymen who had occupied the churches and parishes had to resign their appointment. Before this some 800 had resigned. Confiscated Church lands were restored to the Church of England, and Parliament took some steps to compensate Cavaliers for the loss of their property. The settlement arrived at was only a partial success and left many who had fought on the Royal side in the Civil Wars complaining of the ingratitude of princes.

In Ireland, where there had been a general welcome for the Restoration, Ormonde arrived in Dublin as Lord Lieutenant. The persecution of the Catholics ended for years to come, the Parliament was restored and a commission was appointed to deal with claims for lands confiscated under the Cromwellian settlement. Those who had interests at court regained their lost estates, sometimes with considerable additions. Ormonde thus enlarged his property by obtaining a grant of 130,000

¹ In this new edition of the Book of Common Prayer a special service was added to commemorate the death of 'King Charles the Martyr', and another in thanking for the return of Charles II.

acres. The Scottish Puritans in Ulster fared well. Some of the Irish Catholics were given a share of their lost lands; others were granted leases of a moderate part of land held by the great landowners. But numbers were given little or nothing, and many were left in utter poverty.

The Scottish Parliament also met again. Prelacy was restored, and the State bishops returned to their sees, but Presbyterianism was recognized as the religion of great masses of the people outside the Highlands, and the ministers of the Kirk were to remain in their parishes on condition of taking an oath of allegiance. The more rigorous members of the Kirk denounced this acceptance of compromise as apostasy from the Covenant and an alliance with Prelacy and 'Popery in disguise'. They denounced the King as an apostate from the Covenant he had solemnly accepted when he came to Scotland in 1650. Banned by the law, they met for prayer and preaching in hidden places in the towns and open-air meetings in the country. These were declared to be seditious assemblies, and harried and broken up by flying columns of the government forces. Any show of resistance meant ruthless slaughter, the leaders being executed by drumhead court-martials or sent to Edinburgh to be hanged in the Grassmarket. This persecution was the work of Scottish lawyers and soldiers. Among the latter a gallant soldier of fortune, John Graham of Claverhouse, who after serving abroad first with the French under Turenne and then against them under the Prince of Orange, returned to Scotland, where his harrying of the Covenanters became the subject of legend and romance. In the latter years of Charles's reign, after a party of fanatics had murdered James Sharp, who had abandoned Presbyterianism for promotion to the see of St. Andrews, the Covenanters defeated Claverhouse in an attempt to disperse one of their gatherings, and the rising that followed ended in their defeat at Bothwell Brigg near Glasgow.

In England Charles was the first English king that had a standing army. In London he had two regiments of Foot Guards, the Grenadiers formed from the Cavaliers, and the Coldstreams, a regiment taken over from Monk's army, and two

troops of horse, the Life Guards—Cavaliers who were addressed on parade as ‘Gentlemen’—and the Royal Horse Guards, formed of Cromwellian veterans. Other regiments were added later. When in 1662 the King married a Portuguese Catholic princess, Catherine of Braganza, and formed an alliance with Portugal, her dowry included the grant of free trade with Brazil and the Indies and the cession of Bombay in the East and Tangier in Morocco. The ‘Queen’s Own Regiment’ was raised to garrison Tangier, and as it was to fight the Moors its badge was a Christian emblem, the Paschal Lamb.

In the organization of his army and the reorganization of the navy the King received zealous and efficient service from his brother, the Duke of York, who during his exile had served with distinction in the French army. When war broke out with the Dutch over the old dispute about home and colonial trade, James commanded the fleet in more than one successful action. The war gave the Dutch colony in North America to the English, and New Amsterdam was renamed New York in honour of the King’s brother. But while there was war on the sea there were trying times in England. In 1665 plague swept the country and tens of thousands died. In the hot summer of the following year most of the city of London was laid in ruin by a fire that raged for three days.

In the closing year of the war Charles was in desperate straits for money, partly as the result of his personal extravagance, but also owing to the fact that he never received more than a fraction of the inadequate sums Parliament voted to him. In the winter of 1666–7, with peace in prospect, he decided that the fleet might be safely laid up in the ports, and nothing done to refit for another campaign. It was said that he was lavishing money on his ‘amusements’ while sailors were clamouring for their pay in London. Peace negotiations were still dragging on slowly, when in June 1667 De Ruyter appeared on the east coast with 80 sail, made a dash for the Thames, forced the boom that barred the Medway, and carried off the finest ship in the navy, the *Royal Charles*, after burning three others and a large supply of stores in Chatham dockyard. This disastrous raid, over-

shadowing all earlier successes, was the last event of the war. Parliament became hostile and asked for an inquiry into the waste of money it had voted for the national defence. Clarendon was made a scapegoat to protect the King and was dismissed from office.

Charles had already been in friendly relations with Louis XIV. In 1662 he had sold Dunkirk to him for five million livres. He now turned to the French King for aid against any further opposition in England. In the spring of 1670 he dissolved the Parliament elected on his accession, and entered into negotiations with Louis which resulted in a secret treaty signed at Dover in the summer. It included an agreement that Charles should support the claim of a French candidate to the Spanish Crown in the event of the reigning king leaving no direct heir, and that military support and subsidies would be given by France to Charles in the event of the opposition in England becoming armed resistance. But without waiting for any such crisis Charles was soon receiving liberal grants of money from Louis, and thus becoming the pensioner of France. Yet at the same time Barillon, the French ambassador in London, kept in touch not only with prominent men in the opposition, but also with members of the King's Privy Council, and was making payments to them out of the secret service fund at his disposal.

In March 1671 the Duchess of York (a daughter of Clarendon) died, after having become a Catholic shortly before. Her two daughters, Mary and Anne, had been educated as Protestants. It is not quite certain when the Duke of York became a Catholic, but it was shortly before or after his wife's death. This action was kept secret for a while but soon became the subject of widespread rumour. In the following year the King, claiming a right to dispense from the enforcement of the law, issued a 'Declaration of Indulgence' giving religious liberty to both Catholics and Nonconformists. Both Houses of Parliament protested that such a general dispensation from the law was invalid, and next year they carried a 'Test Act' disqualifying from public office any who refused the 'test' of not only taking the oath of allegiance but also publicly 'receiving the sacrament'

from a minister of the Established Church. After some hesitation the King gave it his royal assent. The Duke of York resigned his office of Lord High Admiral, and another Catholic, Clifford, retired from the Privy Council.

In the following September the Duke of York married by proxy the Princess Mary Beatrice of Este, sister of the reigning Duke of Modena (generally known in England as Mary of Modena). She arrived in England in November. Parliament had petitioned the King to prevent this Italian Catholic landing in the country, and on his refusal proclaimed the day of her arrival a 'day of fasting and humiliation'. A storm of anti-Catholic agitation followed. Charles had had no children by his wife, Queen Catherine, though several illegitimate sons of the King had been publicly recognized, and provided with fortunes and titles in the peerage. The Catholic Duke of York was the heir apparent to the Crown and, if there were a son of his marriage with Mary of Modena, the prospect was that there would be a succession of Catholic kings; hence the new agitation against the Catholics. The King attempted to conciliate public opinion by agreeing to the marriage of Mary of York with his nephew, the Prince of Orange, now regarded as the leading champion of the Protestant cause on the Continent(1677).

To discredit the Catholics and the Duke of York the leaders of the opposition lent their support to the infamous perjuries of Titus Oates and his colleagues, and a reign of terror followed their revelations of a 'Popish plot' to murder the King, massacre the Protestants, and re-establish Catholicity by a rising in England backed by a French invasion. The Duke of York was specially aimed at. The first victim executed was his wife's secretary, Edward Coleman, hanged at Tyburn (3 December 1678). Oates swore that a Protestant magistrate had been murdered in her rooms at Somerset House. The prisons were crowded with Catholics, and executions continued until that of Oliver Plunket, the aged Catholic Primate of Ireland, on the 11th July 1681. Charles was so weak as to yield to the storm and sign the death warrants of the victims, though he never believed in the alleged plot.

In the session of 1680, while the terror still continued, the House had passed a Bill to exclude James from the succession and choose a Protestant sovereign. Extremists proposed the King's illegitimate son, James Scott, Duke of Monmouth. Others suggested Princess Mary and her husband, William of Orange. The House of Lords rejected the Bill and the King dissolved Parliament and summoned a new Parliament to meet at Oxford. The King arrived with a cavalry escort to open it on the 21st March 1681. The opposition came armed, in fear of a *coup d'état*. Shaftesbury, suspected by many of being the promoter of the Popish plot revelations, proposed the succession of Monmouth. The King declared he would never consent to his brother's exclusion, and once more dissolved Parliament. The plot story was now being discredited, and there was a growing fear of another civil war. There was a reaction in the King's favour, increased before long by the report of plots against his own and his brother's liberty or life by extremists of the opposition. Charles's health was declining. On the 2nd February 1685 he was taken ill, and he died four days later. He had refused the proffered ministrations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and asked for a priest. He was received into the Catholic Church by a Benedictine, Fr. Huddleston, one of those who had helped him and saved his liberty and life in the flight from Worcester.

ii. *The Reign of James II.* The Duke of York was proclaimed King without opposition. He met his first Parliament on the 19th May and with only a few voices raised in opposition it granted him a liberal revenue. Monmouth and the Duke of Argyll were refugees in Holland. With a handful of their fellow exiles they attempted to raise a revolt in the Scottish Lowlands and the west of England; both failed. Argyll was captured and executed at Edinburgh. Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis with about 80 followers, collected some 2,000 men, mostly peasants and a few townsmen, assumed the title of 'James II', and offered a reward for the head of 'the Pretender James Duke of York'. No men of influence joined him and his campaign ended in his defeat at Sedgemoor in July. He was

captured and executed in London. His unfortunate followers were punished with merciless severity.

There had been no movement in favour of Argyll or Monmouth anywhere else in England or Scotland, and when, after a brief session, the friendly Parliament adjourned, James imagined that he could renew with good hope of success the policy of toleration his brother had been forced to abandon. But his zeal was without prudence.

Claiming that the Crown had the power of dispensing from the enforcement of penalties and disabilities, he began to fill some vacancies in the army by commissioning Catholics as officers with a dispensation from the Test. He took the same course in appointing civil officials. There was a strong protest in the autumn session of Parliament, but James insisted that he was acting within his rights. Louis XIV in that same year had revoked the Edict of Nantes and begun the expulsion of the Huguenots from France. In spite of the fact that James had offered generous hospitality to expelled Huguenots, the rumour was put about that he was preparing an army led by Catholics to carry through some stroke against the English Protestants. As he persisted in his policy it was said he must be acting under orders from the Pope. The fact was that, as James proceeded still farther, his representative at Rome was warned by Innocent XI of the un wisdom of his action. The same Pope had already expressed his strong disapproval of the French King's sweeping action against the Huguenots.

James sent a Catholic, Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, to act for him in Ireland, first as Commander of the Forces and then as Lord Lieutenant. Tyrconnel began by not only commissioning Catholic officers for the army but also filling the ranks with Catholic recruits and forming new regiments on the same plan. In England the King began to appoint Catholics to fellowships and other posts of dignity in the universities and commissioning Catholic magistrates. Claiming that, as King of England, even though he himself did not belong to the Established Church it was his right and duty to deal with abuses and irregularities of its clergy, he appointed for this purpose an Ecclesiastical

Commission under the presidency of Judge Jeffreys. One of its first acts was to censure the Bishop of London for not suspending a cleric whose preaching was taken to be injurious to the King.

After sounding several members of both Houses as to the possibility of repealing the penal laws against Catholics, he ventured on the 4th April 1687 to issue a 'Declaration of Indulgence', granting liberty of worship to both Catholics and Non-conformists, and suspending the enforcement of all laws against them. Some of the Dissenters thanked him for this concession, but large numbers protested against it, as intended less to benefit them than to assist the Catholics and facilitate the spread of the 'Popery' they detested. The headship of Magdalen College at Oxford was vacant, and James ordered the fellows to fill it by electing his nominee, a Catholic. On the 15th April they rejected this order and elected a Protestant. They were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission and told the election was void and they must choose the King's nominee. All but two refused. They were expelled from the college, their fellowships were forfeited, and the King's candidate was installed.

The summer of 1688 brought a crisis. In April the King republished his 'Declaration of Indulgence', with a direction that, on a given Sunday, it was to be read from all the pulpits of the Established Church. Seven of the bishops, among them the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed a joint petition urging the King not to impose this order on the clergy. Six of them presented this petition to the King. He told them he could not withdraw his order, and added that by objecting to it they were 'raising a standard of rebellion'. On the appointed day most of the bishops and clergy refused to read the declaration. In some of the churches where it was read the people went away before the reading could be completed. The King ordered that the seven bishops should be indicted and tried for issuing in their petition a seditious document.

On the 10th June, while the preparations were in progress for the trial of the bishops, a son was born of the Queen Consort,

Mary of Modena, after fifteen years of childless marriage. So far numbers of James's opponents had counted on his reign ending without a direct heir, and the Catholic King being succeeded by a sound Protestant sovereign. Now the chances were that there would be a line of Catholic sovereigns. Extremists set in circulation a wild fiction that no Prince of Wales had come into being, but a new-born child had been smuggled into the Queen's apartments to be presented as her offspring. It was in the midst of the excitement that followed that the trial of the seven bishops opened in Westminster Hall on the 29th June. Late in the afternoon the jury retired to consider their verdict, and after a long delay sent word that they could not agree. The judges, in accord with the custom of the time, ordered that they should further consider their verdict, and be locked up for the night, without any meals being supplied to them. Eleven were for acquittal of the bishops, but one stubborn juror, who frankly told his colleagues that if he agreed to this he would lose his business orders from king and court, and that he would therefore hold on even if he were starved, insisted on a verdict of guilty. Next morning his resistance broke down, and a verdict of 'Not guilty' was returned. The Londoners hailed it with rejoicings, and the army James had concentrated in camp on Hounslow Heath cheered the news of the acquittal.

The leaders of the opposition had already been in touch with William of Orange. That same afternoon they sent a message to Holland inviting him to come to their help with an army 'to protect the liberties of England'. The message was conveyed by Admiral Herbert, disguised as a sailor on a coasting craft. William accepted the invitation, though he could not take action at once.

The growing agitation in England and the rumours of danger from Holland alarmed the King into concessions. He announced that a Parliament would be chosen with no Catholic members; he abolished the Ecclesiastical Commission; and brought back the expelled fellows to Magdalen College. At the same time he kept his army together and stopped all leave for officers of both army and navy. He hoped to the last that

the arrival of a foreign army in England would rally the people to him.

In the year before William of Orange had failed in an attempt to bring England into the alliance he had formed against France (the League of Augsburg). On the 18th October 1688, when the preparations for his expedition to England were far advanced, fearing that it might alienate some of the Catholic Powers in the League, he sent them an assurance that his only object was to restore tranquillity in England, with toleration for the Catholics, which would facilitate the English forces being brought into the League against Louis XIV, and that he was taking a military force only for his security, and not for conquest or any personal ambition. The States-General of Holland added a declaration that they were lending the Prince of Orange the help of 'a few ships and auxiliaries' not to dethrone his uncle, but to secure a free Parliament in London, and detach the English King from dependence on France.

The 'few ships' with which William sailed for England were a fleet of 60 warships, with transports conveying an army of some 30,000 men. On the 5th November the expedition arrived in Torbay, and the vanguard of the army began its march on Exeter.

James set his army in movement towards the west, pushing on as far as Salisbury. Here the first desertions to the Dutch army began, at first in no serious numbers. News came of some gatherings of armed parties declaring for William in various parts of the country. The stream of desertions increased and amongst those who went over to the enemy were the King's daughter Anne, and John Churchill, an officer of rank, destined to be famous in future years as the Duke of Marlborough. Churchill's conduct was of an especial baseness as he had been fervent in his protestations of loyalty to James and had been entrusted with the command of James's troops by a sovereign who made the mistake of relying upon his pledged word. James began a retirement of his force towards London, and on the 27th November himself returned to Whitehall. He formed a council of forty peers, informed them that he was preparing to

issue writs for the election of a new Parliament, and named three noblemen to go to William's head-quarters and open negotiations for an armistice. All three were among the conspirators who had long been corresponding with Holland.

The King was now losing heart. He did not know whom he could trust. On the 10th December he sent his queen and the child away to take refuge in France and next day left Whitehall to follow them. But news soon reached the Council that he had been stopped in Kent and was in the hands of a mob at Faversham. The peers sent the Horse Guards to rescue him, a body of 200 men who were joined on the way by many country gentlemen. This escort brought him back through London to Whitehall on the 16th. Disorders broke out in London and riotous mobs burned the Catholic chapels, sacked several Catholic houses, and indulged in insulting demonstrations before the embassies of the Catholic Powers. The invaders were now closing on the capital, and a Dutch brigade pushed into Westminster and sent a regiment to occupy Whitehall. The palace guard was under command of a brave old Cavalier, a veteran of eighty years of age, Lord Craven. He prepared for resistance, but the King insisted there must be no bloodshed, and surrendered to the Dutch officers. He was sent away under escort to Rochester, where he stayed for only four days, respectfully treated and loosely guarded. On Christmas Eve he slipped away, embarked on a fishing-boat, and reached France.

William, who had been joined by the Princess Mary, entered London in triumph. There were no elections, but an assembly was convoked which was known as the Convention Parliament. It was made up of all survivors of the Parliaments of Charles II (Catholics being excluded), with the lord mayor of London and aldermen and members of the city corporation. In the House of Lords an unsuccessful proposal was made that James should still be King, but with all executive power in the hands of a regent. But the House of Commons on the 1st February 1689 passed a resolution that 'King James II having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution, and by the advice of the Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental

laws, and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant, and that experience has shown it to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of the Protestant religion to be governed by a Popish Prince'.

After further discussions and conferences between the two Houses it was further resolved on the 12th February 'that the crown and regal dignity shall be held conjointly by William and Mary'.

iii. *Reign of William III and Mary II.* The change of rulers was accepted without any active opposition in England, though not a few in all classes were opposed to it. Thus several of the Anglican prelates (including Sancroft of Canterbury, one of the seven bishops tried at Westminster) refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, protesting they were still bound by their oath to King James. In Scotland, though a Convention at Edinburgh accepted the accession of William and Mary, the governor of the castle refused to surrender it to the new government and Graham of Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee in the Scottish peerage, called the Highlanders to arms for their 'true King'. A column of Lowland troops sent to attack him under General Mackay was swept away in a few minutes in one wild charge of the Highland swordsmen at the Pass of Killcrankie (27 July 1689). Dundee was shot dead by a bullet of the one volley fired by Mackay's men and, having thus lost their trusted leader, the clansmen dispersed, though for more than sixty years after the loyalty of most of the clans was traditionally pledged not to the King in London but to the exiled Stuart line. Soon after this fruitless victory Edinburgh Castle surrendered to the new government.

It was only in Ireland that the English Revolution led to a prolonged struggle. During the four years' reign of James II in England the Irish Catholics, who probably numbered some 800,000 in a population of about 1,100,000, had enjoyed toleration and even favour from his government in Dublin. The Lord Lieutenant, Tyrconnel, had expanded the Irish army establishment to forty-eight regiments and filled them chiefly with

Catholic officers and rank and file. As the news came from England of the growing tension between the Crown and the politicians, the Protestant settlers—the landowners and their dependants, largely men holding their lands in virtue of recent confiscations—became alarmed, and alarm developed into panic on the news of possible civil war. A flight from Ulster had already begun, and the numbers of those who fled to England and Scotland increased when the news spread that King James had been welcomed by Louis XIV who, now that his lifelong enemy William of Orange was in possession of England, was preparing to help James to his rights at least in his Kingdom of Ireland. Bands of Irish irregulars began driving off the cattle of the English settlers and in the south searching their houses for arms. The Ulster Protestants began to crowd into their strongholds of Derry and Enniskillen, proclaimed William and Mary, and attempted to hold western Ulster against an Irish army under Richard Hamilton, who had come to Dublin as an envoy of King William and then thrown in his lot with Tyrconnel and the Irish. The Ulster levies fell back on Derry which Hamilton had besieged in April 1689, but about Enniskillen they held their own and won some successes against the Irish. The defenders of this crowd of refugees at Derry were reduced almost to starvation, but no attempt was made to storm the place, and when on the 30th July an English squadron broke the boom that barred access by the river Foyle and brought abundant supplies to the city, the Irish army abandoned the siege and retired eastward.

James had been helped by Louis XIV to prepare for a landing in Ireland. A fleet of twenty war-ships concentrated at Brest and a crowd of transports. James embarked with a hundred French officers, 1,200 Irish officers and men, arms for 10,000 recruits, and a military chest of over £100,000 in gold coin. Three English peers and an Anglican bishop went with him, and a French nobleman as his ally's ambassador. On the 12th March 1689 he landed at Kinsale, occupied Cork, and then went on to Dublin, where he summoned a Parliament to meet on the 7th May.

The House of Lords was made up of a few Irish peers and six new peers created by James, and four bishops. (There had been a flight of Protestant peers and bishops to England.) In the Commons there were 232 members, 165 of Anglo-Irish descent, 65 of old Irish families, mostly of those whose lands had been confiscated. There were only 6 Protestant members. This Irish Catholic Parliament proclaimed freedom of worship for all, whether Catholics or Protestants, with the proviso that tithes paid by Catholics should support the Catholic clergy, and tithes collected from Protestant landholders should go to the Anglican and Presbyterian clergy. No English statute was to have force in Ireland, Irish legislation was not to be vetoed or revised by the English Privy Council, and there were to be no appeals to English courts.

James showed little energy during these first months in Ireland; he paid a visit to the besiegers of Derry and then returned to Dublin, attending chiefly to politics while his French and Irish officers were organizing his forces. In August, Schomberg (William III's second-in-command when he landed in England) arrived in Ulster with a small mixed British and foreign force. He captured Carrickfergus, received reinforcements, and pushed towards Dublin as far as Dundalk, where his further progress was barred by an Irish army under the Duke of Berwick. Schomberg entrenched his forces at Dundalk and, though his men were dying of pestilence, Berwick made no attempt to attack him. An early winter put an end to all active operations, and Schomberg retreated to Lisburn.

In the spring of 1690 Louis sent to Ireland six regiments of French troops under De Lauzun—about 5,000 men. But it was hardly a reinforcement, for he required that in return the same number of trained troops of the Irish army, Justin McCarthy's brigade of three strong regiments, should be sent to France. On the 14th June William III landed with an army of English, Scots, Dutch, and other nations at Carrickfergus. He marched southward, picking up Schomberg on the way, with his force of English, French Huguenots, and Scoto-Irish Ulster levies. He halted near Belfast to rest and organize his force, now

numbering some 36,000 with 40 heavy guns. King James left Dublin and assembled an army of about 25,000 men (including Lauzun's French regiments) at Dundalk. This force was weak in artillery, having only 12 small field pieces. When William resumed his advance the Irish army fell back and occupied a position on the south bank of the Boyne. On the 1st July William's army forced the crossing of the river, and the Irish army retired towards Dublin, only to evacuate the city and move towards the west of Ireland, while King James, in a fit of disappointment, embarked at Waterford and went back to France.

The Irish leaders continued the war. They were soon encouraged by news that things were going badly for William III's arms elsewhere. On the 30th June De Tourville, the ablest of the French admirals, had defeated a combined English and Dutch fleet off Beachy Head and was in command of the English Channel; and in Flanders the French under Luxembourg had defeated an army of Dutch, Spanish, and Austro-Germans at Fleurus, on the same day that the Battle of the Boyne was fought.

The Irish were falling back to make a stand on the line of the Shannon and in Limerick, withdrawing several small garrisons from towns that were occupied by William's advance in pursuit. De Lauzun declared that Limerick could not be defended and went off to Galway with his French regiments. Sarsfield, an Irish officer who had served in the Life Guards under Charles II and followed James II to France and returned with him to Ireland, took command at Limerick. As he held the north shore of the Shannon, and its crossings were in Irish hands, the city could only be attacked by William on the south side. He began the siege but was waiting for his heavy guns before pushing the attack. They were being escorted to his lines by a handful of English cavalry which had halted for the night only seven miles away at Ballynceting village, when Sarsfield with 500 Irish horse, having crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, surprised the ill-guarded bivouac of the convoy, scattered the escort, seized the guns and powder wagons, loaded

the cannon to the muzzle, piled up a bonfire of powder barrels around them, fired the pile in many places, and leaving the mass to explode in a roar that woke the country-side for miles, rode back to Limerick. King William abandoned the siege and returned to London, leaving his forces in Ireland under a Dutch general, Ginkel. The campaign ended with the capture of Cork by a force under Churchill (who had been ennobled by King William as Earl of Marlborough). It was convoyed and supported by a fleet. Kinsale surrendered to him under condition that the 12,000 Irish troops in the town should be free to join Sarsfield at Limerick.

Next year (1691) Ginkel renewed the siege of Limerick. But the line of the Shannon was forced. Athlone was captured on the 30th June and the Irish army defeated at Aughrim on the 1st July. The river line was thus lost, and Limerick could be attacked on north and south. It had made a brave defence, even after the Dutch artillery had breached its walls. An English fleet had appeared in the Shannon, and the supplies of the garrison were running short. In the last days of September negotiations were opened with Ginkel. He was anxious to end the war in Ireland, for William wanted troops to be set free for the continental war. On the 1st October the capitulation known as the 'Treaty of Limerick' was signed.

It was a treaty of peace. The Irish officers and soldiers were free to go to the Continent and take service in any foreign army, receiving passports and conveyance from the Government, and taking with them their families and all portable property; the Catholics of Ireland were to have the same freedom of worship as they had enjoyed under Charles II, and their Majesties William and Mary engaged to obtain from an Irish Parliament 'such further security as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their religion'; there were to be no forfeitures; and Catholics were to be free to enter into the learned professions or any trade. King William signed the treaty and confirmed it by the issue of letters patent, but the Irish Parliament, entirely made up of members representing the English colonial party, passed an Act which professed to be a 'confirma-

tion' of it, but actually, by omission of its most important clauses (such as that promising religious freedom) and the mutilation of others, made it worth no more than a torn scrap of paper. The English Parliament had already passed an Act requiring all members of the Irish Parliament to take an oath not only of allegiance but also of 'abjuration of Popery'.

The Irish Parliament, in a series of sessions that went on into the reign of Queen Anne, proceeded to elaborate a penal code that was a masterpiece of oppressive legislation, intended to debase and impoverish the Catholics.

Catholic bishops, Jesuits, monks, and friars were to be banished from the land. Catholic secular priests were to be registered for one parish, and forbidden to exercise their ministry outside of it. If they blessed the marriage of a Catholic and a Protestant they were liable to penalties that finally were increased to death. Such marriages were all to be void. Where the priests could be educated in future was not explained. Such education was illegal, for Catholics were not to open schools in Ireland, and if they sent their sons to schools abroad they were liable to fine and imprisonment. Catholics were barred from all official posts or dignities, and from the professions. If they held property it must be divided on their death among all the sons, but if any son became a Protestant he could disinherit all his brothers and take everything. They could not serve on juries. In certain cases if prosecuted for a breach of the law the Crown need not prove their guilt. That was presumed and they must prove their innocence. These are only some of the features of this abominable code of laws enacted in breach of the treaty ratified by the King. In defiance of the promise of amnesty there were forfeitures of the lands of the Catholic nobles and gentry who had stood by King James. Some hundreds of thousands of Irish acres were thus confiscated. King William handed out large portions of this plunder to the Dutch and French Huguenot officers when he raised them to the peerage—to Bentinck, now Duke of Portland; Keppel, now Earl of Albemarle; Ruvigny, who became Earl of Galway; and Ginkel, Earl of Athlone.

In England itself, soon after his accession, the new King's partiality for the foreigners he had brought with him, his largesses and honours for them, and the fact that he trusted not to English but Dutch guards, and kept foreign troops in England, which had to provide British soldiers and sailors and money levied by English taxes for his war with France, all combined to produce suspicion and discontent among not a few of his English adherents. Some prominent men opened a secret correspondence with King James. Marlborough let him know that he was thinking seriously of moving in the House of Lords that King William should send away his foreign troops, and if this was refused the army, in which Dutchmen were being promoted over British officers, would be ready to declare for the exiled king. Marlborough also openly sided with the Princess Anne in a dispute with her sister, now Queen Mary. William dismissed him from court and deprived him of the offices he held.

It may be that this attitude of some of the leading men was really meant to provide for the eventuality of James returning. For the French armies were successful in the Netherlands, and Louis was making serious preparations to bring back James to England. An army which included the Irish Brigade in the French service was assembling in the Cotentin Peninsula, and a French fleet was cruising off its headland of La Hogue to cover its transport to the west of England. On the 12th May 1692 the English fleet under Admiral Russell attacked the French fleet off the headland from which James watched the battle. The French were completely defeated. Several of their ships were burned and the remnant escaped, piloted by a fisherman to find shelter behind the yet uncharted reef barrier of the Breton coast. The expedition to England was now impossible.

In the same year William III laid the foundation of what has since grown into a colossal structure—the National Debt. He borrowed from the merchants of London what was then regarded as the large sum of a million sterling against bonds with no fixed term of repayment, but bearing an annual interest. Two years later he gave its charter to the Bank of England,

founded by a group of business men. A popular act of his reign was the abolition of the censorship of the press, a reform initiated by the House of Commons. Little *Courants* and *Intelligencers*, though newspapers of limited circulation, appeared at regular dates, but there was greater influence exerted by pamphlets and tracts, often written by men whose names are still famous in English literature, and usually produced and circulated at the expense of some political leader or party group. There were some other reforms. Henceforth persons indicted for high treason were to have a lawyer to defend them, a safeguard not allowed till then. There was one alleviation of the penal laws against Catholics. Priesthood was no longer to be high treason punished with a cruel death, but several statutes still menaced priests with banishment or imprisonment for life. And some new statutes were added to codes of persecution: among them laws so fantastically devised that they were never enforced. Such was the Act forbidding any Catholic to live in London or come within ten miles of it.

The Peace of Ryswick in 1697 had ended the long war of the League of Augsburg, in which England had fought as one of the Allies against France. The English army was reduced next year to 10,000 men, and William consented to send his Dutch guards home to Holland. The Queen had died in 1694 after a sudden brief illness. The King now resided in England. Mary had left no children. Her sister Anne had married before the Revolution a Danish prince who came to live in England. All her children died in infancy or boyhood. In 1701 Parliament passed an Act of Settlement to secure a Protestant succession after the reigns of William and of Anne if she survived him. The Crown was to pass to the nearest descendant of James I, exclusive of all Catholics. This eventually gave it to a German prince, George, the Elector of Hanover, the great-grandson of the first Stuart King of England. To the Act of Settlement were added provisions that any future king must be or become a member of the Church of England, and that none but Englishmen should be Members of the Privy Council, or Parliament, or hold any public office.

The clouds of another war storm were gathering. Charles II, the last of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty, was in broken health, and had no direct heir to succeed him. Louis XIV had married a Spanish princess, as also had his brother Philip, Duke of Orleans. There would certainly be a French claim to the Crowns of Spain and the Spanish Empire on the death of the reigning king. After an attempt to arrive at a compromise with Louis, William signed a treaty pledging England and Holland to unite with Austria in opposing any proposal to unite the Crowns of France and Spain.

On the 6th September James II had died in exile at St. Germain. Louis at once recognized his son as James III, rightful King of England. In England this was regarded as an open menace from France, and William had no difficulty in obtaining a vote from Parliament for raising the army to 40,000 men. He had been reconciled with Marlborough and he appointed him commander-in-chief. He hoped, however, himself to take command.

But his end was near. Hampton Court had long been his favourite residence. He had laid out its Dutch gardens and employed Wren, who had rebuilt London and designed St. Paul's, to substitute for one front of Wolsey's palace new buildings in a more modern style. On the 20th February 1702 he was riding in the park of the palace when his horse stumbled at a mole-hill and threw him heavily. He was badly injured and died in the palace on the 8th March leaving a legacy of war to England.

iv. *Reign of Anne.* At her accession Anne was in her thirty-eighth year, a homely, good-humoured lady, completely under the influence of Sarah Churchill, Marlborough's wife, for years her bosom friend. Marlborough was commander-in-chief of the army and with his wife's help secured the appointment as Lord Treasurer of Sidney Godolphin, who was a recognized expert in finance, and had held office more than once in the preceding reigns. By Anne he was promoted first to knighthood and then to an earldom. One of his daughters was married to the Marlboroughs' son, and so with Godolphin

holding the leading place among Anne's ministers, and the Countess of Marlborough the Queen's favourite, the Marlboroughs held a strong position.

With constitutional rule now firmly established, the Ministers of the Crown, formerly only the Secretaries of the Privy Council, were gradually becoming more dependent on the support of Parliament than the goodwill of the sovereign. Government by a Cabinet depending on organized parties in Parliament was soon to be the chief force in politics. In the England of the early years of the eighteenth century there were three parties. The thorough Jacobites, still loyal to the exiled Catholic Stuart line, were like the Catholic remnant in England debarred from place or power in the political world. The great mass of the nation was divided between the two political parties of the Tories and the Whigs.¹ The former professed to be the champions of order and authority in Church and State, the latter to be the true representatives of constitutional freedom. The Whigs found many of their supporters among the men of the business world, now that English trade was rapidly expanding and success in trade and commerce was producing a new class of wealthy landowners. The strength of the Tories was largely among the old landed gentry and the country squires. The Queen in her first Parliament had declared that she was thoroughly English at heart, and there is no doubt that she disliked the prospect of her successor being one of the minor German princes, and would have been pleased if success had crowned the efforts made by some of her Tory friends to persuade her brother 'James III' (the 'pretender' in English legal phrase—the 'King over the water' of the Jacobites) to secure the succession by renouncing his Catholic belief, a proposal he always rejected as impossible. She had chosen all her first ministers from the Tory party, but Godolphin and probably others among them were often in secret correspondence with the exiled king and his court at St. Germain's.

¹ Both these party names dated from the years of Charles II and originally were mere nicknames, Tory meaning an Irish outlaw, and Whig being used in Scotland by the Cavaliers as a nickname for the Covenanters.

Only one attempt was made during Anne's reign to bring back the son of James II. In 1707, after years of negotiations, and in the face of much opposition in Scotland, an Act for the Union of all Great Britain under one Crown and Parliament was passed. The chief gain for Scotland was that of equal trading rights with England, but many of the Scots regarded the Union as sacrificing the national freedom of Scotland and submitting to the rule of another nation. The Jacobites denounced it as a disgraceful surrender. Louis XIV and the exiles in France thought that it was a favourable moment for an attempt to proclaim 'James III' in the Highlands. In the summer of the following year Edinburgh was alarmed at the appearance of three French warships in the Firth of Forth and the report that the Pretender, his friends, and some French troops were on board. The expedition was intended to carry out a descent on the Perthshire shore, but as an English fleet was approaching the attempt was abandoned and the three ships went back to France.

During almost the whole of the reign of Anne, England was at war with France as the ally of Holland and the Empire. The record of the war need not be followed here. (It is dealt with in the pages that trace the course of events on the Continent.) Marlborough proved himself an exceptionally able and fortunate commander. His first successes were rewarded with promotion to a dukedom. His splendid victory of Blenheim in 1704 secured for him the reward of a large grant of money, an estate, and the palace that still bears the name of his triumph. Towards the close of Anne's reign, after a quarrel between the Queen and Lady Marlborough which banished the favourite from court, Marlborough fell a victim to his political enemies. A charge was made against him of misusing and embezzling public money, and he was deprived of all his offices. But everything was restored to him when George I came to the throne.

The war with France was ended in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht. England recognized the grandson of the French King as King of Spain, under the title of Philip V, and Louis undertook to dismiss 'James III' and his friends from France. (They

went to Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine, still an independent duchy.) Gibraltar and Minorca were ceded to England and the French colonies of the Hudson Bay territories, Newfoundland, and Acadia (Nova Scotia) also became English possessions.

In Ireland further drastic laws against the Catholics were added to the penal code by the Dublin Parliament. In the second year of the Queen's reign when the first steps were being taken towards the union of Scotland and England, the Irish Parliament had petitioned the Crown for a legislative union with England, and the London Government had refused to hear of it. The chief motive for the petition was the hope of removing the ruinous fetters imposed on Irish trade by the English Parliament in the preceding reign, when it was forbidden to import any goods directly from the English colonies into Ireland. Everything must come through English ports, and then came a further enactment forbidding the export from Ireland of wool or woollen goods to any port in the world except those on the west coast of England. A union of the two countries would, it was hoped (like the Scottish Act), bring free trade. One important result of this law to prevent competition with the English woollen trade, and supply wool at low rates for English looms, was that there sprang up a flourishing smuggling business from Irish creeks and bays, and the smugglers carried wool to France, with students for the Catholic colleges, and recruits for the Irish Brigade, to bring back contraband wine and brandy, silk and lace, and also not a few priests and friars to face the dangers of the penal laws.

Viscount Bolingbroke, who had negotiated the Treaty of Utrecht, was the leading member of Anne's last ministry. He was a Tory like his colleagues, but also a Jacobite anxious at all costs to avoid the coming of a German dynasty. He was in close correspondence with 'James III' at Bar-le-Duc, and also with friends in France who gave hopes of aid from Louis XIV despite the treaty that disavowed the Stuart cause. He filled many posts in the public service with men who shared his hopes, and obtained commissions for Jacobites in the army. His plans were still incomplete when, on the 1st August 1714, the Queen

died after a short illness, George I was proclaimed and summoned from Hanover; and Bolingbroke fled to France, to become Secretary of State to 'James III' and open negotiations with Louis XIV for help in an attempt to restore the Stuart line.

8. THE UNITED PROVINCES (1647-1702)

i. *The Stadholder William II.* Before tracing the fortunes of the Dutch Republic in the second half of the seventeenth century it may be well to note some points that will make it easier to follow the course of these events. The Treaties of Westphalia (1648) recognized the independence of the 'United Provinces'. These were the districts of the northern Netherlands which, as the result of the successful revolt against Spain that began in the middle years of the sixteenth century, had formed a federation not unlike the earlier union of the Swiss Cantons. The governing body was the 'States-General', an assembly of delegates from the seven provinces of Holland and Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, Groningen, and Friesland. Utrecht had been the territory of a prince-bishop in Catholic days, Gelderland a duchy of the Middle Ages, and the other provinces formed feudal lordships and counties. Holland, extending from the North Sea shores to the Zuider Zee, was the most populous and prosperous of the provinces. It included the seaport cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the famous university city of Leyden, and the little town of The Hague, where the States-General usually met. Its influence in the confederacy was further strengthened by the fact that the Princes of the House of Orange held valuable possessions in the province, and had given to the new Republic the chief leader of its revolt, and by successive elections his line had become almost hereditary Stadholders (presidents and captains-general) of the State. His grandson William II of Orange succeeded to the Stadholdership on the death of his father, Prince Frederick Henry, in March 1647.

It was a critical time, for the negotiations at Münster and Osnabruck were making such good progress that peace seemed to be in sight. There were two parties in the Republic, the

Orange party, which was in favour of centralized rule and was decidedly militarist and suspected of monarchical tendencies, and opposed to it the States party, which insisted on the rights of the provinces to have a large control of local affairs, through their 'States' or provincial assemblies. They were anxious for peace, and had the support of the great commercial centres of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. They were the dominant party in the States-General, and before entrusting William with his commission as Stadholder they required from him an assurance that he would put no obstacle in the way of peace with Spain. The young prince was eager for opportunities of military distinction and, though he gave the required pledge, he secretly worked against the success of the negotiations. But he had to ratify the treaty in May 1648.

He tried to gain some compensating advantage when the States-General dealt with the financial policy of the Republic. Here the situation was anything but favourable. With a view to reducing the public debt, the States proposed to make large reductions of the army. In July 1643 they disbanded 32,000 men. Some such reduction of the forces under arms was usual in all countries at the close of a war, and the Stadholder agreed to it. But when further sweeping reductions were proposed he refused his consent, and a dispute began that lasted for two years, 1648-50, and almost ended in civil war.

The Stadholder suggested a compromise. He declared that he could not answer for the security of the frontier if, as the States proposed, a hundred and fifty companies of infantry were struck off the army establishment. He yielded so far as to agree to most of the rank and file of these units being dismissed, but insisted that the companies should still exist in skeleton form, a cadre of officers and sergeants being retained so that in the event of war they might be rapidly reorganized. Most of the States delegations were willing to accept this compromise, but the province of Holland, the most important of all, stood fast by the original demand (June 1650). Amsterdam was the centre of resistance. Its wealthy business community saw in the Stadholder's plan a covert provision for an

early renewal of the war. In August, after further unsuccessful negotiations, William attempted a *coup d'état*, and an armed force marched on Amsterdam. Warned in time the burghers closed their gates against the Orange forces, and prepared for resistance. But the City Council hesitated to plunge into civil war and entered into negotiations, ending in a practical surrender that left the Stadholder master of the situation. But in November he died of small-pox. While his father still lived he had married as a mere youth the Princess Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles I of England. A week after her husband's death she gave birth to a son, destined later to be famous as William III, the Stadholder of the United Provinces and King of Great Britain and Ireland.

ii. *The Grand Pensionary John de Witt*. All danger of a militarist and centralized rule in the Dutch Republic had now disappeared. The Orange party, crippled by the loss of a vigorous leader, and divided into rival groups, was powerless for years to come, and the States party took control of the situation. The Government was reorganized on a democratic basis. A national assembly of three hundred deputies met at The Hague on the 18th January 1651. The representatives of Amsterdam and the province of Holland were the dominant group in the deliberations that followed. They accepted as their leader a young lawyer, twenty-eight years of age, John de Witt, already distinguished for his intellectual gifts, his capacity as a man of good counsel, and his austere, unselfish life. The Assembly abolished the Stadholdership, and emphasized the authority of the civil power by choosing for the chief executive official (practically the President of the Republic) Adrian Pauw, the 'Pensionary'¹ of the Province of Holland. On his death in 1653

¹ Even before the War of Independence the provinces, cities, and towns of the Netherlands had considerable rights of local government. Their chief official was a lawyer, who presided at their council meetings and directed the execution of their decrees and resolutions, supervised their financial affairs, and generally carried out the work of local administration. He was the only paid member of the councils, and was generally known as the 'Raad-pensionaris' (pensionary of the council). Under the Republican régime the pensionary of Holland, the most important of the United Provinces, presided at the meetings of the Council of State, and practically acted in executive business as Minister of Finance and Foreign

John de Witt was chosen to succeed him, and held this high office for nearly twenty years.

The leading aims of his policy were to secure the Republican form of government by keeping in check the Orangist party, and to develop the wealth and prosperity of the country. When he became chief magistrate of the United Provinces, trade disputes and naval rivalry had involved them in war with Cromwell's Commonwealth of Great Britain and Ireland. It was a naval war in which there were several battles in the narrow seas, none of them giving a decisive result, but the Dutch fisheries in the North Sea and their trading ships in the English Channel suffered heavy losses. De Witt, at the cost of some concessions to England, negotiated the Peace of Westminster (5 April 1654). He refused, however, to accept a suggestion made by Cromwell that the Dutch and British Republics should unite to form a powerful Protestant State that would be mistress of the seas and safe from the rivalry of France and Spain.

Under the presidency of De Witt the Dutch Netherlands enjoyed a period of marked prosperity. He remodelled the finances and made a considerable reduction of the public debt. Agriculture flourished and there was a remarkable expansion of the maritime trade. Without counting small coasting and fishery craft the merchant marine of the Republic expanded until it numbered nearly 20,000 ships. By the occupation of Table Bay and the foundation of Capetown (1655) the Dutch secured a port for revictualling their ships on the way to the Eastern seas. In 1657 they expelled the Portuguese from Ceylon, and this new colonial possession became the base of operations for settlements and conquests in Java and other islands of the vast East Indian archipelago.¹ Batavia, the new

Affairs. But during the long years of war while the House of Orange was in control, he was subordinate to the authority of the Stadholder, who was Captain-General of the forces of the Republic. Under the new régime the pensionary was usually described by English and French writers as the 'Grand Pensionary'.

¹ The Dutch colonial expansion of the seventeenth century was disastrous for the flourishing Catholic missions of the Far East. This was partly the consequence of Catholicism being under the ban of the law in the Dutch Republic, and partly of opposition to anything connected with Spain and Portugal. The conquest of

capital of Java, became one of the chief commercial centres of the Far East. The Dutch East India Company long held the monopoly of trade in this island empire of the Far East, and opened a profitable commerce with China and Japan. Ultimately its dividends rose to 50 per cent. or more, for year after year.

Trading and colonial rivalry led to a second war between the Dutch Republic and England after the restoration of the Stuart line. It was almost entirely a conflict on the sea. The United Provinces possessed a strong fleet commanded by famous admirals, and for a while there was a serious challenge to British naval power. There were several battles in the North Sea. In the summer of 1666 the Dutch for a while blockaded the Thames with a fleet of over a hundred sail under Admiral de Ruyter. He raised the blockade when a British fleet of ninety-two battleships under Monk and Prince Rupert put to sea, and in a three days' battle off the Essex coast, in the last week of July, the Dutch were defeated and the victors raided the great trading station on the island of Terschelling at the entrance of the Zuider Zee. Some hundred and fifty Dutch trading craft were sunk or burned, and the raiders sacked and destroyed the warehouses on the island shore. The losses of the Dutch were estimated at over a million sterling.

By this time both sides were exhausted by the interruption of trade in three years of war. Next year negotiations for peace began, but before they gave any result there was a disaster for England that is still remembered, though the victory of 1666 is forgotten. Charles II, expecting peace would very soon be arranged, made the mistake of neglecting to keep the fleet ready for any further operations. In June, De Ruyter once more blockaded the Thames, pushed up the river on a high tide and,

Ceylon was followed by the expulsion of the Catholic missionaries and the all but complete ruin of the mission, until it had its 'Second Spring' under British rule in the nineteenth century. In our own day the Catholics of Holland (now two-fifths of its people) have made ample reparation for the ruin of the Eastern missions by the Dutch traders and adventurers of earlier times. They have supplied devoted and successful missionaries not only to the Dutch possessions in the East but also to several countries in other parts of the Catholic mission field.

without anything but a feeble show of resistance, entered the Medway, burned several warships at their anchors, and carried off the best ship of the fleet, the *Royal Charles*, as a prize. It was the first and only time in history that a foreign fleet had successfully raided a British naval station. There was a panic in London, and the river-way was blocked by hastily sinking valuable ships with their cargoes. De Ruyter returned in triumph to Holland, and content with this vengeance for the destruction at Terschelling the Dutch signed peace at Breda a few weeks later. The one important advantage England gained by the treaty was the formal cession of New Amsterdam and the adjacent territory in New England, which had been occupied at the outset of the quarrel by the British. They renamed New Amsterdam as New York in honour of the King's brother James, Duke of York and Lord High Admiral of England, soon to reign as James II.

As Prince William of Orange, the grandson of the founder of Dutch independence, grew to manhood, the very fact of the ban that excluded him from what he regarded as his rightful part in the affairs of the Republic inspired him with the determination to seek the power that he counted as his heritage. Older in mind than in years, he imitated his famous ancestor in an attitude of calm reserve and guarded speech that won for him the reputation of a tactful leader. The old party of the Orangists rallied round him. His opportunity came when, in 1672, Louis XIV with Charles II for his ally invaded the Dutch Netherlands. De Witt had devoted much attention to the navy, as the protector of the wealth of his country drawn from ventures on the sea but, the army had been neglected. The English navy attempted nothing much beyond preying on Dutch traffic in the Channel, but as has been already related, the French armies made rapid strides and Amsterdam itself was saved only by flooding its approaches. Long before the situation had reached this dangerous crisis the mere advance of the great army of France to the Dutch frontier led to a popular cry for the heir of the earlier defenders of Holland being called to avert the peril. In the last week of February the States-General

insisted on William of Orange, though as yet only in his twenty-second year, being appointed Captain-General of the Dutch forces. It was felt that his very name would be an inspiration to the armies of the Republic. After the first successes of the invader the glories of William the Silent in the wars of independence were recalled when his young grandson used the floods to check the march of the enemy. De Witt, though he was not lacking in personal courage,¹ lost heart and urged that an attempt should be made to patch up a peace, even at the cost of heavy sacrifices. He was denounced as a traitor, and on the 20th August 1672 an Orangist mob murdered him and his brother and dragged their dead bodies through the streets of The Hague.

iii. *The Stadholder William III.* There is no proof that the Prince of Orange was a party to this horrible outrage, which gave a clear field for the realization of his ambitions. But he made no attempt to bring the leaders of the murderous mob to justice. On the contrary some of them were afterwards treated as his trusted adherents. His successful defence of the country secured for him the position almost of a king, and when England was detached from the French Alliance he strengthened his position by marriage with his cousin, the Princess Mary, daughter of James II (then Duke of York) in November 1677. The Peace of Nijmegen in the following year was concluded by the States-General in opposition to his personal wishes. He would have continued the war, and the whole policy of his subsequent career centred on resistance to France as the would-be dominator of Europe. For years after this first truce in the conflict, and notably from 1678 to 1684, he had to contend with the opposition of the powerful trading interests in Holland, which sided with his political adversaries, who saw in his anxiety to maintain a strong army a design to prolong through the years of peace his personal and almost dictatorial power. There were moments when the widespread irritation of public

¹ During the naval war against England in 1664-7 De Witt had more than once gone to sea in De Ruyter's flagship and shared the perils of battle in order to encourage the officers and their men.

opinion might have led to civil war, were it not that the ambitious policy of Louis XIV made men forget internal quarrels in the danger from abroad. All the provinces, in the presence of this peril, rallied to the military dictatorship of the Stadholder, and it was one of those who had been most prominent in the opposition, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, Gaspard Fagel, who persuaded the Council of Amsterdam and the merchants of the city to provide a great part of the funds for fitting out the expedition to England in 1688, when to counter the ill-advised policy of James II the English opposition invited the armed intervention of the Prince of Orange.

When William III with his wife the Princess Mary became King and Queen of England, despite his protests of devotion to the Republic of the United Provinces he gave the first place to the interests of his new kingdom. While malcontents in England were complaining of his bringing over his fellow countrymen to enjoy places, pensions, and peerages, there was disappointment in Holland at his maintaining Cromwell's Navigation Act that limited Dutch carrying trade in British ports, and favouring the English East India Company at the expense of its Dutch rival. The opposition in the States-General argued that he was dragging the country into needless wars and forgetting the interests of his native land while he developed his policy of settling the affairs of Europe. He paid little attention to the restless opposition of the party he had driven from power; he appointed Orangist magistrates to hold it in check and used force freely to suppress riotous demonstrations at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Haarlem. Another grievance was that he welcomed French Huguenot refugees to England, adding to the competition of British with Dutch industry and commerce. For many in the Dutch Republic William III's death without a direct heir seemed to be a deliverance. Personal rule came to an end in Holland, and the opposition party was again in power, led by the Grand Pensionary, Antony Heinsius (1702). The second 'Stadholderless period' thus began and lasted for nearly fifty years.

9. THE LAST OF THE SPANISH HABSBURGS (1665-1700)

Philip IV at his death in 1665 left as heir to the monarchy of Charles V a child only four years of age, Charles II of Spain, who presented a wretched contrast to his contemporary and namesake, Charles II of England. The child seemed almost an imbecile that could neither walk nor speak a word, and he grew to boyhood and manhood physically weak and feeble in mind. His mother, Donna Mariana, an Austrian princess, governed in his name during his minority, with the help of a Council of Regency (the *Junta de Gobierno*) composed of six members. Indolent, ignorant, and selfishly obstinate, she left the direction of affairs to her confessor, Father Johann Eberhart von Nithard. He had begun life as an Austrian cavalry officer, and abandoned this career to become a Jesuit. She left to him all the business of the State; he was naturalized as a Spaniard, and became a member of the Council of Regency, Inquisitor-General, and Prime Minister.

There was an outburst of widespread indignation, and the queen and her protégé were described as wasting public funds that should have met the expenses of the army, whose pay was in arrear, and of the fortresses that were left without repairs. They were accused of sending away Spanish gold to Austria¹ and blamed for the dismemberment of the monarchy, which had lost in succession Flanders, Franche-Comté, and Portugal. At last the nobles and the popular leaders appealed for help to Don Juan of Austria, an illegitimate son of the late king. Philip IV had publicly recognized him, given him a good education, and entrusted him with important offices in which he did creditable service to the State. In the closing years of his father's life Don Juan lost his favour and was sent to reside in retirement at a priory in Aragon. In response to the appeal of the nobles he organized and inspired a campaign of pamphlets against the Queen and her Prime Minister. In order to get rid of him they sent him away to the seat of war in Flanders, but at the subsequent peace he returned to Spain and appeared at the court. But learning that he was in danger of arrest he left

¹ This was a report current at the time but not based on fact.

Madrid, rallied to his side an armed force of his partisans entered Saragossa in triumph and then marched on Madrid without meeting with any opposition, declaring that Nitharc must be dismissed. The unpopular Prime Minister fled from the capital (25 February 1669) and made his way to Rome where later he was promoted to the Cardinalate. There was a project for sending the Queen Regent to the seclusion of a convent, but Don Juan did not venture so far. Content with what he had secured, and propitiated with the grant of an empty honorary title, he left Madrid.

Donna Mariana soon found another protégé and favourite, more avaricious than his predecessor. This was an adventurer known as Fernando de Valenzuela. He was a man of low birth, devoid of ability, and ready to sell anything for which a buyer could be found, relying for impunity on the Queen Regent's infatuation. He was given a residence in the palace, in the quarter assigned to the princes of the royal house, and a guard of 3,000 men for his protection. Charles II, though he was now growing to manhood, was a timid, weakly youth, so dull that he could only read or write with difficulty, but with all his deficiencies he resented being treated as a mere nonentity and was alarmed at the attitude and unbounded power of Valenzuela. He fled from the royal palace accompanied by his tutor, his chaplain, and his secretary, and took refuge in the palace of El Retiro, built by his father in the suburbs of Madrid, in what had long been a royal game preserve. We may take it that the vigorous action that followed was the work of his friends. In his name, Don Juan of Austria was summoned to El Retiro, and named Prime Minister. He carried through without any active opposition a *coup d'état*, and as soon as he was master of the situation Valenzuela was deported to the Philippines, and the Queen-Mother deprived of all power and banished from Madrid to the Alcazar of Toledo (1677). Two years after his accession to power, Don Juan arranged the marriage of the King with a French princess, Marie-Louise of Orléans. It was the last success of his brief ministry, for he died a few months after the event.

In February 1680, after six months in which affairs were left to the routine of subordinate officials, the Duke of Medina-Celi became Prime Minister—an easy-going grandee of Spain, amiable enough to all who approached him, but possessed neither of a definite policy nor of any strength of character. The Queen-Mother, Donna Mariana, left her retreat at Toledo and resumed a place at the royal palace with her following of parasites. The young Queen-Consort, Marie-Louise of Orléans, refused to take any part in politics, and spent sad years in what she felt was exile from France, with her life linked to her wretched husband. Medina-Celi was enriching his family and friends, and when, having done all he cared for, he retired from office in April 1685, he left the public services in disorder and the army and navy reduced to a condition of perilous weakness. Thanks to the influence of Carbonel, one of the royal chaplains, a successor was found—the Count of Oropesa, a man of some ability, but of doubtful character. He was a friend of the Austrian party in Spain, and when poor Marie-Louise died rather suddenly in February 1689, rumour in Madrid suggested that she had been poisoned by Oropesa and the Count von Mansfeld, the Emperor's ambassador.¹ In the following summer an Austrian Queen-Consort was found for the King—the Princess Marianna von Neuburg. Her elder sister Eleanor was the wife of the reigning Emperor Leopold. The new queen's earliest efforts were directed to securing the dismissal of Oropesa, and she was successful within a few months (24 June 1690).

With the help of a Capuchin, Gabriel Chiusa, and a German lady of her court, the Queen obtained absolute control of the Government. She completely dominated the King, who was strongly attracted to her, and she treated any opposition with contempt. She turned to her own purposes what was left of the wealth of Spain, and it was said that she sent the money for safety to banks in London and Amsterdam. During this disgraceful reign everything went to ruin in the Government and

¹ The story is not a likely one. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, thanks to the defective medical theories of the time, there was a tendency to attribute sudden deaths to poison.

in the social order. A stupid despotism was ending in anarchy. There was corruption that knew no bounds, and everything was bought and sold. Law and justice were impotent. Each year there were numbers of assassinations in Madrid, the murderers were not brought to trial, and there was organized brigandage in the provinces. The King was left without money, and for personal expenses he had to raise funds by pledging jewels, plate, and pictures.

The army and the fleet were so neglected that they were little more than a name. The aristocracy shared in the general decadence, living in ignorant idleness and wasting the remnant of their fortunes in amusements and debauchery. The clergy alone retained some vitality, but outside the religious orders clerical education was neglected. The Inquisition exercised a widespread terror. The mass of the people passed their years in dull, wretched submission. Agriculture was reduced to ruin, factories were closing down. Famine, pestilence, and emigration reduced the population to less than five millions.

It was in a Spain reduced to this miserable condition that Charles II passed the last four years of his life in a succession of illnesses that presaged his end. There had been no offspring of either of his marriages, and the succession to Spain and its possessions in Europe and America, and a possible partition of these dominions among rival claimants were the subject of negotiations and intrigues that kept the diplomatists and politicians of western and central Europe busy, while the news of the poor king's death was expected from month to month.

The possible candidates for the Spanish succession were princes descended from marriages with princesses of the royal line of Spain. The chief rivals were Louis XIV, who hoped to obtain the vacant Crown for one of his grandsons in right of his marriage with Maria Theresa, the eldest sister of the dying king, and the Emperor Leopold of Germany, who had married Charles II's younger sister, Margaret Theresa, and hoped to gain the succession for his son the Archduke Charles. A third possible candidate was the young Electoral Prince of Bavaria, a grandson of the Emperor. The death of the Bavarian prince

in 1699 left the contest between the Archduke and the Bourbon candidate. William III of England took an active part in the diplomatic contest, for both England and Holland dreaded the prospect of the Spanish Empire falling under the control of the France of Louis XIV. At Madrid the partisans of France and Austria were striving to secure the consent of the dying king to their candidates for his crown. It was only when he was on his death-bed that, thanks to the influence of Cardinal Porto Carrero, he signed a will leaving the succession to a grandson of Louis XIV, Philip, Duke of Anjou. He died on the 1st November 1700, leaving a heritage of war to Europe.

10. THE ITALIAN STATES (1648-1715)

i. *The House of Savoy.* In the middle years of the seventeenth century Italy seemed doomed to decline. Agriculture, trade, and manufactures were neglected; there was no longer any patronage for the fine arts, with the exception of the opera, which had become the chief fashion with society. Savoy was a poor country. There had been for some years (1653-5) an unfortunate attempt of its duke to convert the Waldenses by force, but without much result. When Duke Charles Emmanuel II began his reign (1663) he devoted his attention to making new roads and erecting public buildings, and his policy aimed at centralizing the administration of the duchy. He made an unsuccessful attempt to extend his power on the western Riviera at the expense of the Genoese Republic (1672). He died in 1675.

His son, Victor Amadeus II, was only nine years of age. His mother, a Frenchwoman (Jeanne de Savoie-Nemours), assumed the direction of affairs. The little mountain State had under earlier rulers extended its territory from the Upper Rhône to an outlet to the Mediterranean on a few miles of the Riviera, and gained possession of Turin and western Piedmont. It thus formed a barrier between France and northern Italy and held some of the most important of the Alpine passes. Louis XIV was anxious to bring this strategically important borderland under his influence, and thanks to its French Regent was able

to interfere in its affairs during the minority of the young duke, and when he was in his eighteenth year Louis arranged his marriage with a French princess, his niece, Anne of Orléans (1684). When he came of age, a few months later, Victor Amadeus took all control of public affairs out of his mother's hands and soon showed his resentment of French interference. An open rupture was delayed for a while. When in 1688 the aggressive ambition of Louis XIV led to the League of Augsburg being formed against him by the Empire, Spain, England, and Holland, the Duke prepared for war, but at first only declared an 'armed neutrality' for the protection of his territory against invasion by either belligerent. Louis kept an army under Marshal Catinat on the frontier to watch Savoy, but it was not till 1690 that he sent an ultimatum to the Duke, and declared war against him on its rejection. Catinat's victories of Staffarda (1690) and Marsaglia (1693) gave the French possession of most of the mountain land and free passage into Italy. But all he had lost was restored to Victor Amadeus when in 1696 he made peace with France and became its ally against the Imperialists. The Treaty of Ryswick in the following year left him in reluctant dependence on France.

It was only a three years' truce. In 1700 came the War of the Spanish Succession, and at the outset the Duke of Savoy was the ally of France. Later on he changed sides once more, joined the Austrian Alliance, and at the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 had his share in the acquisitions of the Allies. Savoy received an extension of territory in Piedmont and the cession of the island of Sicily, which brought Victor Amadeus the title of King. Seven years later Sicily was exchanged for Sardinia, and until the formation of the modern Kingdom of Italy the successive sovereigns of the House of Savoy bore the title of 'King of Sardinia'.

ii. *Lombardy and Mantua.* Lombardy during all the seventeenth century was under the rule of Spain and was repeatedly the scene of war. The Spanish Government was unpopular. The country was anything but prosperous, and the population of Milan declined from 300,000 to about 100,000. At the death

of Charles II (1700) the Milanese recognized his heir Philip V. But all the plain of the Po was the scene of war, and after the siege of Turin (1706) the Austrians occupied nearly the whole of Lombardy. They were welcomed by the people, who hoped for better times under a change of rulers, but after the first outburst of enthusiasm they soon began to dislike their new masters.

The Duchy of Mantua, governed by the Duke Ferdinand Charles Gonzaga, was united to Lombardy under the Austrian rule, and the districts of Casale and Montferrat were handed over to Savoy.

iii. *The Republic of Venice.* Venice had its last flush of glory in the victory of its admirals in the long war with the Turks for the conquest of Crete in the middle years of the seventeenth century and the subsequent successes of the Doge Morosini in Illyria and Greece. The Republic remained neutral during the War of the Spanish Succession. In 1718 the Turks regained the Peloponnesus. After this there was a period of inactivity. The decline of the Republic was beginning and Venice soon ranked as only a second-rate power.

iv. *The Republic of Genoa.* Genoa, like its great rival of the past, was also a decaying power. It had to endure loss and humiliation at the hands of Louis XIV, when in 1684 he insisted on the dismantling of four galleys it had built in its dockyard for the Spanish navy. On the rejection of this summons by the Republic, the French fleet bombarded the city for ten days, but French landing parties were repulsed. In dread of a renewed attack, the Genoese began negotiations for peace. It was signed in February 1685; the four galleys were dismantled and laid up, and the Doge Imperiali journeyed to Versailles to offer the apologies of the Republic to the King. During the War of Succession that began in 1700 Genoa observed a strict neutrality, anxious only to be left in peace.

v. *The Duchies of Parma and Piacenza and of Modena and Reggio.* The rulers of these minor states, the families of Farnese and Este, had long declined from their earlier power and splendour. In 1664, with the help of French influence after a long dispute

with the Papal Government, they succeeded in making good some trifling territorial claims regarding Castro and Comacchio. After this they were known chiefly as patrons of music and dancing, the cost of this patronage being provided by the heavy taxes they levied on their subjects.

vi. *Tuscany*. Florence had ceased to play any part in the affairs of Italy. Its Grand-duke Ferdinand II reigned for half a century (1621-70). He was a patron of science, presided over and assisted in the organization of learned academics, and cared for little else. His successor, Cosmo III (1670-1723), engaged in endless negotiations and intrigues and spent large sums of money in the effort to induce various powers to give him the title of 'Royal Highness'.

vii. *The Papal States*. In 1648 Innocent X, while welcoming the restoration of peace, protested against the disabilities inflicted on Catholics in many German States. He and his successor Innocent XI added to the architectural and artistic beauties of Rome. The most notable of the Pontiffs of the following half-century was Innocent XI (1676-89), one of the most saintly figures in the history of the Papacy. He made a firm stand against the nepotism that had been prevalent under several of his predecessors, refusing to promote any of his relatives to lucrative offices. He suppressed the gaming houses of Rome, and protected the poorer classes from the usurers by introducing the *monte de pietà*. He was involved in a long contention with Louis XIV, opposing the King's efforts to extend his absolutism to the affairs of the Church in France. At the same time he condemned not only the measures taken against the Huguenots in France, but also the ill-considered and hasty manner in which James II attempted to restore Catholicism in England. He exerted his influence to bring about the alliance of Poland and Austria, and the rescue of Vienna from the Turks in 1683.

His second successor, Innocent XII (1691-1700) had the satisfaction of seeing friendly relations established between Louis XIV and the Holy See, the King abolishing the teaching of the Gallican resolutions of 1682. At the Peace of Ryswick

(1697) Innocent XII was chosen as arbitrator in the question of the succession in the Palatinate. The decision was given by Clement XI in 1702.

viii. *Naples*. Naples was under the rule of Spain all through the seventeenth century. The people complained that the heavy taxation, from which the nobles were all but exempt, was used, not for the development of the country, but to provide an annual tribute to Madrid. Discontent broke into open rebellion in Naples in 1647, in the revolt linked traditionally with the name of Masaniello. But the movement in the capital secured little support from the provinces, and another attempted rising in 1656 also ended in failure.

On the death of Charles II Naples recognized the succession of Philip V. But the Austrians, after their capture of Turin (1706), sent an army to southern Italy which drove out the Spanish troops. On the 7th July 1707 the Viceroy of the Emperor entered Naples, and shortly after received the surrender of Gaeta, the last place which held out for Philip V. The country thus came under the rule of Austria and the new situation was recognized by the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt.

ix. *Sicily and Sardinia*. Palermo had rebelled against Spanish rule in 1647, when news came of the rising at Naples. There was a revolt at Messina in 1674, and though the citizens were divided into two parties, one favourable, the other hostile, to the foreigners, the Spanish garrison was driven out. A Spanish fleet blockaded the harbour. The rebels offered their allegiance to France and asked for the help of Louis XIV, who sent a squadron to raise the blockade. The Spaniards asked the Dutch navy to deal with the French intervention, and for some time there was a series of desultory naval campaigns in Sicilian waters. But in the negotiations for the Peace of Nijmegen, Louis XIV abandoned the Messinese to their fate (March 1678). The Spaniards reoccupied the city, abolished all its privileges, demolished the palace of the city council, and melted down the great bell that used to summon the citizens to its meetings. They also built a strong citadel, the cannon of which could reduce Messina to ruins.

In 1700 Sicily accepted the rule of Philip V, but in 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht allotted this island kingdom to Victor Amadeus II of Savoy. He came to Palermo to be crowned King and re-established its parliament, composed of nobles, prelates, and representatives of the chief cities. The same treaty took Sardinia from the Spanish dominions, and gave it to Austria, but a few years later, in 1720, an arrangement was made by which there was an exchange of territory, Sicily being restored to Austrian rule and Sardinia coming under the dominion of the Duke of Savoy, who took the new title of 'King of Sardinia'.

II. GERMANY (1648-1715)

i. *The Holy Roman Empire.* From the date of the Peace of Westphalia the 'Holy Roman Empire' of Germany still retained its title, but had lost its special characteristics and no longer claimed a pre-eminence among the sovereigns of Europe. Even in its own imperial territories it had ceased to be a monarchy without developing into a federation. For each and all of its princes possessed sovereign rights and the possibility of extending his personal power at the expense of his neighbours. The idea of a common nationality had disappeared, and the Thirty Years War had completed the work of division begun by the Reformation.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century Philip Chemnitz raised a warning cry that had many echoes. In his treatise *De Ratione Status in Imperio nostro Romano-Germanico* he argued openly that the power of the Emperor had always been dangerous, and the peril had now become greater than ever. The only remedy for the ills of Germany would be the expulsion of the Habsburgs. The Empire ought to be an 'aristocratic Republic'. Its sovereignty should be vested in its members, with the Emperor as their mere agent or minister, superintending the execution of the decisions adopted by the Diet, and himself subject to these decisions. A few years later Samuel von Puffendorf published his work, *De Statu Imperii Germanici*, in which he denied that the Empire was a monarchy, an aristocracy, a

democracy, or a federation; it was nothing but a confused mass, like that of the Greeks marching under the leadership of Agamemnon.

This theory implied a complete repudiation of the last links that attached Germany to Rome; it repudiated the whole of the older theory of the relations between the Church and the State. Nevertheless the Empire held on. This was because it was an inheritance from Rome, to which the Germans paid an instinctive respect, and in which they thought they could recognize a possible counterpoise to the influence of France, the Kings of France being regarded as the hereditary enemies of the Holy Roman Empire. This was a serious mistake, for, misled by the friendly advances and polite compliments of German princes, French kings cherished the hope of one day obtaining the imperial Crown. Far into the eighteenth century they were haunted by this delusion, which to some extent inspired their conduct towards Austria, and contributed to the mistakes of their policy in Germany.

A centralized state, such as France was, could secure some advantage in dealing with a loose federation, amongst whose members the diplomats could excite mutual mistrust and encourage ambitions. Not long after the Treaty of Westphalia had recognized the right of the princes to treat individually with foreign Powers, France organized the 'Alliance of the Rhine' (15 August 1658), the parties to which were Louis XIV, Charles Gustavus of Sweden, the Electors of Cologne and Mainz, and several other princes of the Empire. This daring move gave the German princes a practical assurance of their independence. It was renewed in 1661 and 1664, and even when it ceased formally to bind the Allies, it retained some of its effect, thanks to the pensions and subsidies by which Louis XIV kept a hold upon several of his partisans. This enables us to understand how it was that, notwithstanding its successes in the War of the Spanish Succession, the Empire secured no increase of strength and had to abandon the hope of regaining possession of several of its former territories in the west. Louis XIV continued to exercise an influence in Germany in some directions

greater than that of the Emperor. It was not only in the region of politics, but also in the economic and social spheres that one must take account of the losses accumulated in the Thirty Years War. The population of the German lands was reduced by more than a half. Regions once fertile were left uncultivated and were covered with scrub and bush that often became the coverts for wild beasts; whole villages were swept away without leaving a trace; cattle and the whole organization of tillage had disappeared. Whole districts were at the mercy of bands of brigands that carried on with impunity their raids of pillage, incendiarism, and murder. One can hardly find in history a parallel to this devastation of a whole country. Great cities were all but depopulated. The population of Munich was reduced from 80,000 to 9,000; that of Berlin from 25,000 to 6,000. Houses fell into ruins, so that there were only 1,200 left in Cologne. Peasants and workers were more miserable than serfs and seemed to have lost all desire for freedom. The middle classes and the minor nobility were resigned to their sufferings and let the princes work their will.

ii. *Austria*. From 1648 onwards two reigning houses drew the smaller states under their influence, the Catholics turning to the Habsburgs, the Protestants to the Hohenzollerns. Vienna and Berlin thus became the two poles of Austria and Germany. The Habsburg family seemed to be in definite possession of the imperial Crown, but as this was elective it might be taken from them, and invariably they gave the first place to the special interests of their hereditary dominions, which differed in language, religion, and customs. The weak point of the monarchy was finance. Its revenue came from the *Landsamt* and the various taxes, part of the income from which slipped away as it passed through the hands of the collectors. The administration was carried on with the aid of three councils—the Council of State (which was the most important), the Privy Council (for foreign affairs), and the Aulic Council (for finance and commerce). There was besides a Council of War.

France had separated the heritage of Charles V into two realms—German and Spanish. The Emperor Ferdinand III

abandoned the struggle against this result of the prolonged rivalry with France, and was chiefly interested in confirming the claims of his family to the imperial Crown and protecting Catholicism in his dominions. After his premature death in 1657 the succession was offered to his brother Leopold; but he declined it in favour of his nephew Leopold I (18 July 1658). We have already seen how he entered into an engagement not to assist Spain in the war with France. The chief event of his long reign of forty-seven years was the raising of the siege of Vienna by Sobieski in 1683. The Emperor was anything but happy at the glory of the Polish King outshining any credit won by Austria's long defence of the capital. He seemed to feel a sense of his own inferiority as though he was hardly equal to the exalted dignity of Emperor. Yet he was not without ability and rendered some good service to his subjects, carrying out some needful reforms, the most important of which were a reorganization of the judicial system, the repeal of an obsolete code of law, and the organization of a regular police system. He also founded the Universities of Innsbrück and Breslau.

He was succeeded by Joseph I (1705), whose undoubted talents might have done good service to the Empire if he had not given so much of his time to his amusements—this, too, in years when the War of the Spanish Succession called for energetic action at the centre of affairs. He died of small-pox in 1711, at the age of thirty-two. His brother, the Archduke Charles, the Austrian candidate for the Spanish Crown, succeeded him.

iii. *Brandenburg*. Brandenburg had suffered seriously in the Thirty Years War. Frederick William, who succeeded to its sovereignty in 1640, and whose rule began in the closing years of the long war, was a man of remarkable ability. His far-seeing and energetic policy made the Electorate of Brandenburg one of the important powers of central Europe and prepared the way for its subsequent development into the Kingdom of Prussia. Germany remembers him as 'the Great Elector'. At the close of the long war in 1648 his territory was in the utmost misery, with its population reduced by a half, the treasury almost

empty, and the townsfolk and the rural population on the verge of ruin. He devoted himself to the reorganization and consolidation of his territories and the revival of their prosperity. He invited and assisted the return of large numbers who had left the country under the stress of war. He brought immigrants from Holland, some of whom were employed in the drainage of the marshy districts, making canals, and turning swamps into pasture land, while others assisted in improving the breed of cattle and the agricultural methods of the peasantry. He restored the currency, and a new coinage largely replaced barter in the markets, and there was an end of the system, that had grown up in the war, of paying minor officials with corn and other goods instead of cash. The army was reorganized and raised to a strength of 17,000 men. He acted as the ally of Sweden against Poland, and in 1657, by the Treaty of Wehlau, obtained the independent possession of the duchy of Prussia, which the Electors of Brandenburg had so far ruled only as tributaries under the suzerainty of Warsaw. He joined the League against France when Louis XIV invaded Holland. Louis induced the King of Sweden to invade Brandenburg with the help of a small French auxiliary force. But the Elector defeated the invaders at the Battle of Fehrbellin (1675).

On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes he invited Huguenot exiles to settle in his dominions, providing for those who required it subsidies for their journey and the formation of their new homes. By the Edict of Potsdam (29 October 1684) he conferred valuable privileges and exemptions on them, and from first to last about 30,000 became his subjects. It was a gain to his policy of reconstruction that many of them were skilled in various industries or successful men of business. Others proved as officers and soldiers a valuable addition to his army, and showed no hesitation in bearing arms against their native land.

He also granted toleration to Protestant sects that were banned in other Lutheran lands of Germany, and he invited the Jews to settle in Berlin. In East Prussia there were districts in which the people had clung to the old Faith, and this part of eastern Prussia has remained largely Catholic to the present

day. By the Treaty of Wehlau Frederick agreed to secure to them the religious freedom they had enjoyed under Polish suzerainty and to give them 'free access to the public service and to such employment in it as they were qualified to occupy'. But in the rest of his dominions he refused freedom of worship to the Catholics, and in his last will he expressed the hope that this discrimination against them would continue to the end of time.

On his death in 1688 he was succeeded by his son the Elector Frederick III. For years his efforts were concentrated on realizing his ambition of exchanging his title of Elector for that of King. His diplomacy, assisted by considerable expenditure of money in subsidies and pensions, triumphed at last in the Treaty of 1700, by which the Emperor Leopold agreed to recognize him as King, 'both within and outside the Empire'. On the 18th January 1701 he was crowned at Königsberg, assuming the title of 'Frederick I, King of Prussia'. The Prussian kingdom now became the rallying point for the Protestant States of Germany against the power of the Catholic south.

He had assisted with financial supplies William of Orange in his expedition to England. He drew heavily on the well-filled treasury his father had left him, to purchase various minor principalities, and estates, and to embellish Berlin as the capital of a kingdom. He compensated for some part of this expenditure by hiring out detachments of his army to other states. He was a liberal patron of learning and art and founded the University of Halle, and the Berlin Academies of Science, Painting, and Sculpture. He died on the 25th February 1713.

iv. The next most important state was *Bavaria*, under the house of Wittelsbach. Bavaria had suffered terribly from the Thirty Years War and had not yet recovered. She was therefore hardly capable of a strong independent policy, but the instinct of her rulers was to throw obstacles in the way of any movement for the greater German unity, as such a unity could hardly be achieved save at the expense of the now almost complete independence of the Bavarian elector. As France was also for her own reasons opposed to German unity, Bavarian policy was usually found upon the side of France.

12. HUNGARY (1648-1715)

When the Treaties of Westphalia restored peace to Europe, southern and central Hungary were in possession of the Turks, and its eastern borderland of Transylvania, though ruled by its native princes of the Rakoczy family, was tributary to the Sultan. Buda had been for more than a century—since the disastrous battle of Mohacs—a border fortress of the Turkish Empire. The frontier line between the Turkish and the Christian Empires was within eighty miles of Vienna, and the rule of the Habsburgs in Hungary extended only to a narrow belt of lands on its western border, and the hilly country of the north-west, in a zone extending through the wooded mountain lands of the Carpathians to the northern limit of Transylvania.

In Hungary and Transylvania the situation was complicated again and again by the divided religions of the people. There were times when the Lutheran element in central Hungary seemed to regard the Turkish rule as a safeguard against Austro-German interference with their denominational freedom. In the principality of Transylvania there were both national and denominational divisions among the people. The ruling family were Protestant; the German colonists of the 'Seven Towns' included many Catholics; and the Rumanian refugees were mostly members of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The princes had allied themselves with the Swedes during the latter period of the Thirty Years War. A few years after the peace George Rakoczy II became involved in a ruinous conflict with Poland, and his death in 1657 was followed by six years of rivalry and strife between various claimants to the succession, until the Turks imposed a peace that ended the semi-independence of the country. Henceforth the Hungarian lands were divided between an Austrian and a Turkish Hungary—the latter including the larger share of territory.

The Emperor Leopold I tried to override the decision of the Diet in his Hungarian dominions. He was also faced with the difficulty that some of the Protestant Magyars, in the bitterness of their dissent, preferred a Mohammedan to a Catholic ruler

and actually favoured the Turk. This made it difficult for him not to treat dissent as disloyalty. The troubles that ensued encouraged the Turks to attempt a march on Vienna. After some minor successes at the outset they were defeated by Montecuculli, the ablest of the imperial generals, in the battle of St. Gothard, near Raab,¹ in August 1664, when the Grand Vizier agreed to a twenty years' truce with the Empire by the Treaty of Vasvar.

This success encouraged Leopold to continue his ill-advised policy. He decided to abolish the national constitution of Hungary, and substitute for the elected Diet a nominated Council of nobles and prelates. Meanwhile the preservation of order was put in the hands of a foreign dictator, the German Gaspard Amstringer, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, and all opposition was summarily dealt with. Some hundreds of unfortunate opponents of his rule were sent to hard labour in the galleys of Naples (from which, however, most of them were liberated within a year by a victory of the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter). Repression and military rule provoked resistance, the Calvinists taking the chief part in the local risings that followed, and declaring they were fighting for both civil rights and religious freedom. An appeal by the rebels to Louis XIV for help brought only encouraging messages. Before the end of 1677 a young noble, Count Emeric Toekeli (then only nineteen years of age), had become the leader of what threatened to be a serious insurrection, and despairing of effective aid from France he tried to obtain it from the Turks.

After years of desultory civil war Leopold sought to pacify Hungary by concessions to the malcontents. The constitution was re-established, and one of the foremost representatives of the Magyar nobility, Paul Esterhazy, was elected Palatine, that is, chief representative of the sovereign (1681). The great majority of all classes in Hungary rallied to the new régime, all the more readily because there were rumours of a coming

¹ The battle took its name from the great abbey of St. Gothard near which it was fought. The victor, Montecuculli, was one of the greatest soldiers of his time, a veteran of the later period of the Thirty Years War, and distinguished also as a voluminous writer on military science and history.

Turkish advance. But Toekeli and a remnant of his partisans refused to lay down their arms and continued a guerilla warfare. The Turkish Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, who was the actual ruler under a weak Sultan, had collected a large army. He broke the truce of Vasvar and marched on Vienna. Toekeli and his followers joined the invaders, and fought under the Moslem flag in the march on Vienna and the siege of the imperial capital. It was reduced to dire distress and its fall seemed imminent when, at the call of Innocent XI, the King of Poland led his army to its rescue. The Poles cut the communications of the Turkish army and utterly routed it in a great battle as it raised the siege and tried to fight its way back to Hungary (1683). The victory inspired something like a new crusade against the Moslem power. Venice and Russia joined Poland and the Empire and attacked on other fronts while the imperial armies began the reconquest of Turkish Hungary, and the capture of the strong fortress of Buda (1686) opened the way to victory in all the central plain.

This glorious success had a dark shadow that dimmed its brightness. Caraffa, one of the Italian generals in the Austrian service, under the pretext of hunting down the partisans of Toekeli, set up a military tribunal at Eperies. For some weeks the executioners were kept busy and blood flowed freely until the Emperor intervened and ended these horrors. Leopold was no doubt partly influenced by his desire to secure support for a project which he had long hoped to realize—the transformation of the elective royalty of Hungary into an hereditary monarchy. An amnesty was decreed from which only Toekeli was excluded, and the national assembly was persuaded to make the desired change in the constitution. Instead of election, there was to be succession by right of primogeniture, with the immediate crowning of the Archduke who thus became the destined heir. The Hungarian nation was to recover its power of election only if the descent in the male line of the House of Habsburg came to an end. Henceforth each king on his accession was to swear fidelity to the fundamental laws of the State (1687).

Austria now took seriously in hand the expulsion of the Turks. The victories of Salankamen (1691) and of Zenta (1697) followed by the Treaty of Karlowitz liberated from the Turkish occupation almost all the Hungarian lands. Turkish Hungary thus ceased to exist, and Transylvania was now little more than another province added to Austria. Some half a million Serbian refugees from Turkish rule had made their way across the Save and the Danube and settled in districts of southern Hungary that had been largely depopulated by war and civil strife. These new-comers had an hereditary national dislike of the Magyars and were quite ready to fight them if the opportunity offered.

Before long the districts freed from the Turks had grievances that made many regret the change of government. New taxes were imposed by official decree without a vote of the Diet. The illegality of these fresh burdens and the harsh rigour of the tax-collectors led to outbreaks of angry disaffection, but every attempt at resistance was severely repressed. Austria was preparing to annul the concessions made at the Peace of Karlowitz, suppress the Diet and abolish the privileges of the lesser nobility who were the chief champions of independence. Szechenyi, the Archbishop of Kalocsa, came forward as the eloquent opponent of these reactionary projects, and they went no farther, but none the less a movement of revolt followed.

The leader of this movement of revolt was Francis Rakoczy, the representative of the noble and wealthy family that had been the independent or semi-independent rulers of Transylvania. Orphaned in his early years, he was brought to Vienna to be educated under the wardship of the Emperor. He became a Catholic and his studies were completed in the famous Jesuit College at Prague. In 1694, at the age of twenty-two, he married a noble Austrian lady and lived for some years after on his estate in Hungary. Though educated under Austrian influences he cherished the hope of independence for Hungary and Transylvania, and the restoration of his own line as princes of their former dominions. The growing discontent in eastern Hungary, and the local outbreaks of resistance to Austrian rule, led him to hope for the realization of these ideals, when Austria

was preparing for war with France over the rivalry for the crown of Spain. He entered into a secret correspondence with Louis XIV, asking for help in organizing a revolt in Hungary. The agent who served as an intermediary betrayed him, and he was arrested and imprisoned at Eperies. His wife arranged his escape and he took refuge in Poland. Through the French embassy at Warsaw he received promises of help from Louis XIV and money and arms, and in the summer of 1703 began an insurrection in eastern Hungary. Though most of the great nobles held aloof, the rising spread through Transylvania and the country along the river Theiss. That summer the French and their Bavarian Allies had established themselves in south Germany. The next year was to see an advance on Vienna. The rising in Hungary was a useful diversion for the invaders of the Empire. In June 1704 Rakoczy was proclaimed Prince of Transylvania and formed a Council of State. But in August came the news of Marlborough's and Eugène's great victory of Blenheim, and the defeat of the Franco-Bavarian army. Vienna was saved and Rakoczy could no longer hope for effectual French co-operation. But he held out for some years, though he failed in an attempt to get help from Peter the Great, and lost the support of many of the Hungarian nobles by the Diet of Transylvania proclaiming the deposition of the Habsburgs (1707). Repeated failures made the position of the insurgents hopeless.

The Emperor Leopold had died in 1705. His son and successor, Joseph, adopted a conciliatory policy towards Hungary, and a Congress at Szatmár arranged peace, with the grant to Hungary of an amnesty for all who had taken part in the revolt, religious toleration, and the guarantee of all the constitutional and civil rights of the kingdom (April 1711). Rakoczy had left the country with several of his companions a few weeks before. He refused to be included in the amnesty. He lived for some time in France, receiving a pension from Louis XIV. Later he went to Turkey and spent his last years in a small town on the shore of the Sea of Marmora.

The Emperor Joseph died soon after the Peace of Szatmár,

and his brother succeeded him as the Emperor Charles VI. He was crowned at Pressburg as King Charles III of Hungary. Thus a new period of peace and union began.

13. THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES (1648-97)

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the three Scandinavian kingdoms which in the Middle Ages had been at one time united, at another separated, were divided into two completely independent of each other. One of these was Sweden, the other Denmark, with which Norway had been incorporated, ceasing to be a separate state. In both Protestantism had triumphed, and Catholicism had almost entirely disappeared. The predominant influence of the Hanseatic cities was on the decline, and this gave an opportunity for a considerable development of the commerce of Scandinavia.

Sweden had then, in the person of Gustavus Adolphus (1611-32), a king who was a master of the art of war, and this enabled him at times to exceed the bounds of legality without being made to repent for it. He did not trouble himself as to always convoking the Senate at the appointed times, or else, when it met, he would take his decisions without consulting it. When he called the Diet together and submitted questions of business to it, he did not consider himself under any obligation to adopt its advice. In a word, he dealt evasively with any opposition he could not suppress. At his death he left the throne to his only daughter, Christina (only six years of age), who was recognized by the States of the Realm, with the appointment of a Council of Regency. Among its members was the Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, one of the ablest statesmen that Sweden had ever possessed.

The government of Denmark, like that of Sweden, depended on three constituent elements—the King, the Diet, and the Senate. But their relations were very different, for the nobles had a predominant influence, and possessed privileges which reduced the royal power almost to nullity. The Swedish monarchy was hereditary; that of Denmark was entirely elective with the limitation only that succession to the Crown belonged

to the House of Oldenburg. Each newly chosen king was obliged to accept an agreement, or *capitulation*, which always added some fresh points to the rights of the electors.

From 1588 to 1648 Denmark had for its king Christian IV, who developed all the resources of the country and greatly improved its position. His son, Frederick III, was elected in 1648 with some further diminution of the royal authority. He was involved in two wars against Sweden—that of 1657–8 which was ended by the Treaty of Roskilde, and that of 1658–60 which ended at the Peace of Copenhagen. These wars left the country in a very wretched condition, and the misery of the time was increased by discontent already arising from other causes. All were weary of the predominance of the nobles and the authority of the Senate, and the discontents of the time had their result in the action taken by the Diet of 1660. The clergy and the bourgeoisie united against the nobles, who claimed to be exempt from taxation. On the 8th October the coalition supported by the court passed a resolution declaring the Crown to be hereditary, and this was solemnly proclaimed on the 16th October. Hereditary succession being thus established, the Diet proceeded to discuss the question of the powers of the Crown. The King obtained a decision that the settlement of the matter should be left in his hands, and on the 10th January 1661 he proclaimed that his power was absolute. So indeed it was henceforth in the full meaning of the word. There were some changes in administrative affairs; on the whole these were improvements. There was some lessening of class distinctions, and the landed property of the nobles was no longer exempted from taxation. But the condition of the peasantry grew worse and worse to the end of Frederick's reign in 1670.

His son and successor, Christian V, made the condition of the country even more miserable. He declared the lands of the nobles exempt from taxes, but he took some useful steps, such as the publication of a land survey of the kingdom, and of a legal code that long remained in force. He reigned until 1699.

While Denmark lost more than it gained by its intervention in the Thirty Years War, Sweden under Gustavus Adolphus had had a record of triumph. Successful campaigns in Germany led to a change in the general life of the middle and upper classes, bringing into the country considerable riches and an immense number of objects of art. Contact with the ideals of other lands thus led to changes in the daily life of the people which had long remained in a somewhat primitive simplicity, and with this arose the desire for more costly living. With these new ideas there came expensive fashions that sometimes led to difficulties. Queen Christina had not long reached her majority when she all but emptied the treasury by her extravagance, her caprices, and her unwise administration. She abdicated in 1654,¹ and the Crown passed to Charles Gustavus, the nephew of Gustavus Adolphus.

He reigned for six years over a kingdom that seemed at the outset at the very end of its resources. He took energetic measures to deal with the crisis. The Diet of 1655 decided that there must be a 'reduction' of the expenditure of the nobles, and that the Crown should resume possession of their 'indispensable' properties—this meaning what was regarded as indispensable for supplying the pressing needs of the court, the army, and the navy, and the development of the mines, with besides this a quarter of the property bestowed on them since the death of Gustavus Adolphus. Sweden was beginning to regain its resources and energies when the King died (February 1660).

His son, Charles XI, was only five years of age, and the Council of Regency appointed by the dying king allowed his strong policy and the powers he had assumed to be notably

¹ Christina was one of the learned ladies of her time. She invited scholars from other countries to Sweden, and amongst her guests were Grotius and Descartes, to both of whom she granted pensions. Her abdication was the direct result of her desire to abandon Lutheranism for Catholicism, for she felt that her position would be difficult if she continued to rule such an intensely Protestant country as Sweden. She was privately received into the Church at Brussels in 1654, and next year made her public profession of Faith at Innsbruck, and informed all the courts of Europe of her conversion. Most of her after life was spent in Rome, but she made two short visits to Sweden. She died at Rome in 1689. Her tomb is in St. Peter's. She left the greater part of her valuable collection of books to the Vatican Library.

diminished. The influence of the Senate was now again in the ascendant. Financial difficulties became more serious than ever, and after the young king attained his majority (1672) there was no improvement. On the contrary Sweden seemed to be in ruin, burdened with debt, and with a divided people. But the gravity of this almost hopeless situation led Charles XI to venture on a *coup d'état*. With the aid of a member of his Council, Gyllemstjerna, he prepared a scheme of reforms, with the object of breaking the power that had counterbalanced the royal authority—the power of the Senate and the estates of the realm. This he accomplished by convoking the Diets of 1680 and 1682, and securing from them the restoration of the absolute power of the Crown.

Charles XI made wise use of this power. He avoided war, and reorganized the public services, introducing into them order, regularity, and zealous discharge of business. The Diet of 1680 had also voted another 'reduction' which the King put into effect with the greatest vigour. This diminished the excessive power of the great nobles, gave new freedom to the peasants, and brought considerable resources to the State. This enabled the army and navy to be placed on a more secure footing. The army was raised to a force of 38,000 in Sweden, besides the 25,000 that garrisoned the Baltic provinces in Germany. There was a navy of 38 line of battleships, with 11,000 officers and men.

For years after Sweden presented the example of a state in which the receipts invariably exceeded the expenditure, enabling a considerable reserve fund to be accumulated. Charles XI well deserved his popular name of 'the best business man in the kingdom'. Thanks to him Sweden enjoyed such prosperity as might well have seemed impossible a few years earlier. This wise king died in 1697.

14. POLAND (1648-1715)

On the death of King Ladislas IV in 1648, the only living heir of the Vasa line of Poland was his brother, John Casimir. He had passed most of his life in western Europe. He had

become a Jesuit in 1643, but two years later left the Order to accept promotion to the Cardinalate. Dispensed from all clerical obligations and resigning his Cardinalate, he received the Crown of Poland in the midst of a ruinous war. In the south-eastern province of the kingdom, the fertile Ukraine, both the Slav peasantry and the local Cossack tribesmen had risen in successful revolt against his predecessor. The Tatars of the Crimea had come to their help. Lemberg in Galicia had been saved from the rebels by the heroic resistance of its citizens, but the Ukraine and the eastern borders of old Poland were held by an army of some 300,000 insurgents and their allies, and their leader, Chmielnicki, had organized a regular government. In 1649 John Casimir took the field against the Ukrainians, but, inferior in numbers, he was saved from disaster only by the Khan of the Crimea and his Tatar forces abandoning the movement. This defection induced Chmielnicki to enter into negotiations, and a temporary peace was arranged, the Ukrainian leader accepting the position of a tributary ruler under the suzerainty of Poland. War broke out again in 1651. The Polish arms were victorious at Berestetchko and at Jvanets in the following year. The war dragged on, interrupted by efforts for a settlement, until 1654, when the Cossacks and their leader asked Moscow to accept them as subjects and a Russian force occupied the eastern Ukraine as their protectors. Henceforth Russia had no fear of seeing a Polish army menacing its capital.

Poland needed a strongly organized government, but during these troubled years a new element of weakness was introduced into its constitution, that was to be a factor in the subsequent downfall of the kingdom. It was in 1652 that for the first time the right of the *liberum veto* was asserted in the Polish Diet. This was the claim of any one member of the assembly of nobles to the power of paralysing its action by his individual dissent. The power of the King was already limited by all his decrees being subject to the approval of the Diet which had elected him. A decree settling the affairs of a small Jewish village was submitted to the Diet, when one of its members, Sicinski, protesting

that any approval must be unanimous, refused his consent to the proposed decree and left the room. The Diet then decided that it was not in a position to pursue the matter further, and its meeting closed. At first this precedent was not always followed, but it gradually became a recognized rule of procedure, and even was extended from the Diet to the provincial assemblies. It placed the fortunes and the safety of the State at the mercy of a treacherous intriguer or an obstinate fanatic and reduced the effective power of the Crown almost to extinction.

It was while the Russians were marching into the Ukraine that Queen Christina of Sweden abdicated in favour of Charles Gustavus. In right of his descent from the royal house of Vasa John Casimir rashly laid claim to succession to the Swedish throne. Next year Charles Gustavus met this rival claim by concentrating an army in his Baltic provinces and invading Lithuania and Poland. He had gained the support of numbers of the Polish nobles against their King; he overran most of the country, and John Casimir took refuge in Hungarian territory at Glogau in Silesia. His cause seemed hopelessly lost. But the Lutheran army of Sweden had many anti-Catholic fanatics in its ranks, and these desecrated numbers of the Polish churches. This aroused a religious and patriotic revolt amongst the Poles, which blazed up into widespread insurrection after the Swedish attack on the famous national sanctuary of Poland, the great church and monastery of Czenstochowa in the south-west of the kingdom. The prior and his monks aided by the people of the district successfully defended it against the invaders in a five weeks' siege. For the Poland of the seventeenth century this victory was what the deliverance of Orléans had been for France in the fifteenth century. There was a national uprising against the Swedes. In 1650 John Casimir returned and put himself at the head of the movement. After nearly four years of war and negotiation the Swedes withdrew on peace being signed at Oliva, under the joint guarantee of the King of France and the Emperor (3rd May 1660). Livonia was ceded to Sweden, and John Casimir renounced all pretensions to the Swedish Crown.

When he met the Diet in the following year, in the presence of nobles who had all but neutralized his authority and some of whom had betrayed the country to the Swedish invasion, he spoke in anything but a hopeful tone, and even plainly predicted that, as the result of internal divisions, Poland might end by being dismembered and partitioned among its neighbours—a forecast realized a century later. There was soon a striking instance of the dangers of which he spoke. The war with Russia still continued and John Casimir and his generals were winning success in the field, and had reoccupied much of the Ukraine, when a rising headed by Prince Lubomirski made it difficult to pursue this reconquest. Negotiations were opened with Moscow, and in 1667 the Treaty of Andrussovo restored peace, but gave over to Russia all the Ukraine up to the east bank of the Dnieper, and on its western shore the city of Kieff, the 'holy city' which ranked as the religious centre of the Ukraine and all south-west Russia. Two years later, after the death of his wife, Queen Maria Louisa, John Casimir, tired of power and strife, abdicated his Crown and went to spend the rest of his life in France (1669).¹

The Diet elected as his successor a great landowner of eastern Poland, Michael Wisniowiecki, whose brief and uneventful reign lasted only from 1669 to 1673. His successor was John Sobieski, a noble who had distinguished himself in the wars of the eastern border, and in the year before his election had defeated a Turkish and Cossack army at Chocim in Bessarabia

¹ John Casimir is sometimes alluded to as a Jesuit, a cardinal, and a priest who was dispensed from all vows and obligations that might be an obstacle to a kingdom and a marriage. But he never received Holy Orders. He was a Jesuit only provisionally in a novitiate that ended in his free departure. The cardinalate did not entail the taking of more than minor orders. The dispensation he obtained for his marriage was simply a dispensation from the impediment arising from his intended wife being the widow of his brother. Louis XIV on his return to Paris after his abdication gave him the 'commendatory' rank of abbot of the rich and famous abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés, on the south side of Paris, and in this church his tomb was erected. The appointment gave him a useful revenue and dignity, but even laymen were given such promotion under the old monarchy, a prior being the actual superior of the monks. Benefices were often given to mere laymen, who did not even receive minor orders. These were the courtier *Abbés* of the Louvre and Versailles.

(11 November 1673). He had married a French wife, Marie d'Arquien, and his election had been promoted by the French party in the Diet. He had been only a few months on the throne when Louis XIV proposed to him a treaty of alliance. France was to provide supplies for the malcontents in Hungary; Poland was to assist them and was also to take the field as the ally of France against the Hohenzollern Elector of Brandenburg, and receive its share in the hoped-for spoils of victory. Sobieski hesitated to launch out on these adventures, and finally abandoned the proffered alliance. He was anxious to husband the resources of his kingdom in view of possible dangers from Russia and still more from the Turks. In 1683, thanks to the intervention of the Holy See, he concluded with the Emperor Leopold a treaty of mutual defence against the Sultan. Shortly after it was signed there came the perilous crisis of Kara Mustapha's attack upon Vienna, and the Austrian capital was saved by Sobieski's march to its rescue. The victory was the last great triumph of the Polish kingdom.

No great events marked the subsequent Polish campaigns against the Turks, and the soldier king's last years were troubled with continual friction with factions in the Diet, and his home life was hardly happy, thanks to the reckless extravagance and frivolity of his queen. He died in 1696, in his seventy-second year, and his death was followed by long months of discord and intrigue in the Diet, where no less than eighteen candidates were rivals for the Crown, and there was a disgraceful competition as to who could most successfully bribe the noble voters.

In the summer of 1697 Frederick Augustus, the Elector of Saxony, secured the prize. As a condition of his election he had without any hesitation abandoned Lutheranism and declared himself a Catholic, but he was a man with whom religion in any form was of little account. He reigned over Poland as Augustus II.

After a victory of no great moment peace was arranged with Turkey. When the rivalry between Peter the Great and Charles XII of Sweden began Augustus allied himself with the Tsar. He was defeated and dethroned by Charles XII but

restored by Peter in 1710. He sought for further support from the King of Prussia and formed a scheme for remodelling his Polish kingdom and converting it into an hereditary and absolute monarchy. To carry out his plans he brought his Saxon troops into Poland, letting them understand that they were to keep his subjects in order. A confederation of several of the nobles was formed to oppose his policy and civil war began. A Russian army entered Poland to assist the Confederates, the Saxon troops evacuated the country, and the Confederation was dissolved. But the national independence was at an end.

The Diet of Warsaw ratified this humiliation. It was agreed that henceforth the army was not to number more than 18,000 soldiers in Poland proper, and 6,000 in Lithuania. This meant that between Russia and Prussia the Polish kingdom was defenceless and helpless. Taxation was increased, and the *liberum veto* was perpetuated. All these measures were voted in a session of the Diet that lasted only six hours (31 January 1717). This date marks the beginning of the decline that ended in the complete ruin of Poland.

15. RUSSIA AND PETER THE GREAT (1645-1725)

i. *Alexis Mikhailovitch*. Alexis reigned from 1645 to 1676. A revolt of the Ukraine gave him the opportunity for winning back a portion of those provinces that Poland had detached from the Russia of the fourteenth century. In 1667 the truce of Andrussovo gave him the left bank of the Dnieper with the cities of Smolensk and Kieff. But he could not conquer Livonia, which would have given him access to the Baltic Sea.

His reign was less notable for military success than for changes in the internal situation in Russia. To some extent, it may be said, Alexis prepared the way for the reforms carried out by his son Peter the Great, but whatever he accomplished was effected at the cost of some serious conflicts with long-standing elements of disorder in the Muscovite lands. He had to suppress disturbances at Moscow, Novgorod, and Pskof. This influenced his character and policy. Though his court displayed a dazzling magnificence he kept, as far as might be, in the security of the

palace fortress of the Kremlin, with its walls held by a strong garrison. The police and their spies were busy everywhere; a bureau of 'Secret Affairs' was established; and under the pretext of improving the legal code a new and more severe legislation was enacted, to make the Muscovite government stronger.

He had to face a serious peril when in 1657-70 the Cossacks of the Don revolted under the leadership of their Hetman, Stenko Razine. The revolt ended in defeat, the execution of its leaders with cruelties one shrinks from describing, and the disappearance of the semi-independent Cossack Republic. Stenko Razine had aimed at the destruction of Tsarism. Another of the opponents of Alexis was the Patriarch Nikon. He attempted to obtain the complete domination of the Russian Church over the lay power. He was prominent in unsuccessful protests of the clergy against decrees of the Tsar that limited their privileges. Nikon after long hesitation submitted and accepted the Patriarchate of Moscow, with an understanding that he was to co-operate in the 'reform of the Church'. In the face of strong opposition he succeeded in obtaining the sanction of the Synod of Moscow (1653) to a revision of the liturgical books, which he himself had already begun. This was the prelude to a violent outbreak of protests among the lower clergy, the monks, and the people, who saw heresy and irreligion in any alteration of the sacred books. The result was the *raskol*, the schism. Nikon accepted without hesitation the action of the Tsar, who regarded the schism as a matter of seditious disorder that must be repressed at all costs. But repression produced outbreaks of revolt, and these were trampled down with savage fury. There were massacres of the Raskolniks, and condemnations by summary tribunals to the hangman's block and the stake. There were not a few instances of fanatic madness among the persecuted dissidents, and men flung themselves into the executioners' fires even when they had not been condemned to death.

Russia was still outside of Europe. It had taken no part in the Thirty Years War. In the Treaty of Osnabrück the Tsar was mentioned, but only as the 'Grand Duke of Muscovy'. There was little communication with any of the western lands.

A few foreigners from those countries had found their way to Russia and lived in a suburb of Moscow. When the news came of the execution of Charles I of England, Alexis was so horrified that he expelled the few English residents from his dominions. He died in 1676.

ii. *The Successors of Alexis.* Alexis had been twice married. He left a daughter, Sofia, and two sons, Theodore (Feodor) and Ivan, the offspring of the first marriage, and by the second his son Peter, who was only a child when his father died. Theodore succeeded to the throne. He reigned for only six years, during which he was in continually increasing ill health. Before his death in 1682 he named his half-brother, Peter, as his successor to the exclusion of Ivan, who was weak-minded to the verge of imbecility. Joachim, the Patriarch of Moscow, and most of the boyars (nobles) accepted Peter's succession, though the boy was only in his tenth year. Sofia, indignant at the supersession of her brother, won over the support of most of the old palace militia, the Strelitzi, and proclaimed Ivan. There were three days of carnage in Moscow and then the conflict ended in a compromise. Ivan and Peter were to reign together, with Sofia as Princess Regent.

No woman had till then ruled in Russia. There was no little surprise at the appearance of a *Tsar-dievitsa* (a young lady Tsar). But she showed herself quite capable of her novel promotion. She kept good discipline among the Strelitzi (who in earlier reigns had been a political force like the Janissaries in Turkey); she continued the repression of the Raskolniks; presided at councils of state; and directed the policy of Moscow, and suppressed local revolts with a free use of the death penalty. She planned a war with Turkey to secure an opening to the Black Sea, and as a preliminary sought for allies. After signing the Peace of Andrussovo with King John Sobieski (1686) she sent an envoy to Paris in the hope of help from Louis XIV. The French King gave him the reply that 'there was lasting enmity between himself and the German Emperor, but on the contrary perpetual peace and solid friendship with the Sultan'.

Meanwhile Peter was growing to manhood, remote from the

world of politics, living mostly with his mother at a country-house in the neighbourhood of the capital. He had an irregular education, under a succession of tutors, with intervals when he was left to his own resources. He read eagerly books on war, and on naval science, became very handy with tools of all kinds, gave many hours to building model ships and later a boat in which he sailed on a neighbouring lake. The last of his teachers, and his trusted friend for many years, was a Swiss adventurer, Francis Lefort of Geneva, a man of remarkable ability and utterly dissolute morals. Lefort had served for a short time in the Swiss Guard at Paris, and then came to Russia to be employed for a while as instructor in one of the new regular regiments that Prince Galitzin was raising. He delighted Peter by forming and arming a company of young men, in which the future Tsar learned the first lessons of military command. At the same time he gave an unfortunate bent to the whole life of his pupil by introducing the youth to a group of other young men, known among themselves as 'the jolly companions', and initiated him into the dissipations of the foreign quarter of the capital. It was in the hope of winning her son to better things that, in opposition to the Regent's wishes, his mother arranged an early marriage for him with a daughter of a noble family, Eudoxia Lapuchin (January 1689). After a few months Peter neglected and practically deserted his wife.

The summer of 1689 saw a revolution that changed the future of Russia. Two campaigns in the south against the Turks had been unsuccessful, and failure had undoubtedly helped to make the Regency unpopular. The Regent herself had an unbounded confidence in her own power and influence, and with a member of her council, Chaklovitz, she was preparing for a daring adventure. Her accomplice sounded the leaders of the Strelitzi, and though they were cautious in reply to his advances, he thought he could count on this national militia. For seven years Russia had had two Tsars, who reigned in name only, Ivan, living in the obscurity of a palace in imbecile amusements, and Peter who was reported to be playing at soldiers, and indulging in dissipated bouts with Lefort's 'jolly compan-

ions'. Surely the young prince counted for no more than the imbecile Ivan. Sofia planned a *coup d'état*. She would be proclaimed and crowned Empress, Peter would be disposed of, Ivan left to idle away the rest of his life. Moscow would rally to her call and Russia would accept its verdict.

On the 7th August 1689 some four hundred of the Strelitzi marched into the Kremlin, but most of this militia force hesitated to act and waited events. There was a disappointing rally of the Regent's other supporters. Peter had been warned in time and fled with his wife, his mother, and his friends to take refuge in the monastery of Troitsa. He was then only in his eighteenth year, but he displayed unexpected energy and determination. He sent out a summons to the chiefs of the Strelitzi and the colonels of the new regular regiments calling them to join him at Troitsa. The Regent lost all courage when she heard that an overwhelming force was gathering to march on the capital. She sent word that she was coming to Troitsa to arrange terms and was told to go back to the Kremlin. In the first days of September Chaklovitz tried to obtain terms of surrender and rashly went to the monastery. He was arrested, tortured to make him name his accomplices in the plot, and then beheaded. Moscow was occupied by the loyalists almost without firing a shot. There were some terrible days of numberless executions, by axe and fire and bullets. Sofia, glad to escape death, was sent to spend the rest of her life in a convent prison. Her brother Ivan was left his empty title and appeared at times in imperial state at court ceremonies until his death in 1698. But the reign of 'Peter the Great' had begun.

iii. *Peter the Great*. The youthful Tsar's first efforts were directed to expanding the small regular army, and taking the first steps towards the formation of a Russian navy. A ship was built at Archangel on the White Sea, another was ordered from a shipbuilder in Holland. He himself made a voyage on the White Sea, then Russia's only outlet for both maritime trade and naval projects, a sea ice-bound for several months each year. He looked for access to more open water by conquests in the south, on the sea of Azoff. He meant to show his

people and the Strelitzi and Raskolniks that new times had come. He was already thinking of the Near East and the question of the Holy Places which the Turks were raising at the expense of the Orthodox Greeks.

His first expedition against Azoff ended in a check, but he gave his return to Moscow (1695) the aspect of a triumph. This did not impose on the public opinion of the capital which was beginning to be doubtful as to his reforms. He was bringing from Holland, Germany, and Venice artillery officers, engineers, sailors, miners, and surgeons. Workshops and shipyards were erected along the banks of the Don and, though mishaps and disappointments delayed his preparations, everything was at last ready for a new expedition. In the spring of 1696 Azoff was attacked and captured. A new city was erected with a dockyard in which the construction of a Black Sea fleet began.

Peter was dominated by a desire to secure a personal acquaintance with the ways of western Europe. He organized an expedition of some three hundred persons to visit north Germany, Holland, England, Venice, and Austria. It started from Moscow in March 1697. Amongst them was a minor official, known as Peter Mikhailoff, whose incognito was to be respected under pain of death. On reaching Holland he let the party break up into detached missions to pursue their investigations, recruit useful helpers for Russia and purchase equipment for the new development of industry. Continuing his journey alone he embarked on the lower Rhine and spent eight days (18-26 August) working in a shipyard for river-craft at Saardam. He went on to Amsterdam where he was introduced to the shipyard of the Dutch East India Company and then spent some weeks visiting factories of all kinds, chemical works, saw-mills, rope-walks, and paper-mills. He interested himself in the studios of engravers, the school of anatomy and dentistry, and the city fire organization. Then he crossed over to England, and for a while spent his time meeting experts in various arts and manufactures, and then went to live in a cottage at Deptford, and worked day after day in the local dockyard. Returning to Holland he

went on to Vienna, where he was preparing for a visit to Venice when a message from Moscow led him to cut short his tour. Those who had met him during his travels received very divergent impressions of his character. Some all but decided that he must be mad, though something of a mad genius. He would show deep intelligence at one time and at another indulge only in foolish gossip; his conduct would be now correct and dignified, and then he would indulge in drunken follies; his manner might be kindly with some, with others rough and repulsive. The news that called him back to Russia was that the council of boyars which he had left in charge of public affairs at Moscow was facing a serious revolt of the Strelitzi and the Raskolniks. Their grievances were that everything was being changed from the good old ways of Russia.

On reaching Moscow, Peter declared that the rebels had been too mercifully treated. They had objected to the order to give up wearing beards. He began by cutting off beards and then heads. Seventeen hundred of the Strelitzi were tortured and executed in batches of two or three hundred at a time. Rebels who were sent to Siberia were flogged or mutilated before setting out and then died on the way, and it was forbidden to bury the corpses. In the winter of 1698 the battlements of the Kremlin bore severed heads and were hung with frozen corpses.¹ Some years later, in 1707, a rising in the province of Astrakhan was dealt with in the same way. A revolt among the Cossacks

¹ The Empress Eudoxia was accused—rightly or wrongly—of having favoured the revolt. Peter divorced her and sent her to a convent, not as a nun, but as a lifelong prisoner. She left a son, Alexis, whose story is one of the foulest blots on the memory of Peter the Great. He was educated for a military career, and in his early youth was attached to his father's staff in the field and recognized as Tsarevitch. There was little sympathy between father and son, and distrust led at last to a rupture. Alexis, who feared for his life, fled to Austria and Naples, but he was lured back to Russia, on the promise that he would not suffer for his disobedience and flight, Peter ratifying this pledge with a solemn oath 'before God and His judgment seat'. The oath was soon disregarded. Peter accused the Prince of having plotted against him. He was savagely tortured, imprisoned to force him to accuse his friends as accomplices, and condemned to death (1718); after two cruel floggings with the knout he died. Several of his friends were put to death, with horrible savagery, several of them being impaled, or broken on the wheel by order of the 'enlightened sovereign', who posed as the bringer of Western civilization to Russia.

of the Don and the Dnieper met with the same punishment. Henceforth there was no opposition to the creation of the new state and the new regular army.

Peter made his borrowings from the civilization of the West not all at once but step by step. It was thus that he gradually introduced central, provincial, and municipal government institutions, and military and educational systems. His decree of 1702 opened Russia to a considerable immigration of foreigners, giving them many privileges and immunities, and he sent young Russians to be educated in France, England, and Germany and at Venice. He kept in touch with a kind of head-quarters staff of foreign experts and of Russians who had rallied to his policy of 'reform'. Among the foreigners was his first guide, Lefort of Geneva, and for military matters a Scottish soldier of fortune, from Aberdeen, General Patrick Gordon.

New institutions were established one by one, the State Chancellory (1702), the Senate in 1711, and permanent state-boards, provincial governments, and municipalities. He found the reorganization of the Russian Church a more difficult enterprise. He had to deal with the opposition of the Patriarchs Joachim (1690) and Adrian (1711). These were the last of their line. He replaced the power of a single prelate by a state organization, the 'Ecclesiastical College', soon to be known as the 'Holy Synod'. It issued his ukases and had a bureaucracy to conduct all business. The religious houses were numerous. In 1722 there were 14,534 monks and 10,673 nuns. Their property was declared to be that of the State and inventories of everything were drawn up. The use of pens, ink, and paper in the cells was forbidden. Then there was a decree forbidding those who died in several of the monasteries and convents to be replaced by new members of the communities, and as these died off the buildings were to be converted into refuges for aged and invalided soldiers.

The ukase of 1702, inviting foreigners to Russia, promised them 'the free exercise of their religion'. So, when he built his new capital, churches for Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Armenians were erected on the Nevski Prospekt. Only the Jews

and the Jesuits were excluded. But this 'religious liberty' was for foreigners only. Russians who abandoned the religion of the State were victims of the laws against heresy and risked the knout or even the death penalty.

The founding of his new capital, St. Petersburg, was a costly and difficult enterprise. Two motives inspired the undertaking. Peter meant to show how he was breaking with the past and creating a new Russia. So he dethroned the old capital of Muscovy—Moscow, the city of monasteries, and of the Strelitzi and Raskolniks. This new city was to be like Amsterdam and the other capitals of the West. It was built on the low islands of the marshy Neva delta, at the head of the Gulf of Finland, giving Russia one more opening to the sea, a gateway to Europe. Its destined site was on the barren borderlands of Ingria and Karelia, Swedish territories.

On the 11th November 1699 Peter I and Augustus II signed a secret treaty, Peter undertaking to begin hostilities against Sweden as soon as he had concluded peace with the Turks. On the previous 24th August Peter had signed another secret engagement with the malcontents of Livonia and Esthonia. He was lavish with protests and explanations to calm the anxiety that began to spread in Sweden, on vague reports of these arrangements, but, nevertheless, on receiving on the 8th August 1700 the news that peace had been signed with the Turks he, the next day, sent a message to King Augustus announcing that he was about to take the field. Peter and Augustus had already made an alliance with the King of Denmark, Frederick IV, who made the first move by invading Sleswig-Holstein, then a Swedish possession.

Charles XII of Sweden was only eighteen years of age; sober and continent in his young life, a believer and in his own way religious-minded, he imagined for himself a career like that of the heroes of romance. A hunter, a strong swimmer, and a finished horseman, he knew no weakness either towards others or for himself. He was a born soldier and he realized this, when in rapid succession the news came to him of Frederick IV's attack on Toenningen, the siege of Riga by Augustus II and

Peter I's march on Narva. At once he became a soldier and a general. He found at his disposal, and ready for war, the fine army formed and left to Sweden by Gustavus Adolphus. In six weeks he captured Copenhagen, subdued Denmark and concluded a treaty of peace with Frederick IV.

Freed from one of his three opponents, he crossed the Baltic, disembarked his small army at Pernau and marched on Narva. On the 30th November, with only 8,340 men, he attacked Peter's 40,000 Russians in their entrenched position near the place. After a hard fight the Russians at last gave way and abandoned the field, losing 6,000 men. The Swedish losses were only about 2,000.

The news of Narva was not unwelcome to the politicians of Germany and the western lands for whom Russia was still hardly yet recognized as belonging to the comity of European Powers. The Tsar was for some time discouraged and depressed at the failure of his new army, but he regained his former courage, put his north-western towns in a state of defence, kept his foundries busy casting cannon, reorganized the defeated regiments and raised ten more. He agreed with Augustus II to keep the Swedes occupied in two theatres of war: Poland and the Baltic provinces. The Russians were to operate in the enemy's provinces of Ingria and Karelia on the Gulf of Bothnia, while the Poles kept them busy in Lithuania.

Charles XII was now directing his main effort against Poland, or rather against Augustus II for he knew the Saxon King was unpopular with many of his Polish subjects, and it seemed it might be possible to displace him and detach Poland from the Russian alliance. But this Polish war cost Charles XII several years of campaigning. Success in the field would not secure his object unless there were time to gain over Polish partisans against the Saxon King. He occupied in succession Mitau, Warsaw, and Cracow, and at last secured the election to the Crown of a Polish noble, Stanislaus Lesczinski (12 July 1703). But it was not until he had finally dealt with Augustus's attempt to regain his Polish capital that the victorious invader had King Stanislaus crowned at Warsaw (4 October 1705). Peter

took advantage of the respite gained from Charles XII's occupation with Poland to attack the Swedes in their Baltic provinces. He defeated them at Brestfer and Ingrishof (9 January and 25 August 1702)—hard-fought battles in which they lost thousands of men. In the next three years success alternated with defeat, but the opponents in the Polish and the Baltic theatres of war stubbornly prolonged the conflict. At length there came a decisive crisis in the Polish war. On the 13th February 1706, Augustus II suffered a serious defeat at Frau-stadt on the Oder. Charles XII was now carrying the war into Saxony. He had established his camp at Altranstädt, not far from Leipzig, and was levying contributions on the country. Augustus II had lost Poland and was now in danger of losing also his hereditary kingdom of Saxony. He humbly sued for peace and the Swedish king dictated the terms. Augustus was to renounce for ever all claim to the Polish Crown, and to abandon the Russian alliance. He had to agree to this and signed the humiliating treaty on the 24th September 1706. Charles XII had now only one opponent, the Tsar Peter.

On the 1st September he broke up his camp at Altranstädt and with 26,000 men began his march towards Russia. He crossed the Vistula, entered Grodno, crossed the Niemen, and penetrated into the forest of Minsk. As he advanced the resistance of the Russians became more energetic. The Tsar was so encouraged by this vigorous resistance to the invaders that he wrote in his diary: 'Since I have been on active service I have never seen such heavy firing, never have my troops fought in such good order, never has the King of Sweden met with a resistance like this.' It began to make the Swedish generals anxious, as they saw the ranks of the army thinned at each encounter, and they had not yet got as far as Smolensk. Charles XII was expecting to be joined by General Lowen-haupt with 12,000 men and an immense convoy of supplies. Meanwhile he changed the direction of his advance, turning towards the Ukraine, where he hoped to be reinforced by a Cossack army under the Hetman Mazeppa. As the chief of the Cossacks of this region, Mazeppa had long been associated with

the Tsar, who showed complete confidence in him. But he had lately been gained over by Charles's protégé Stanislaus Lecszinski, and in 1708 he had promised the Swedish King that, if he invaded Russia, he would bring 40,000 Cossacks to his standard. But he was denounced to the Tsar, and driven from his capital a ruined fugitive. He had got together only 15,000 men, and 12,000 of these deserted him when they found that he was not leading them to join the Russian army. He was thus able to bring only 3,000 of his Cossack horsemen to join Charles XII.

Day by day the situation was becoming worse for the King of Sweden. Lowenhaupt arrived, but of the expected reinforcement of 12,000 men he had brought in only 7,000 and they had with them not a single cannon and not even one wagon of the convoy. It was the terrible winter of 1709. The artillery horses died in such numbers that at last only teams for four guns remained. The surgeons were kept busy amputating frost-bitten fingers and limbs, and Charles meanwhile still dreamed of a march into Asia. When the fine weather returned in May he pushed on to Poltava on the Vorskla river, and besieged the town. His army, including some 3,000 Cossacks, now mustered only 24,500 men fit for service, and some 5,000 invalids. The Tsar Peter was marching to the relief of Poltava with only 5,400 men and a strong array of light artillery. At the first contact there was a slight success for the Swedes, but as the battle became general they were driven from the field in a confused rout. Charles XII was wounded and escaped with difficulty from the turmoil. The horses of the litter on which he had been placed were shot down; a horse on which he mounted was killed under him, and also the horses of a carriage in which he was laid; Mazeppa with some hundreds of his Cossacks was his escort. Wounded and weary he was tied on to a fresh horse and at last reached the north bank of the Dnieper. Only one small boat could be found, and with this the wounded king and his escort were ferried to safety on its southern shore. All that was left of the Swedish army, about 14,000, surrendered to the victors (8 July 1709). The disaster of Poltava marked the ruin of Sweden, and presaged

the triumphs of Russia and the rise of this new Slav Power to empire.

While the war dragged on in somewhat desultory fashion Peter retained his hold on Ingria and in May 1703 laid the foundation stones of St. Petersburg. It had a marshy unhealthy site, mostly on islands, liable to floods each spring, and there was plenty of occupation for his Dutch engineers. To the end of his life he was extending his new city and decorating it with palaces and public buildings.

Charles and his companions took refuge in Turkish territory, and he spent the next five years (1709-14) in semi-captivity at Bender on the lower Dniester. He tried to induce the Turks to make a movement against the Tsar, to whom he had had to abandon his Baltic provinces and the German possessions of Sweden. The Power founded by Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus was menaced from many sides, by enemies that had feared to challenge it, but for whom any bold stroke now looked hopeful. While the Russians were trying to secure possession of Finland, the Swedish Baltic provinces, and the islands, the Danes made a dash for Wismar and menaced Sweden itself, the Prussians hoped to seize Pomerania, and Hanover raised a claim to Bremen and Verden. All these schemes of grasping ambition were based on the Tsar Peter's success. Germany was grovelling at his feet and anxious for his alliance.

Turkey, despite the suggestions of successive French ambassadors at Constantinople, had not realized and seized the opportunity of intervening in Hungary and thus raising difficulties for the Emperor, and for Augustus II and the Tsar. After the thunderstroke of Poltava it might well seem that the opportunity for action had passed, and that it was not the time to challenge the victor. But after some hesitation, the Sultan Ahmed II was more favourably impressed by the offer of the exiled King of Sweden to place his military talents at the disposal of a Turkish army, and began seriously to plan a war with Russia. Before he was ready to act there suddenly came, in October 1710, an ultimatum from the Tsar demanding the immediate expulsion of Charles XII from Turkish territory,

under a menace of a declaration of war. It was not only his recent success that inspired Peter with the idea of new conquests. He was receiving repeated appeals for help from the Christians of the Balkan lands—Albanians, Serbs, Greeks, Bulgars, and Rumanians. He believed sincerely that it was his duty to act as the liberator of the Christians, and trusted to the promises he had received of his action being supported by a widespread insurrection against the Sultan.

The Turks refused to expel or betray their 'guest', but Peter lost the opportunity of an immediate march into Turkey, which would find his opponents unprepared for war, for he had first to deal with an unexpected invasion of southern Russia by the Khan of the Crimea. This delayed his opening of the campaign till the summer of 1711, though as rumours of coming war reached the Balkans there had been premature local risings in Montenegro, Serbia, and Albania. It was not until the 11th July that, at last, the Tsar crossed the Pruth. He expected that, as he advanced, he would be continually reinforced by armed bands of insurgents. But he had come too late. The Turks had massed large forces in the frontier province and had sternly repressed every movement of revolt. Only mere handfuls of local auxiliaries joined him, and he found himself presently in contact with far superior forces. He ordered a retreat, but it had hardly begun when he realized that his flanks were being turned and his forces enveloped by a Turkish army some five times more numerous than his own. On the 20th July he fought a battle near Stanileschi, in the hope of holding the pursuit and clearing his line of retreat. It ended in failure and the situation seemed hopeless.

During the night that followed the Tsar lay for some time helpless in an epileptic fit. His wife Catherine took control of the situation, collected, mostly from the military chest, a sum of 150,000 roubles and sent them into the Turkish camp with envoys who presented this friendly gift to the Grand Vizier and proposed a truce with a view to negotiations. The truce was arranged and the brief negotiations that followed ended with the Treaty of the Pruth, on the 23rd July 1711. The conditions

insisted upon by the Turkish Vizier made it all but a capitulation. Content with his success, he had no wish to storm the Russian camp and was anxious to reap at once a solid gain and end the war, all the more because he would have to suppress the risings in the north-west. It was agreed that the Tsar should withdraw the invading army and hand over to Turkey Azoff, Taganrog, and other fortified places in what had once been Turkish territory; he was further to abstain from interference in Polish affairs and Charles XII was to be free to return to his own country. This last stipulation may have been a politely expressed agreement of the Turks to expel this dangerous guest.

Meanwhile Peter was compensated by successes in the north that drove the Swedes out of the Baltic provinces south of the Gulf of Finland. When peace was at last arranged he obtained the annexation of these provinces and of Karelia and Ingria, where he had already founded his new capital. Soon after his return to his country Charles XII was killed by a musket shot while reconnoitring the little fortress of Frederikshall (11 December 1718) in a campaign which he had undertaken against the Norwegians.

The last military enterprise of Peter's reign was a war with Persia, by which he secured Baku and the west and north shores of the Caspian Sea, an opening for trade and possible conquests in central Asia. Meanwhile the Volga was linked with the Neva by a canal, thus giving a water-way for summer traffic across the Empire from the new capital on the Baltic to the new territory on the Caspian.

A code of laws was issued to meet the needs of the changed conditions of Russia. The nobles were required to give some years to service in the army. Serfdom remained the normal condition of the peasants, and their lot was a miserable one. They bore the main burden of successive wars and of the Tsar's schemes for developing his territories. He made some attempts to protect them against bad masters, without much result. He forbade the sale of serfs apart from the transfer of the land on which they worked, and the breaking up of families

by such sales. But there was not much practical respect for these regulations.

The semi-Asiatic conditions of old Russia had established among the upper classes the custom of keeping the daughters of the house secluded in the *terem*, a suite of women's apartments. They quitted these only when they were married to a husband, whom they had perhaps never seen till then. Peter enacted in 1701 that henceforth marriage was to be preceded by a betrothal for six months, during which time the young couples should have frequent opportunities for meeting each other, and this betrothal could be cancelled by either party.

He himself entered into a second marriage in 1710, while his first consort was still living in her convent prison. During his campaigns in the Baltic provinces he had been attracted by a young servant girl in the household of Prince Mentschikoff; she was Martha Skavronsky, the daughter of a Lithuanian peasant. She had married a Swedish dragoon, who disappeared in a lost battle, after which Martha was found among the prisoners of war in the hands of the victorious Russians. Though she was uneducated, her subsequent career showed that she was remarkably intelligent, and ready to learn and adapt herself to a new life. She became the constant companion of the Tsar, and within two years of their first meeting their irregular relations were regulated by her baptism in the Cathedral of Moscow, when she received the new names of Catherine Alexievna, and was married to the Tsar. In 1716-17 Peter with his new consort went to Paris and made a tour in western Europe. The Tsar spent an immense sum in buying books for the libraries of St. Petersburg, and pictures and statues for its palaces and art galleries. It was after his return to Russia that he published a decree declaring Catherine his successor (1723) and her coronation as Tsaritsa took place at Moscow in the following year, and there was a state entry into the new capital.

He had given Russia a new currency of gold, silver, and bronze and reorganized the finances; extended taxation to every branch of industry and trade; and thanks to these measures and the extension of his dominions the revenue had risen from three

to ten millions of roubles in the fifteen years after 1710. But the money thus reckoned in the public accounts could not represent actual expenditure, for all his undertakings were largely executed by servile or merely nominally paid labour and the public accounts took no reckoning of local and personal finance. He had introduced an immense variety of manufactures into Russia, improved (though only on a limited scale) its agriculture, and developed the fisheries and mines and overseas commerce. By the end of his reign his armies numbered over 200,000 men, and the navy list told of 48 ships of the line, and some 700 light craft, including, it would seem, gunboats and revenue cutters on lakes and rivers, and in the shallow coastal waters. Russia was then, as indeed it still is, a country of few cities or large towns and a vast number of villages. His 'reforms' touched chiefly the life of the former, the townsfolk, and the great houses of the noble classes in city and country. The life of the serf population of the villages was little changed. But enough had been done to bring Russia into Europe, and in a single lifetime it had gained the rank of a great power.

Peter died in January 1725. He is remembered as 'Peter the Great', and he had some claim to greatness in the titanic energy with which he carried through his 'reforms' and the vast range of his activities. His admirers in the West wrote of him as the civilizer of Russia. The plain fact would seem to be that he grafted on the old stock of Muscovy some fruits of the current phase of the European civilization of his time.

16. THE SPANISH SUCCESSION (1700-15)

Since the fall of the Roman Empire there had never been the spectacle of such a vast dominion of kingdoms and provinces. All that one might say of it could hardly be more eloquently impressive than the mere enumeration of the territories of the Spanish Crown. Besides the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre and their dependencies, there were in Europe the Milanese territory and Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, the garrison towns of Tuscany, and the Marquisate of Finale on the Gulf of Genoa; in Africa the garrison towns of Ceuta,

Melilla, &c., and the Canary Islands; in Oceania the Philippine and Caroline Islands; in the West Indies Cuba, Porto Rico, and Trinidad; on the American Continent, Florida with its neighbouring islands, Mexico (then including Texas, California, and the coast lands of the North Pacific), and the whole of Central and South America, except Brazil. The prospect of the question of this immense heritage being opened at an early date had led the King of France and the German Emperor to sign the Peace of Ryswick, without any sincere love of peace, but mainly with a view to preparing to assert their rival claims. England and Holland, which were their co-signatories, were keenly interested onlookers.

Charles II of Spain died without any children. He had two sisters, the elder married to Louis XIV and the younger to Leopold I. The two brothers-in-law of the Spanish King held that they had equal rights. Louis XIV claimed these in the name of his wife, whose renunciation of the succession had never been ratified by the Cortes, and whose dowry had not been paid. Leopold relied upon the rights which his wife had never renounced, but to calm the anxieties that might so readily be aroused at the thought of a revival of the empire of Charles V he meant to divide his part in the succession between his son-in-law the Elector of Bavaria and his grandson the Archduke Charles of Austria. The decision depended on Charles II, and two rival parties were pressing him to accept their views. These were a German party supporting the candidature of the Bavarian Elector, and a French party which included most of the *grandees* of Spain and of the members of the Royal Council, under the leadership of Cardinal Porto Carrero, Archbishop of Toledo. The King was above all anxious to avoid a partition of the Spanish dominions, and he thought he was securing this object when he drew up his first will, by which he adopted and named as his successor his grand-nephew, the son of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria (1698).¹

The European governments were keenly interested in the

¹ He was still a boy, known as the 'Electoral Prince', that is heir to his father's dominions.

question. At London and The Hague Louis XIV was urging the necessity of maintaining the balance of power in Europe against the ambition of the German Emperor, and he succeeded in allaying the repugnance of William III and of Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, and concluded two treaties with them, on the 28th September and the 11th October 1698, giving the Bavarian Prince Spain, the Indies, the Spanish Netherlands, and Sardinia; and leaving the two Sicilies, the garrison towns of Tuscany, with Guipuzcoa and the Marquisate of Finale to the Dauphin of France; and the Milanese territory to the Emperor.

The secret of these treaties was betrayed and came to the knowledge of the Spanish King, who once more named as his heir the Bavarian candidate (November 1698). The Prince was only seven years of age. He died suddenly on the 11th February 1699. The negotiations between Versailles, London, and The Hague were actively resumed, and ended in two more partition treaties (13 and 25 March 1700). Charles II was furious. His Council suggested to him the idea of leaving all his dominions to the younger grandson of Louis XIV, the Duke of Anjou. The Royal Council, the lawyers and theologians who were consulted, Cardinal Porto Carrero, and the Pope all approved this choice, and on the 2nd October Charles II signed a will by which he annulled the resignations of Anne of Austria and Maria Theresa, and left the twenty-two crowns of the Spanish Empire to Philip, Duke of Anjou, with the reservation that these should never be united to the Crown of France.

On the 1st November Charles II died. On the 9th a courier arrived at Fontainebleau bringing the news from Spain to Louis XIV. It was not entirely satisfactory, for the will of the Spanish King placed Louis in the presence of two contradictory acts of state, the treaties he had concluded with England and the Dutch Republic. On the 10th he met his Council and deferred any decision; but on the 16th he announced that he accepted the will, and the Duke of Anjou, assuming the title of Philip V, set out for his kingdom accompanied by his two brothers, the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri. On the 5th April 1701 he made his State entry into Madrid.

At London and The Hague the reasons put forward by Louis XIV for accepting the will of Charles II were at first satisfactory. But William III and Heinsius felt they were the victims of a political manoeuvre when Louis XIV made a mistake that looked not unlike a challenge. On the 3rd February, under the pretext of assuring the future of his grandson, whose position in Spain was not yet secure, he decreed that Philip V's eventual right to the Crown of France was to be maintained. Further he sent orders to the governments and viceroys of the Spanish possessions that they were for the time being to obey his directions. Finally, on the 6th February, as a precaution against any possible reluctance of the Spanish Netherlands to accept a French king, he took a bold step, which might well be considered as an act of war in time of peace. Along the frontier between France and the Spanish Netherlands (the Belgium of our day) under then existing treaties, seven fortified towns, 'the Barrier Fortresses', were held by mixed garrisons made up of contingents of Spanish and Dutch troops. French columns marched on these places in the night, and with the help of the Spanish troops compelled the Dutch detachments to withdraw. Louis XIV had thus seized the barrier line of defence as if he was already master of the country.

London and The Hague were still hesitating between accepting the Spanish King's will or acting on the treaties of partition. But at Vienna the Emperor was preparing for a war, which he hoped would lead to the humiliation of the Bourbons. He broke off diplomatic relations with France. He counted on the alliance or, at least, the neutrality of the German princes. Denmark and Sweden offered their aid, though it was hardly of any very great value. But when England and Holland took action it seemed to be a revival of the coalition of 1689. The new allies reckoned on weakening the power of their opponent by their relations with the malcontents in France and Spain. It was anticipated that Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia would claim their old rights of local autonomy and that the people of the Cevennes and the French Huguenots would welcome the

opportunity for a revolt. On the 7th September William III signed the Treaty of the Grand Alliance between England, Holland, and Austria. Its purpose was declared to be 'to restore the control of the Barrier Fortresses to the Dutch; to secure for the Emperor the Spanish possessions in Italy; and to provide that there should never be a union of the crowns of France and Spain'.

While the war storm was gathering the exiled James II of England was dying at St. Germain. Louis XIV paid him a visit, and, though he had already recognized William of Orange as King of England, he promised James that he would recognize the claims of his son to the English Throne. It was no use suggesting that this was an act of no real political significance but only a word of consolation to a dying man. James died on the 6th September, the eve of the day when the Treaty of the Grand Alliance was signed. When the news of the French King's promise reached England William III dissolved a Parliament in which he had had to deal with a strong opposition. At the elections the most was made of the French King's announcement that he would interfere in English affairs. When the new House of Commons met in the first days of the New Year of 1702, the Government had a strong majority, and an Act was passed compelling all officials to take an oath abjuring the claims of 'the Pretender', and liberal supplies were voted for the army and navy and the expenses of the coming war.

On the 19th March William III died, and Anne succeeded to the Throne. Thanks to the unbounded influence of his wife over the Queen, the Earl of Marlborough was given command of the army. In this highly gifted soldier and in the Austrian commander, Prince Eugène, the coalition had two of the best war leaders of the time. Louis XIV had to face a difficult position at the outset of the conflict. French finances were in a doubtful state, for the taxation was giving disappointing results, and recruiting for the army was backward. Outside France he could count only on what help might come from Spain, and from his only friends among the German princes, the Elector of Bavaria and his brother the Elector of Cologne.

He could not hope for anything from Italy, and the Duke of Savoy was soon to abandon and betray him. The King of Portugal promised armed assistance and insisted on a high price for the promise he soon forgot. Agreements made with the Hungarian leaders and the Turks had before long to be put aside as useless. The statesmen and the famous marshals of France who had won success in earlier years had nearly all passed away. Vendôme and Villars could not compare with Condé and Turenne.

First Years of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-5). The record of the war during its first three years shows us no brilliant victories or decisive results. In Italy the Emperor began with an armed occupation of the Milanese territory. Prince Eugène forced Marshal Catinat to retreat. The incapable Villeroy was sent to his aid, but only made matters worse, until the Duke of Vendôme took over the command and restored the advantage to the French arms. He was preparing to make an advance through the passes of the Tyrol, in order to join hands with the Bavarians, and strike a decisive blow at the Imperialists, when Victor Amadeus, the Duke of Savoy, who had so far been the ally of France, concluded a secret treaty with the Emperor, and Vendôme was forced to turn back in order to attempt to disarm his Savoyard and Piedmontese auxiliaries. At the end of 1703 he found himself held up by the united forces of the Austrians and the Piedmontese.

In the Netherlands, after a French advance pushed as far as Nijmegen, there was a forced retirement to Liège and the south bank of the Meuse. Next year the army commanded by the Duke of Burgundy, the brother of Philip V with Marshal de Boufflers for his adviser, remained on the defensive, and Marlborough completed the conquest of Guelders and Limburg. His progress was hampered by the refusal of the Dutch to break off their business relations with France, and by the deputies of the United Provinces, who were the paymasters of the troops, insisting on his consulting them as to his operations.

In Spain Philip V, though he professed the most admirable

intentions for the advantage of his new kingdom, and a desire to support France in the war with the Allies, did very little in either direction. His professed goodwill counted for little with such a lack of energy. Louis XIV sent him excellent suggestions, which he seemed hardly to understand, and in any case neglected. The French ambassador became a member of his Council, and a French expert, Orty, was sent to Madrid to reorganize the Spanish finances. Philip V was anything but pleased with being thus under the tutelage of his grandfather, and, to make his dependence less obvious to general notice, he left Spain for a while to visit his dominions in Italy. He spent some time at Milan and Naples, leaving his wife to act as Queen Regent in his absence. She was of a more active and intelligent character than her husband, and with the help of her French advisers introduced some useful reforms.

King Pedro II of Portugal, though nominally the ally of France at the outset of the war, was at first little more than an interested spectator of the great conflict. In 1703, under the pretext that France had not fulfilled the promises made to him in the treaty of alliance in 1701, he went over to the coalition. Besides the alliance he was able to arrange a treaty of commerce that opened his ports freely to English manufactures, while in return the duties on Portuguese wines were reduced in England (27 December 1703).

Perhaps King Pedro's abandonment of the French alliance was in some degree influenced by the fact that a combined English and Dutch fleet of fifty battleships had been active off the coast of his kingdom since the spring of 1702 under Admiral Sir George Rooke. The Admiral had avoided any hostile action against Portugal, but Lisbon was at his mercy. Rooke had made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Cadiz, as a base of operations for his fleet, but had found ample compensation for this failure in his attack on the Spanish treasure fleet from Mexico, and its escort the French fleet off Châteaurenault, in Vigo Bay (12 October 1702). Twenty-four of the French warships were sunk or captured, and sixteen of the galleons were taken with treasure amounting to some two millions

sterling. The Portuguese alliance made Lisbon and the sheltered estuary of the Tagus a splendid naval base for the British and Dutch fleets. In the following year Rooke seized Gibraltar. The garrison was weak, the fortress neglected by the Madrid Government, and it was taken in twenty-four hours (4 August 1704). The French fleet came out of Toulon, and on the 24th Rooke was in action with it off Malaga. The battle was, like many naval engagements of the seventeenth century, an indecisive affair, a cannonade between fleets passing and repassing each other on opposite tacks, without any close fighting. Both sides claimed a success, but Rooke remained in control of Gibraltar and the Straits while the French fleet went back to Toulon.

In eastern France, at the outset, Catinat had adopted a cautious defensive policy, but when Villars was sent to direct the operations he won the Battle of Friedlingen (14 October 1702) and followed up the Imperialists beyond the Rhine. In the following January he joined hands with the Bavarians, and tried to induce the Elector to make an immediate advance and threaten Vienna. But the Elector was bent on attempting a conquest of the Tyrol, and counted on being aided by an advance of Vendôme from Italy over its southern passes. But Vendôme was kept busy by the defection of the Duke of Savoy, and the Tyrolese made a successful defence against the Bavarians. Villars had established himself in central Bavaria on the Danube, and on the 20th September 1703 defeated the Austrians at Höchstädt. But the Elector's Tyrolese adventure ended in failure, and he agreed to join the French on the Danube for a projected advance on Vienna in the next year's campaign. Marshal Tallard was to command the united armies, for Villars was recalled to France to deal with a formidable rising in the south which was diverting considerable forces from the war with the coalition.

After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and the departure of large numbers of the Huguenots to other lands, there still remained a remnant in France. A considerable number held together in the mountain district of the Cevennes,

which extends north-westward from the lower Rhône, forming the watershed between the Loire and the Garonne. Before the beginning of the war there had been for some time an outbreak of revivalist excitement in the district. Hysterical prophetesses were calling for armed resistance to the Government and predicting a great triumph for 'the religion'. The assassination of the Abbé Du Chayla¹ (24 July 1702) was the signal for a widespread insurrection with the burning of churches and the murder of priests and prominent Catholics. The insurgents found an enterprising chief in Jean Cavalier, who became famous as a guerilla leader. The bands he organized were known as the Camisards, from the white shirts they wore over their blouses as a means of mutual recognition in night raids. The Dutch sent money to the rebels and English smugglers landed arms and supplies for them, when the reign of terror spread from the hills to the level lands about Nîmes. Besides the religious quarrel there were grievances in matters of local government affecting both Catholics and Protestants and some of the former made, early in the movement, an effort to assist the insurgents, if the Huguenots would reduce their demands to toleration, but the negotiations led to no result. For the civil war had become an orgy of atrocities and ferocious reprisals. In 1703 Marshal de Montrevel took command of the royal troops and his force was raised to some 60,000 men. He burned more than 400 villages. Irregular bands of volunteers carried on a warfare of their own on his side, under the name of the 'cadets of the cross', and were opposed by bands of Huguenot terrorists, the 'blackshirts' (*Camisards noirs*), and the conflict was marked by new horrors. In the diocese of Nîmes alone the insurgents burned 200 churches and hanged 84 priests. The bishops made unavailing efforts to diminish the horrors of the civil war and arrange a peace. In the autumn of 1704 De Montrevel was superseded in command by Marshal de Villars. He swept the Cevennes country with lightly equipped and swiftly moving columns of his regular troops to break up the

¹ Du Chayla had been prominent in the King's unwise policy of attempting to coerce the Huguenots into 'conversion'.

Camisard bands. Prisoners taken in arms were shot without mercy, but at the same time he offered an amnesty to all who came in and surrendered. Jean Cavalier was now losing hope, and Villars entered into correspondence with him, offering to take him into the King's service and get him command of a regiment of Huguenots. The Camisard chief found that his friends would not agree to this plan, but he gave up the struggle and escaped from France with a number of his followers, who entered the English service. The movement was now breaking up. Thousands accepted the amnesty. Most of them went abroad. The Duke of Savoy welcomed many to his army in Italy. The Elector of Brandenburg formed three new regiments (the regiments of Varennes, Du Portail, and Du Troessel) chiefly of these Huguenot refugees. Though defeated in the Cevennes they had their revenge in battles in other lands against the soldiers of Louis XIV.

The crisis of the war in Germany came while a great French army under one of the best of the royal commanders was occupied in this miserable warfare in the Cevennes. The summer of 1704 saw the master-stroke of Marlborough's military career. He had realized that the most important matter was to drive the French out of south Germany. In the army of the Allies, which he led by the Rhineland to the Danube in eastern Bavaria, he took no Dutch troops with him in order to be free from the interference of the deputies of the United Provinces. He joined hands with the Austrian army of Prince Eugène, thus barring the way against a French advance on Vienna. The Allied force was about 52,000 strong. The opening move of the campaign was the storming of the Bavarian walled town of Schellenberg, commanding a crossing of the Danube.

Farther west (partly on the ground on which Villars had won the Battle of Höchstädt the year before) Tallard was encamped with the Franco-Bavarian army¹ on a good defensive position,

¹ Tallard's combined force was 56,000 strong. Of these 45,000 were French (including the foreign regiments, Irish, Swiss, German, and Italian in the French service). It was organized in two armies, French on the right, under the personal

its right flank protected by the large stockaded village of Blenheim on the Danube bank, its left by the thick forest of Lutzingen. There was a front of nearly five miles, the ground sloping gently to the hollow of the Nebel brook, a serious obstacle for it ran between marshy banks, in places overflowed by the stream. Tallard meant to make good use of his chosen battleground by fighting at the outset on the defensive, delaying the enemy's advance at the crossing of the swampy course of the Nebel, and counter-attacking with his masses of horsemen when only a part of the attacking force had made its way across marsh and stream. He held Blenheim on the flank of these obstacles with a strong infantry force. One may say that there were two battles. Tallard's immediate command was on the French right against Marlborough, De Marsin on the left against Eugène. The serious fighting began by Marlborough attacking Blenheim with his British infantry regiments. Here repeated attacks were repulsed. On the left De Marsin departed from his chief's plan, made the line of the Nebel his fighting front, and successfully opposed all Eugène's efforts to force his way across. Marlborough despite delaying counter-attacks gradually established a considerable force on the farther side of the Nebel. Tallard had delayed his intended great counter-attack too long, and when at last Marlborough flung his cavalry into action late in the afternoon he had 8,000 horse with strong infantry supports on the hard ground west of the Nebel and it was he that attacked. The French line was broken. The French cavalry were forced back to a bend of the Danube where numbers were driven into the river, and some thousands surrendered, Tallard being among the prisoners. The Italian regiments posted to support them had given way, almost without firing a shot, as the masses of horsemen surged back upon them. The garrison of Blenheim, cut off and battered with cannon fire, surrendered. De Marsin made no attempt to intervene, but continued his stand against Eugène till the French right had

command of Tallard, and on the left French and Bavarians under De Marsin, with whom was the Elector of Bavaria. Both the opposing armies were largely composed of cavalry.

been driven in and broken up. He then disengaged his army and drew off, Eugène making no serious attempt at pursuit. De Marsin's losses had been heavy. He continued his retreat first to the Rhine, then to the Moselle.

It was a disastrous day for the arms of Louis XIV. The way to Vienna was closed, and all Germany was lost for France. She had now to stand on the defensive.

Second Phase of the War—The Victories of the Coalition (1705-9). The years that followed were marked by further French defeats. Despite occasional gleams of success the general course of the war showed that the spell of victory had departed from the arms of Louis XIV. But it is to the credit of the patriotic spirit of his people that in these dark days there was a popular rally to the defence of France that may almost be compared with the splendid movement of devotion to their native land that was called forth by the disasters of the opening phase of the war in 1870.

Marlborough had brought back his army to the Netherlands after Blenheim, and in the next year's campaign he was again in command of the Allied forces on the northern front. His opponent was the incapable Villeroy. In the opening action of the campaign, the Battle of Ramillies, Villeroy blundered so hopelessly as to give the Anglo-Dutch army a fairly easy victory. The British cavalry, which had hardly been seriously engaged in the fight, pursued the defeated army for nearly twenty miles and the retreat became a rout. There was some compensation for France in the fact that Villeroy was no longer entrusted with any command in the field. But the result of the battle was that the French army lost the Netherlands.

On the eastern front Villars was again in command, holding Alsace and the strong points of Toul, Verdun, and Metz on the line of the Moselle, reorganizing the army and restoring its confidence in its able commander and in itself. In Piedmont, in the year before, the Marshal de Vendôme had defeated the Imperialists at Cassano (16 August 1705). He gained another victory over them at Calcinato, on the 19th April 1706. But after Ramillies he was recalled to Flanders, to supersede Ville-

roy and defend the north of France. He left to Marshal de la Feuillade the command in Italy and the responsibility for carrying on the siege of Turin. But the fortress held out successfully through the summer, and at last the siege was abandoned after incurring heavy loss (7 September 1706). The result was to leave the Duke of Savoy in secure possession of his capital and abandon to him all the towns of the Milanese territory. Louis XIV made an agreement with the Emperor Joseph I (the successor of Leopold) by which Italy became a neutral land. Thus ended the reign of Philip V in Italy. All authority and influence was lost to him from Turin to Naples and Palermo. Pope Clement XI judged this to be a favourable opportunity for recognizing the Archduke Charles III as the 'Catholic King' of Spain.

Provence was soon imperilled and then invaded. On the 11th July 1707 an Austro-Piedmontese army of 40,000 men crossed the river Var and marched on Toulon, which was not strongly fortified on the land side. The advance of the invaders was so slow that Marshal de Tessé had time to reorganize its defences. He held out successfully through the siege of six months, and the invaders withdrew, devastating the country. He had not the power to prevent this.

In Spain the situation seemed even more alarming. A considerable part of his kingdom broke away from Philip V. Besides Gibraltar he lost Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and all the Mediterranean coast. There was left to him only Andalusia, Estramadura, Galicia, Navarre, and the Castiles. Rooke's fleet had already (1704) escorted his rival the Archduke Charles to Lisbon and landed 10,000 British troops, to join a Portuguese army in a march into Spain. The fleet now conveyed 'Charles III' to Barcelona, where he was received as its sovereign. On the 3rd March 1706 Philip V with an army, the last he could muster, assisted by a few thousand French troops and the fleet of the Count of Toulouse, besieged Barcelona and captured the citadel. But he could not prevent the British fleet from raising the blockade of the city, and he had to retreat into Castile. Soon after he had to abandon Madrid, which was occupied by an

army of British and Portuguese under a Huguenot exile, the Marquis de Ruvigny, now a general in the English service and bearing the title of Earl of Galway. He held Madrid for some months for Charles III, but the misconduct of some of the English soldiers in the churches led to troubles with the inhabitants. There was no outbreak of revolt, but numbers of the strangers were stabbed in the streets at night. Galway evacuated the city on the approach of a superior force under the command of the Duke of Berwick (a natural son of James II). The Allies retired towards Andalusia, pursued by Berwick. On the 25th April 1707 he attacked them at Almanza, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. Jean Cavalier's regiment of Huguenots from the Cevennes, serving under the British flag, was almost completely destroyed. In the summer Valencia and Aragon were regained for Philip V.

This, however, was an isolated success. Next year the Duc de Vendôme took the offensive in Flanders against Marlborough and Eugène. On the 11th July 1708 at Oudenarde, near Ghent, the French were defeated with heavy loss, and there was a disastrous retreat across the frontier. Marlborough was anxious to carry the war into the heart of France by a march on Paris, but the Dutch delegates insisted that the fortresses of Lille must first be taken. On the 12th August the Allies invested the place expecting that the siege would not long delay them. But the Governor of the fortress, old Marshal de Boufflers, held the city till the 22nd October, and then withdrew into the citadel and held on there till the 10th December. His heroic defence of Lille is one of the finest of such exploits recorded in military history.

France was feeling the strain of the prolonged war. Everywhere there was shortness of money. Louis XIV sent quantities of his plate to be melted down and increased the taxes. But all this was like a drop in the flood of expenditure needed to maintain the armies in the field. Traders and manufacturers were hardly able to keep their business in existence, and in 1709 there came a calamitous time for the farmers. There was a winter such as no one then living had ever seen. It froze the

ground, the trees, the country folk. In one province, the 'Île de France', some 30,000 died of the bitter cold and when the frost broke there were inundations and famine. Fénelon might well say: 'It is only by a miracle that the people remain alive.'

Louis XIV was carrying on a correspondence with Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary, in the hope of detaching the United Provinces from the coalition. In the spring of 1709 these negotiations began to take a more definite form. But the Dutch were continually increasing their demands for further advantages in a suggested treaty of commerce. Marlborough and Prince Eugène had gone to The Hague, and were sparing no effort to embitter even the most trifling differences of opinion. Nevertheless, a conference at Woerden succeeded in drafting conditions to be submitted to the King's council at Versailles. But these proved to be unacceptable, and it was further evident that at any peace congress it must be expected that further and even more exorbitant demands would be put forward.

The Emperor was anxious to regain possession of Alsace, but the Duke of Lorraine also wanted to annex it, together with Luxembourg, so as to expand his duchy into a kingdom. But the Elector of Brandenburg was insisting on the necessity of adding Franche-Comté to the Empire. 'Alsace', he said, 'is not to be compared with Franche-Comté, for it is notorious that the Alsatians are more French than the Parisians', and he revealed the secret thoughts of the chiefs of the coalition when he added: 'We have got to harass France to death, with so many losses, demands, and distractions that the King will hardly be able to make his voice heard in the very centre of his kingdom.'

Though reduced to these straits Louis XIV could not be persuaded to abandon all hope of a final triumph. He had regarded himself as the master of Europe, but now his enemies wanted to tear to pieces the kingdom he had inherited. On the 29th May 1709, after reading a document presented to him as the proposed peace preliminaries of The Hague, he gave orders for the revocation of all the offers he had agreed to make to Holland and the other allies. When the news of this step

spread through France it came like a breath of hope and courage to the hearts of his people. There was an outburst of indignation such as to inspire the hope that a supreme effort would bring success at last. The King sent out to all his cities on the 12th June a manifesto in which he wrote thus:

Although my affection for my people is no less keen than that which I feel for my own children, and though I have shared all the troubles which the war has inflicted on my faithful subjects, and I have let all Europe see that I desire the blessings of peace, I am convinced that my people themselves would refuse to accept these blessings at the price of conditions opposed alike to justice and to the honour of France.

From that day the war was no longer a political conflict—it became a national war.

Though it ended in defeat, the Battle of Malplaquet (11 September 1709), in which Villars and Boufflers were in command, seemed to bring a presage of better days. Some 90,000 French troops, short of supplies, ill equipped, and many in worn-out uniforms, held their own for hours against superior Allied forces under Marlborough and Eugène. Villars was wounded, and Boufflers took over the command and made a perfectly ordered retreat without losing even a single company colour. The French lost some 12,000 killed and wounded, but the Allies had over 20,000 casualties and the Dutch regiments lost about half their officers and men. Villars was given almost a triumphal reception, and elated at the fine fight his troops had made he wrote to the King: 'If God is so good as to grant us another battle, even a defeat like this, Your Majesty may count on the ruin of your enemies.' Louis took advantage of the fine stand made by his marshals to reopen the negotiations of the year before.

Denain and the Peace of Utrecht (1710-13). The negotiations began at Gertruydenberg, while the war still dragged on. The Allies put forward a proposal that Louis XIV should provide a French contingent to act with them against Philip V in Spain. 'If the war is to continue,' said the old king, 'it is much better for me to wage it against my enemies rather than

against my children.' During the campaign of 1710 Villars held the Flanders front against the Allies, who lost some 40,000 men in action and under the stress of campaigning marked by no great event. But there was brilliant success for the French arms in Spain, where Vendôme won the victory of Villaviciosa (11 December 1710), and 'Charles III' found his possessions reduced to little more than Barcelona, his 'provisional capital'. Then there came an event in London, trifling in itself, but leading to decisive results. The Queen had broken with her favourite, the Duchess of Marlborough, and presently the Tories returned to power. They were the peace party, which was quite resolved to bring the war to an end. In January 1711 a French priest, resident in London, arrived at Versailles. He presented himself to Torcy, one of the King's ministers, as the agent entrusted with a proposal for a separate peace between France and England. The message was as welcome as a promise of health to a sick man. A memorandum bearing the initials of the Queen set forth the requirements of England and suggested what might be the basis of a general peace. The demands made were serious, but Torcy succeeded in obtaining some favourable modifications and the negotiations that followed led to the preliminaries being signed on the 8th October. Those that related to France and England were soon made public, despite the opposition of the Dutch and of Prince Eugène. But the whole situation had changed some months before as a result of the death of the Emperor Joseph I (17 April 1711) which left the succession to his brother, the Archduke 'Charles III', who had immediately taken possession of the hereditary states of the Habsburgs. It could hardly be expected that England would favour the union of Austria and Spain under the same sceptre, after having fought for ten years to prevent a union of the Spanish and French monarchies.

The purely defensive campaign of 1711 was uneventful. At the beginning of that of 1712 Louis XIV said to Villars: 'If there is a misfortune my army can hardly be so badly beaten as to be unable to make a stand on the line of the Somme. Write to me and I will get together every available man at Paris, and

then go to Péronne or St. Quentin to perish with you or save the state.' But the war was all but ended. On the 17th July a truce for four months was arranged between the French and English, the latter being given possession of Dunkirk. Prince Eugène thus found himself isolated. Nevertheless, he hoped to strike a great blow and score a success that would influence the negotiations, and in July he began an advance towards Landrecies. Villars misled him by bridging the Sambre and making a feint attack on the 23rd July, while his main body marching towards the Scheldt surprised the divided forces of the Imperialists by an attack at Denain in the dawn of the 24th. Seventeen of Eugène's battalions were cut off and captured and fifteen generals were among the prisoners. The French lost only some 500 men in this brilliant victory of Denain, the last battle of the long war, and the news of Villars's triumph brought new hope to France.

The rest of the summer campaign was uneventful, marked by only minor successes in Villars's defence of the frontier. The Dutch abandoned the struggle, and saw the peace negotiations carried on at Utrecht without much attention being given to their interests. Portugal and Savoy in succession withdrew from the war. On the 11th April 1713 a treaty of peace was signed at Utrecht, between France and Spain on the one side, and England, the United Provinces, Brandenburg, and Savoy on the other. The Emperor Charles VI ('Charles III' of Spain) held aloof from the negotiations for some time, and it was not till the 6th March 1714 that, by a treaty signed at Rastadt, he acceded to the general peace now restored to Europe. He refused, however, formally to recognize Philip V as King of Spain until 1725, but he abandoned the Catalans to their fate. They had fought for him in the hope of regaining the local privileges of their province. This was why they had thrown in their lot with the Allies. In 1714 the Duke of Berwick besieged and captured Barcelona. This was the last incident of the war.

The Situation in Europe at the Death of Louis XIV (1715). One of Richelieu's ideals was realized when a Bourbon took the

place of the Habsburgs at Madrid. But Spain had suffered the first diminution of the world-wide Empire 'on which the sun never set'. The home country remained intact, except for the loss of Gibraltar ceded with Minorca to England. Other losses notably reduced her once dominant position in western Europe. All the Italian possessions of the Spanish Crown were lost. Except for some gains to Savoy, these passed to the Habsburgs in compensation for the Emperor Charles VI abandoning his claim to the Spanish succession. He also obtained the Spanish Netherlands, henceforth to be known as the Austrian Netherlands.

In the fixing of the new Netherlands frontier France handed over to Austria some recent acquisitions, in what is now western Belgium—Tournai and Ypres, with some places of minor importance. But there was no loss of any other French territory in Europe, and on the eastern frontier there was the gain of what was at the time the important fortress of Landau. In North America France had to resign to England possessions destined to have a high value in after years—Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay Territory. But in the cession of Newfoundland the important cod-fishery rights of France were safeguarded. The Norman and Breton ports could still send out their annual fishing fleets, and these had the right of landing and drying fish on an extensive tract of the south coast, with the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon remaining (as they remain to this day) French possessions as overseas bases for the fishery. This had even a greater value for France than the preservation of an important industry of her northern ports; for the Newfoundland fishing fleets were a splendid school for seamen of her navy and her mercantile marine.

Besides these overseas acquisitions England obtained further advantages from the long war and the treaties and conventions at its close. Her navy had become the dominant sea-power, not only in the Atlantic, but also in the Mediterranean. Further, she secured the recognition by France of the change of dynasty resulting from the Revolution of 1688. This was a first step towards the far-reaching recognition of the principle that royal

successions depended not merely on the hereditary rights of a reigning family, but also on the interests and the will of a nation.

The Peace of Utrecht included a number of agreements as to trading rights, which in several instances were further set forth in commercial treaties between the Powers concerned. England thus secured the right to a privileged position in the slave trade between West Africa and the Spanish lands in America, taking the place so far given only to France as a sharer in what had hitherto been the monopoly of Spain.

Holland had gained some security for the future against the aggressive policy inaugurated by Louis XIV, but on the whole had been rather a loser by the war. The Republic of the United Provinces had become a second-rate Power. The Dutch fleet had supplied a strong force to operate with the British in the first years of the war, but after this the United Provinces neglected the navy and spent all available resources on keeping a large army in the field.

Two reigning princes, the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Savoy, had obtained by the end of the war the royal dignity and were henceforth to be known as the Kings of Prussia and of Sardinia.

Such was the general situation in 1715 when the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt had restored peace to Europe. As the long war ended Louis XIV, who had directed so many armed conflicts, was near his end. In the last years of his reign as a sovereign he had to suffer both in the fortunes of his kingdom and glories of his reign, and as a man he had been stricken by the loss of those who were dearest to him. His hopes for his dynasty had been all swept away. In less than three years four direct heirs to the Crown had been laid in the tomb, the Dauphin on the 14th April 1711, the Duchess and the Duke of Burgundy on the 12th and 18th February 1712, the Duke of Brittany on the 8th March 1712, and the Duke of Berri on the 4th May 1714. There was left to him only his great-grandson, Louis, a child only five years of age. The King was in his seventy-eighth year. He seemed fairly well, though his health

was clearly declining. There was thus the prospect of a regency, always a time of trial. The Regent would be his nephew, the Duke of Orléans, a prince of recognized ability but with an evil reputation.

On the 10th August 1715 the King was ill; on the 24th he was in a hopeless condition; on the 27th he sent his will to the 'Parlement of Paris'. 'Come what may of it,' he said, 'at least I shall have no more to say about it.' His whole bearing during these last days of his life was worthy of all admiration. He said to Villars: 'God is punishing me, and I have indeed deserved it.' At his request the little Dauphin was brought to him, and he said to the boy: 'My dear child, you are to be the greatest king in the world, but do not forget your duties to God. Do not imitate me in my wars, but try always to keep peace with your neighbours, and do all the good that is possible for your people. It has been my misfortune not to be able to do this, as a result of the needs of the State. Always follow good advice, and bear fully in mind that it is to God you owe all that you are.' The days that followed were marked only by the continual increase of his illness, with intervals of consciousness in which he expressed again and again his sincere repentance. When he heard the priests at his bedside saying the prayers for the agonizing, the dying man collected all his strength and repeated the *Ave* and the *Credo* and said once more 'O God come to my aid, O Lord make haste to help me'. Then he became again unconscious. He died in the early morning hours of the 1st September 1715.

17. THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1648-1718)

The Sultan Ibrahim had reigned eight years (1640-8) when he was assassinated, and his son, Mohammed IV, a boy of seven years, was proclaimed as his successor. Years of weakness and disorder followed, during the youth of the boy sultan. Two women were rivals for control of the State, and its fortunes depended on which of them could gain the help of partisans in the palace and among the leaders of the Janissaries. These were the boy's grandmother, the Sultana Kussum, and her

daughter-in-law Turkhana, the mother of the Sultan. For some three years the elder woman had the upper hand, but then (1651) Turkhana accused her of attempting to poison the Sultan, won the support of the Janissaries and admitted a party of them to the harem quarter of the palace. They strangled the Sultana Kussum, and Turkhana reigned in her stead, in fact though not in name. The fortunes of the State gained little for a while from this tragic *coup d'état*. Viziers and high officers of state appeared and disappeared at the beck of the soldier politicians on whom the Sultana had to rely for support. Meanwhile Mohammed IV grew to manhood in the idle surroundings of the palace. He was the first of a succession of sultans who for half a century left all public matters in other hands, and amused themselves with sport and pleasure, while the effective rule of the Ottoman Empire passed into the hands of a vigorous line of Grand Viziers, a dynasty in which power for a time passed as a matter of course from father to son, the decadent sultans giving their formal warrant to the succession. A refusal would have inevitably been followed by the Janissaries disposing of the reigning sovereign and substituting another and more submissive weakling of the once warlike line of Othman.

These Grand Viziers are known as the Kuprullu dynasty. The name came from that of the little town of Kupru, some thirty miles from Amasia in the north of Asia Minor. The first of the line was Mohammed Kuprullu Pasha. His family had come originally from Albania. He had passed his sixtieth year when, in 1656, the Sultana offered him the post of Grand Vizier, and he accepted it after insisting on conditions that gave him absolute power. For six years he used it with pitiless severity. He commanded armies, dealt with all affairs of state, and crushed out every attempt at revolt. It was said that in the first five years of his rule he sent to death by the halter and the headsman's sword, impalement and drowning, some 30,000 criminals, malcontents, and rebels. But it was said of him also that he was the protector of the peasants of the country-side and the traders and workers of city and town against the oppression of minor local despots and unjust masters.

When he assumed power over the Empire, its capital was in grave peril. A Venetian fleet was blockading the Dardanelles, and had seized Tenedos, Samothrace, and Lemnos. The imminent danger of the time and the losses already suffered in Constantinople by the blockade strengthened the hands of the soldier vizier, and gave him free scope for his drastic restoration of discipline in the Janissary corps, the general reorganization of the army, and the fitting out of a fleet reinforced by new galleys, to build and arm which dockyards and arsenals worked day and night. The Venetian fleet was beaten off, Lemnos reoccupied, and the forts of the Dardanelles improved and re-armed. He then dealt with the Cossacks of the Ukraine and the Don, and erected fortifications to secure the north-east border of the Empire and cut off these raiders from access to the Black Sea coast.

He was succeeded at his death (1651) by his son the Grand Vizier Kuprullu Fazil Ahmad. Two years later a Turkish army overran Hungary, Moravia, and part of Silesia and sent into slavery some 60,000 Christian captives. The Pope, Alexander VII, appealed to the Christian nations to come to the aid of Austria, and besides contingents sent by the German princes, a French force was supplied by Louis XIV. It was a temporary interruption of his usual policy of friendship with Turkey, and was the result of long-continued friction between the Kuprullus and the French embassy at Constantinople. The French contingent took a leading part in Montecuculli's victory of St. Gothard (1 August 1664),¹ which resulted in the rout of the Turkish army and the collapse of the invasion. This success of the Christian armies led to the Turks signing with the Emperor the Treaty of Vasvár (10 August 1664), by which both parties agreed to a truce for twenty years to come. Louis XIV, though his fleet still gave some help to the Venetian defence of Crete, withdrew from his temporary alliance with Austria. His fleet under Duquesne was at times active against Moslem piracy

¹ The battle took its name from the small town that had grown up round the great abbey of St. Gothard, at the crossing of the river Raab, on its upper course a few miles inside the western frontier of Hungary.

in the Mediterranean. Algiers and Tunis were bombarded in 1665, and in 1681 Duquesne blockaded the Dardanelles and enforced the surrender of five Christian vessels that had been taken by the Turks. But the French King was too occupied with his wars in the west to take much part in Eastern affairs and soon renewed his old friendship with the Sultan.

The decline of the Turkish power had begun, but there were still some successes for the Ottoman fleets and armies. Candia was captured in 1669, and Venice made a treaty by which Crete was abandoned to the Sultan, Venice retaining only the three ports of Suda, Grabusa, and Spinalonga. There was a short war with Poland that ended in the Poles abandoning all rights over the Cossacks of the southern Ukraine and paying a small annual tribute to Constantinople till this was repudiated by Sobieski.

On the death of the second of the Kuprullu viziers, the Sultan Mohammed IV appointed as his successor Kara Mustapha Pasha, a soldier whose ambitions were greater than his capacity for command. After involving Turkey in an unsuccessful campaign against Russia he was tempted by the internal troubles of Austria to break the truce of Vasvár. On the 14th July 1683 he crossed the Raab with an army 200,000 strong, and besieged Vienna. By the end of August the city was in dire extremity, but Sobieski with a Polish army came to the rescue, cut the invaders' communications and fell on their rear, defeating them in the great battle of the 12th September. The Turks made a disorderly retreat towards Belgrade, and in the battle and pursuit the Poles and Austrians captured 300 of their cannon. While he was collecting the remnant of his army at Belgrade Kara Mustapha was deprived of his command and beheaded.

It was Pope Innocent XI who called Sobieski to the rescue of Vienna. He took advantage of the enthusiasm aroused by this brilliant success to urge the Catholic Powers to form a 'Holy League' against the Turkish power, with the liberation of Hungary as its first object. He provided several millions of scudi for the expenses of the war and sent his galleys to join the fleet of Venice. Besides Austria and the Holy See, the new

alliance was joined by Poland and Russia, Venice, Tuscany, and the Knights of Malta. In Hungary in 1686 Buda and Gran were retaken from the Turks; next year there was a great victory over them at Mohacs on the very ground that a century and a half earlier had been the scene of the defeat and massacre of the Hungarians by Solyman the Magnificent. In 1688 an Austro-German army stormed Belgrade, and the liberation of Hungary was all but complete.

Meanwhile the Venetians, aided by other navies of the League, were winning Greece from the Turks. They conquered the Morea, took Corinth, and in 1687 besieged and captured Athens.¹

But at this moment when the Turkish power was in imminent peril, the divisions of western Europe stayed for a while the tide of victories of the Holy League. The war of the League of Augsburg had begun, and in 1689 the Emperor found he had to divert a large part of his forces from the Danube to the Rhine front to meet the armies of Louis XIV. It was now that the third of the Kuprullus, Fazil Mustapha Pasha, was chosen as Grand Vizier (1689) by the Sultan Solyman III, who had been placed on the throne by a revolt of the Janissaries. Fazil Mustapha gained some successes in the campaign of 1690 and retook Belgrade, but in the following year, when he crossed the Save with a large army, the Grand Vizier was defeated and killed in action at Salankamen, the Turks losing 28,000 men and 150 guns (19th August 1691). The war dragged on for some years without any decisive event. The Emperor had still to employ in western Europe forces that might have definitely turned the scale against Turkey in the East, and despite local defeats the Turks were still able to bring hardy recruits from

¹ An unfortunate incident of the siege was the ruin of the Parthenon. After the peace of the Church and the closing of the pagan temples, the Parthenon had been converted into a church dedicated to Our Blessed Lady, and soon became the Cathedral of Athens. Its Byzantine picture of Our Lady gave a new type to the ikons of the Madonna in the East, known as the 'Panagia Athenoissa' or, as we should say, 'Our Lady of Athens'. It was her sanctuary for more centuries than it had been the temple of Athene. The Turks, in their defence of Athens, used it as a powder magazine. On the 25th September 1687 it was wrecked by a Venetian shell firing the powder.

Asia to recoup their losses. In September 1697 the Peace of Ryswick released Austria from the position of carrying on a war on two fronts. While it was still being negotiated the Emperor had been able to move considerable forces eastward. These were placed under the command of Prince Eugène of Savoy, one of the great leaders of the time. On the 11th September 1697, at Zenta on the Theiss, he surprised and completely routed a Turkish army that pushed into Hungary from Belgrade. Hussein Pasha, another Kuprullu Vizier, the fourth of the line, reorganized the Turkish defence of the frontier and assembled in the following year a large army on the Save. But peace negotiations were opened through the good offices of some of the Western Powers, and in January 1699 the Peace of Karlowitz was concluded by treaties between Turkey and the Allies—Austria, Venice, and Poland. Hungary was definitely renounced by the Sultan, and Venice retained her conquests in Greece and Dalmatia. Azoff was ceded to Russia by a separate treaty in 1700.

Turkey had lost some of the most important conquests of Solymán the Magnificent and the decline of the Moslem Power had begun. Depressed and exhausted by the long war, the Turks refrained from any military adventures during the War of the Spanish Succession, and Russia's war with the northern Powers, until Peter the Great challenged a conflict by crossing the Pruth (1711). We have already told how he failed.

This unfortunate expedition of the Tsar had disastrous results for the Rumanian races. The Turks having no longer any confidence in their native princes handed the administration of Moldavia and Wallachia over to Greek officials from the Phanar (the chief Greek quarter of Constantinople). These 'Phanariote' hospodars were the rulers of the principalities until the Greek revolt of 1821. The Montenegrins had responded to the Tsar's appeal, and theirs was a cruel fate. Their country was overrun, pillaged, and laid waste by a Turkish army, and those who escaped took refuge in Dalmatia and among the rocks and caverns of Cattaro, until the armed intervention of Venice secured their return to their mountain home.

In Constantinople the Greek population were living quietly under Turkish rule. They prospered in business, and secured not a few official employments. In the Morea Venetian rule was anything but popular, and relying on this the Sultan declared war against Venice on the 9th December 1714. The Venetian rule in Greece collapsed at the first shock and the Turks won a series of successes during 1715. But in April 1716 the Emperor declared for Venice, with disastrous results for Turkey. The Grand Vizier Damad Ali crossed the Save with an army of 150,000 men and marched against the Imperialists. He was defeated and killed in battle at Peterwardein on the 5th August 1716. The victor, Prince Eugène, had brought into the field an army of a little more than 70,000 men. He won a second success at Temesvár and in the summer of 1717 besieged Belgrade. A Turkish army 200,000 strong attempted to relieve the fortress but was defeated and routed by the Imperialists and six days later Belgrade surrendered to Eugène. In 1718 he was preparing for a march over the Balkans to attack Constantinople when negotiations opened by the Sultan with Austria and Venice ended the war with the Treaty of Passarowitz (21st July 1718). The Emperor added to his dominions northern Serbia, the Banat, and part of Wallachia. Venice abandoned the Morea but obtained territorial compensation on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Turkey had definitely ceased to be a menace to Christian Europe. The days were gone when soldier Sultans led her armies to victory. She was still reckoned as a 'great power', but Russia had become her rival for dominion in the East and the Tsars were dreaming of Constantinople sooner or later becoming Tsargrad, the capital of a new Empire of the East.

18. INDIA—THE GREAT MOGHULS AND THE EUROPEANS (1648–1718)

The conquest of India by the Moghuls may well be compared with the conquest of a part of Europe by the Turks. But while the Ottomans were numerically in the proportion of one to ten of their Christian subjects, the Moghuls and the other Moslems

of India were in the proportion of only about one in two hundred of its vast peasant population. The conquerors were in a sense absorbed by the conquered, through the failure in imposing on them their religious law and their customs. The Great Moghul could not make himself master of even one pagoda, or break up the multitude of Brahmans, fakirs, and temple women, or prevent their religious manifestations and the development of their pilgrimages. There was no cessation of ferocious and obscene rites, not even of human sacrifices and fanatic suicides. The ruler of Delhi, surrounded by his Moslem court, was as it were submerged in the Hindu population. He even felt his ancestral fanaticism, his faith itself, declining under the influence of his surroundings. The vigour of his race declined under the influence of the luxurious ease of life in the Indian climate.

Racially the line of the Moghul rulers felt the contaminating influence of Persian heretics and pagan natives among the women of the imperial harem. But the failings of the ruler had no effect on his subjects, for he kept aloof from them, governing by the force of arms, often in the hands not of his Moslem subjects but of non-Moslem vassals.

The despotic authority of the Great Moghul was not subject to the limitations imposed on the Turkish Sultan by the influence of the Ulema and the Sheik-ul-Islam. There was nothing to be compared with the opposition that often arose from Moslem opinion in Turkey to be found in the servile mass of Hindus attached to the service of the ruler, his court, and his army—a parasitic horde so numerous that when the court moved from one place to another it was accompanied by a multitude that numbered some three or four hundred thousand. The sovereign had only to beware of a court conspiracy, the treachery of a minister, or a mutiny in his army. All his power depended on force.

There was a native nobility of the high caste races of old India, nominally subject to the Moslem rulers but enjoying amongst the people the prestige that the right divine confers on its elect. In comparison with these high caste princes and nobles, the Moslem dignitaries, mere functionaries chosen by the imperial favour, were of very minor account.

The Great Moghul was the one proprietor of the land, and every occupant, whether peasant or noble, held it under him, and hence came his right to collect the land tax. But who was entrusted with its collection? The Moslem conquerors grouped the villages into districts, and each district was handed over to a farmer of the revenue.

The army was little better than a mob. The musketeers sat down to fire their weapons, resting the gun barrel on a forked support. With the artillery there were cannoniers who had deserted from various European armies. There were hundreds of elephants and camels, and some 200,000 horses. Servants, camp followers, and other non-combatants numbered some 300,000. All this multitude had scanty ideas of tactics, or order, or the mere elements of discipline. A conflict with well-trained troops would mean disaster.

Such was the Empire over which Aurungzebe ruled for half a century (1658-1707). Born on the 4th November 1618, he was well advanced in middle age when he won the throne by joining his three brothers in the deposition of his father and successfully playing off their rivalries against each other to secure the succession for himself. Despite the evil aspects of his rise to power, he won from the Moslems the reputation of a saintly ruler. Instead of living a luxurious life he was content with frugal fare and ready to sleep whole nights on the bare ground. In his campaigns he took the field successfully at the head of the élite of his huge armies, winning victories thanks to the good service of hereditary soldier races under his command. He had the merit of being lavish in his alms. There were times when, in these wars, he gave way to a dangerous outburst of fanaticism, wrecking the Hindu temples and desecrating their idols. The Moghul power had not yet extended to the Deccan. Along the borders of these Tamil lands of southern India there were minor Moslem kingdoms that gave only a nominal allegiance to the Moghul Empire. He reduced these kinglets to submission, and pushed the limits of the Empire into Mysore.

These conquests led to the rise of a formidable opposition from the Mahrattas of the western coast, the men of the barrier

range of the Ghauts, whom he contemptuously described as the 'mountain rats'. They were a mixed race of Hindus and tribes of the older Dravidian stock that peopled southern India before the Aryan invasion in far-off centuries. Hardy fighting men, they found a skilled leader in the famous Sivaji. He had begun his active career as a brigand, and developed into the soldier leader of a new nation. The tactics of the Mahrattas were at the outset those of guerilla warfare on a grand scale. They raided the new conquests of Aurungzebe. If they met with temporary defeat at any point they found a safe refuge in their fortified mountain strongholds and inflicted heavy loss on the Moslem forces that tried to penetrate into them. During the last twenty years of his reign Aurungzebe and his vassal princes were involved in a long series of campaigns against them. Their guerilla bands developed into armies. The great Emperor ended his long life of nearly eighty-nine years on the 4th March 1707. He was retreating before a Mahratta pursuit when he was stricken with his fatal illness. His last letter was written to his youngest and favourite son. 'Soul of my soul,' he said, 'I am now alone and passing away. Every death I have inflicted, every sin I have committed goes with me, with all its consequences. I brought nothing with me into the world, and I take away with me only this vast burden of sins.'

The Moslem historians describe the long reign of Aurungzebe as a time of prosperity and a glorious extension of the Moghul power. But there is no doubt that the Empire was, if anything, the weaker for its territorial expansion, and the wars of Aurungzebe brought more loss than gain to his subjects. The decline of the Moghul power was beginning. European rivalry for the trade of India was soon to be the most potent influence on its fortunes.

Long before the Portuguese made their first conquests in the early years of the sixteenth century, the wealth of India had become famous in old Europe. The Portuguese pioneers had for a while the monopoly of its sea trade with Europe, and before competitors from other countries appeared in the Indian seas they had acquired a commanding position in the south. But

in 1686, when Tavernier visited their settlements, they held only their present limited possessions—Goa, the islands of Diu and Salsette, and a couple of minor ports. A quarter of a century before his visit they had ceded Bombay to England as a part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, the Queen Consort of Charles II.

The Spaniards had little connexion with India, except during the years when Portugal itself was under their rule. The Danes and Norwegians founded an East India Company in 1612 and purchased the possession of Tranquebar in 1616, but their enterprise had little success, and by 1634 the Company was at the end of its resources. They formed three other companies in 1634, 1686, and 1734, without much result, but the Danes held on to Tranquebar till they ceded it to the English in 1845. The ventures of several other European nations in the eighteenth century were also unsuccessful. The Austrians, Belgians, and Prussians had to withdraw in presence of English and Dutch competition.

Dutch seamen, serving as volunteers on board of the Portuguese galleons, had learned the sea way to the East, and in 1594 the merchants of Amsterdam fitted out four ships for the voyage to India and made a good profit. The result was that several companies were organized for further ventures, and these soon combined to form the 'Dutch East India Company'. It took possession of the Cape of Good Hope, the island of Mauritius, and the port of Mocha, and won Ceylon from the Portuguese. Sailing farther eastward the Dutch secured a footing in the Moluccas, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Celebes, laying the foundation of the island empire they still hold in the Far Eastern seas. Though they professed to be only traders, with no interest in religious matters, they were fierce opponents of the Catholic missions, expelling all priests and setting up Calvinist churches wherever they formed a settlement. It was not till 1680 that they established their first trading centres on the mainland of India. But here they had before long to give way to the English and French and eventually they lost Ceylon, Mauritius, and the Cape.

The English arrived in India later than the Portuguese and the Dutch. The 'Company of the Merchants of London trading into the East Indies' received its charter from Queen Elizabeth on the 31st December 1600. It was at first attracted by the reported wealth of the 'Spice Islands', the Far Eastern island region where the Dutch were already busy. In 1601 four ships sailed for Sumatra, and came back with rich cargoes. It was not till 1608 that trade was opened with India, when an agent of the Company met the Great Moghul Jehangir at Agra, and obtained permission to found a 'factory' (a trading station and warehouses) at Surat.

The Portuguese governor at Goa treated its establishment as a menace to his own traders, and Portuguese squadrons made several attacks on the Company's ships. 'Indiamen,' the ships built for Eastern trade, were heavily armed merchant ships, and in the intermittent warfare that followed there were battles between the English and the Portuguese trading fleets, in which the former proved to be the better sea-fighters. In 1622 a squadron of the Company's fleet seized the Portuguese station of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, and thus obtained an opening, for trade with western Asia.

The Dutch had already (in 1616) secured the right to establish a rival factory at Surat. Some of their captains indulged in piratical seizures of native craft off the coast, and this led to trouble at Surat, where the local Moghul governor, as a reprisal, seized both the Dutch and the English factories. The English Company's agents, however, succeeded in clearing up the situation, by showing that their captains had no part in the raids on native shipping, with the result that henceforth the local authorities were favourable to the English and the Dutch were under lasting disfavour.

But in the Spice Islands the English Company could not hold its own against the long-established Dutch control of the trade, and finally abandoned its Far Eastern ventures.¹

¹ A horrible incident in this rivalry for trade in the Far Eastern islands was the 'Massacre of Amboyna' in 1623. The Company had established a small trading station at Amboyna in the Moluccas. It was attacked by the Dutch governor of the island group, who alleged that the Englishmen were not merely attempting to

Minor trading stations had already been founded on the south-east coast of India before 1639, when the Company acquired its first small territory by purchase from a local Rajah and Madras was founded. Next year Fort St. George was erected as its citadel and became for many years the chief centre of the Company's organization on the east coast of India. In 1651 Aurungzebe's Viceroy of Bengal authorized the establishment of an English factory on the Hugli River in the Ganges Delta. Earlier attempts at a settlement in Bengal had ended in failure, through losses of life from the climate, and trouble with the Moghul authorities. These difficulties delayed for some anxious years the eventual foundation of Calcutta.

A most important territorial possession came to the Company when Bombay was handed over to Charles II by the Portuguese, as part of the dowry of his queen, and transferred to the Company in 1668. Its governor had no easy task for some years. He had to fortify the place on the land side against Mahratta raiders, and had to contend with the claim of Aurungzebe's navy to make the port one of its harbours. But by 1687 these difficulties were overcome and the Company transferred its central government in India from Surat to Bombay.

The year before the Board of Directors in London had fitted out their first armed expedition to India. Ten ships with a landing force of six companies of infantry were dispatched to deal with the Viceroy of Bengal's attacks on the Hugli settlement. The expedition arrived in time to save the situation, and in 1690 Calcutta was founded, destined to be until our own time the British capital in India.

Thus by the close of the seventeenth century the company of traders formed at London in 1600 had developed into a

open trade, but were also conspiring with the native chiefs to surprise the Dutch forts. Nine prisoners captured in the storming of the factory were cruelly tortured to extort a confession of the alleged plot, and were then put to death. When the news of this event reached Europe it became a lasting source of ill will between England and the Government of the United Provinces, and eventually was one of the grievances alleged as motives for Cromwell's first war against the Dutch Republic.

sovereign power. But already a new rival had appeared in India, and in the coming years of the decline of the Moghul power Frenchmen and Englishmen contended for the future dominion of the country.

In 1601 the merchants of St. Malo had fitted out two small ships to open trade with India. When they reached the East they found that they could do little in the presence of the hostile opposition of Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch, and English. It was decided that a more important company should be organized, and on the 1st June 1604 the first French 'Company of the Indies' was authorized by Henry IV. It had hardly any success. It was reorganized by Richelieu in 1634 and given the monopoly of French trade with the East for twenty years, but scanty results followed until it was taken under the patronage of Louis XIV by Colbert in 1664. It secured as its base of operations the warehouses and wharves of the earlier Breton Company at Port Louis on the south coast of Brittany, and planned a new town there to be named 'Lorient'. Agents were sent out to India. They landed at Surat and proceeded to the court of Aurungzebe to present to him a letter from Louis XIV. The Great Moghul gave them the guarded reply that he looked forward to the arrival of the French squadron mentioned in the letter.

It was not till 1669 that Caron, a Director of the Company, reached India, founded the Company's first factory at Surat, and sent agents to visit various centres with a view to opening trade. In 1771 the Company's squadron from Lorient arrived at Surat. There were five large ships and five smaller vessels, with an armament of 248 guns, and with 1,600 men. The squadron visited Bombay and Goa, Ceylon and Tranquebar. Here they learned that war had been declared in Europe between France and Holland (1672).

The wars of Europe now had their echo in India. The expedition went on to San Thomé (Mylapur), then a Dutch possession. A force of French infantry with some guns was landed and the place was taken by storm on the 25th July 1672. But it was soon besieged by a Dutch force aided by the troops

of the Rajah of Golconda. The local Portuguese and some 3,000 Hindu Christians had welcomed the French and now gave them their help. Even so it was a difficult situation. A first attack was repulsed on the 6th August 1672, and after a second French victory the siege was raised on the 10th March 1673. But on the arrival of a Dutch fleet the siege was renewed, and after holding the place for twenty-six months the French had to abandon it.

This failure was compensated by the acquisition of Pondicherry and Chandernagore (1674-6). In 1688 Aurungzebe, who was then on anything but good terms with the English, made a formal cession of both places to the French Company. The French city of Pondicherry was founded by François Martin, a Parisian who until his twenty-eighth year was a clerk in a grocer's shop. He left it to enter the service of the Company of the Indies. He served with distinguished gallantry in the long defence of San Thomé, and in 1674 was sent at the head of a mere handful of Europeans to take possession of the village of native huts that marked the site of the future city. He extended and fortified the village, organized a trading station, and attracted to it a growing number of European and native settlers.

In 1677 a Mahratta army marched on the little town. Martin had only 300 men with him. He sent away most of the Company's property, keeping in reserve only enough cash to offer a rich present to Sivaji. The Mahratta chief accepted it and recognized the French rights to Pondicherry.

The War of the League of Augsburg brought a Dutch fleet to the Coromandel coast, and Martin found himself besieged in his new settlement. He held the town for six months, and when at last he capitulated his effective force was only six cannon and forty soldiers. The Treaty of Ryswick restored Pondicherry to the French. Martin returned to rebuild and extend his city. In 1701 it became the capital of the French settlements in India with Martin as governor-general. During the War of the Spanish Succession the English and the Dutch were too occupied elsewhere to trouble the French in southern

India. Martin founded a new centre for the Company at Calicut, and before his death on the last day of 1706 he saw the population of Pondicherry increased to 40,000.

Ten years later (1716) Pondicherry numbered some 60,000 inhabitants, of whom only 200 were Europeans. There had been less progress at Chandernagore and Calicut. The business affairs of the French Company were not very prosperous, but it had secured a base of operations for the French in India. The Portuguese and the Dutch were henceforth of little account. The French and English companies were to be the rivals in settling the question which country would succeed to the inheritance of the Moghul Empire and the native kingdoms of the south.

19. THE FAR EAST (1648-1722)

In China by the end of the sixteenth century the Ming dynasty felt that its power was on the decline. It had ruled since 1368 at first with its capital at Nanking, and later at Peking. Thanks to the weakness of the central government, the Manchus had been able to unite under one chief, and in 1618 they defeated the imperial army in a pitched battle. Henceforth they were a permanent menace to Peking.

Civil war in China gave them the opportunity for making themselves masters of the capital when in 1643 a rebel leader took possession of it, and the last Emperor of the Ming dynasty committed suicide in despair. A Ming general invited the Manchus to aid him in ousting the usurper, but found he had become a mere subservient ally of the warlike northerners. The Manchus captured Peking after a three days' siege, and placed one of their chiefs on the throne. He made a triumphal entrance into the capital and under the name of Chuen-chi became the first Emperor of the Ching dynasty (1644).¹ He reigned for eighteen years (1644-62), and the new dynasty lasted until the proclamation of the Chinese Republic in 1912.

¹ The full official designation of the Manchu line of Emperors was 'Ta Ching Chao', i.e. 'the Great Pure Dynasty'. In its first century and a half it added to the Empire Tibet, Ili, Turkestan, and Mongolia, and exercised suzerain rights over Korea and Cochin China.

The first of the Manchu Emperors had actually won only northern China by the occupation of Peking. Almost to the last day of his reign he had to contend with local rebellions and risings organized by partisans and claimants of the old Ming dynasty. It was not till 1662 that its last supporter was defeated and committed suicide after a fight in the far south-west on the Burmese border of Yunnan.

The change of dynasty did not make any important alteration in the ordinary life of the vast population of China. The Manchus gradually identified themselves with, and were soon absorbed into, the people they ruled. The Emperors from the very outset appointed natives of China to official positions, and even when Peking had to deal with local opposition and sporadic risings, the greater part of China saw the people, whether townsmen or peasants, in most of the provinces quietly following their accustomed round of daily life. The substitution of a more vigorous central government tended to the maintenance of order and the development of prosperity throughout the Empire.

Chuen-chi's death in 1661 left the Empire to the second of the Manchu line, Kang Hi, a boy only eight years of age. He reigned for over sixty years (1661-1722). He was still a mere boy when in 1667 he was declared of age and vested with the exercise of his imperial power. For some time to come he must have depended on his Council, but he was still in early manhood when he showed that he was an able and resourceful ruler.

In the earlier years of his reign his government had to deal with the aftermath of the native resistance to the new dynasty. During his father's reign the south-eastern coast of Fu-kien, opposite the great island of Formosa, had been the scene of prolonged and stubborn resistance to the Manchu rule by the Ming partisans under the leadership of a local chief, Tcheng-tcheng-kan, whom the Europeans spoke and wrote of as 'Koxinga'. In 1648 he had attempted a march on Nanking, but driven from the mainland he established a base of operations in Formosa, and his ships made raids upon the south coasts of China and indulged in piratical enterprises on the neighbouring

seas, where his squadrons gained some successes, though he always failed in his raids on the mainland. He was planning an attack on the Spaniards in the Philippines when he died in February 1662. His sons tried to continue his warfare with the new China, and it was not till 1683 that the danger from Formosa at last came to an end.

Kang Hi was equally successful against another rebel, Ou-San-Konei, one of the Chinese leaders who had at first been an ally of the Manchus. Promoted to the governorship of a province, his growing power brought him under suspicion, and he was summoned to Peking. He replied that he would come with 80,000 men at his back. Kang Hi marched against him and completely defeated him. The Emperor had to deal with other less important local revolts, and after these successes secured the western borders of the Empire by victorious campaigns against the Eleuthes—Kalmuck or Mongol tribes of central Asia. His reign thus witnessed the consolidation of the Manchu dynasty.

His latter years were a time of peace. He died on the 20th December 1722, after a long and glorious reign.

It has been compared—not without reason—to the long reign of Louis XIV, his contemporary in Europe. If anything, the Eastern ruler had had a more complete success both in his policy in the years of peace and his conduct of war. He was also one of the most learned men of his time in the East. He took an active interest in the education of his people and wrote a treatise on the subject in sixteen chapters.

He was broad-minded enough to cultivate the acquaintance of the European missionaries, and it was by his orders that the Jesuits undertook the immense task of producing a map of China. It took ten years to complete (1708-18).¹ The Emperor

¹ It was largely carried out by skilled Jesuit observers and mathematicians accompanying the imperial officials in their tours of inspection in the provinces of China. It was the first reliable map of the Empire ever produced. It was the basis of the new map of China published by the great French geographer D'Anville, the founder of modern cartography, and of all the maps published in Europe. Since 1860 abundant detail and many minor rectifications have been added to the map, by the careful surveys of the coasts (especially those of the British hydrographical department of the navy), river surveys, the planning of railways, the

welcomed foreigners gifted with useful knowledge and practical capacity, and obtained from them services which were beyond the skill and knowledge of his own subjects. Thus the Emperor studied mathematics under the Belgian Jesuit, Ferdinand Verbiest, and made him director of the Peking Observatory, with the highest grade of official rank. Verbiest established a metal foundry, teaching the Chinese workers improved European methods, and under his direction they made instruments for the observatory, a variety of industrial implements, and cast cannon for the imperial army. His influence was of endless use to the development of the missions. But in the latter years of the Emperor's reign their prospects were overclouded by the question of the 'Chinese Rites'.

The modern Catholic missions had been founded under the Ming dynasty by the Jesuit Matteo Ricci, who arrived in China in 1582. He reached Peking in 1601, and there his proficiency in mathematical science gained for him a remarkable influence among the learned and at the imperial court. During the years before he established the Jesuit mission in the capital he had acquired a singularly complete grasp of the Chinese language. He spoke it fluently and was able to write not only in the popular dialect but also in the style of the learned classes and the officials of the court. When the Mongols were the rulers of a great empire that included China, in the Middle Ages, the Franciscan missionaries had lived long enough in the Far East to master the language of northern China, but the break-up of the Mongol power was followed by the loss of all touch between Europe and the Far East for centuries, and we may say that Matteo Ricci and his colleagues were in modern times the first Europeans who mastered the difficult spoken language and still more difficult written language of China. Ricci's study of the religion and customs of the country led him to the conclusion that Confucianism, the State religion, was mainly a moral code, with high honour paid to Confucius (Kung-fu-tse) as its original teacher. Side by side with this religion of the State

staff surveys of war time, and the results obtained by explorers, especially in the border regions. The missionaries have also done some useful survey work.

there was Taoism, a confused mass of pagan and superstitious observances, and Buddhism, imported from early India and modified by its contacts with the local cults.

As one of the greatest of living authorities on China has well said, 'Whatever be the importance of these three religions, they are insignificant as compared with the real national religion of all the Chinese—ancestor worship.' It is the religion of the home. In the houses of the wealthy there is a room, 'the hall of ancestors', dedicated to their memory. At the annual festival of the ancestors, in the spring, there is a ritual celebration when incense and candles are burned before their commemorative tablets. In humbler homes there is often at least a memorial tablet.

The pioneers in all missionary countries have to consider how far it is necessary to interfere with traditional customs of their converts. If these are clearly based on, or tainted with, pagan superstition they have to be abandoned, or rectified so as to remove their pagan element. Obviously converts in China would have to cease to frequent the Taoist or Buddhist temples. But what was to be done with regard to the domestic rites of the so-called 'worship of ancestors'? Was it to be condemned as sheer heathenism, or could it be permitted subject to such minor changes as would purge it of all pagan superstition? Might it not be thus continued in Christian families as a reverent commemoration of the dead—no more a pagan rite than the November decoration of the graves of the departed with flowers and wreaths in many Catholic countries, even though this may have been historically connected with the memorial feasts at the tombs of pagan centuries in old Europe. Ricci decided that, with due precautions, the family rite might be permitted to Christian converts.

China was too large a field to be monopolized by the missionary labours of one religious order, and in the early years of the seventeenth century the Holy See was encouraged by the success of the Jesuits, and the goodwill of the Emperor which they had secured by their scientific work, to assign several provinces of the Empire to Franciscan, Dominican, and August-

tinian missions. The first of these new missionaries came from the Philippines. Later on Louis XIV arranged for sending to China the first missionaries from the new Seminary of the Missions Etrangères in Paris. Ricci's concessions in the matter of the commemoration of ancestors were not approved by many of the new-comers, and a trying crisis for the missions of China began in 1643, when a Spanish Dominican, John Baptist de Moralez, formally denounced the Jesuits to the Holy See, accusing them of encouraging idolatry by tolerating the worship of ancestors¹ and permitting exaggerated honours to Confucius. He obtained from Pope Innocent a decree condemning these alleged abuses (12 September 1645).

This was the beginning of a long controversy, its prolongation being largely the result of the extreme slowness of communication between China and Europe three hundred years ago. The Jesuits of Peking on learning of this decree appealed to Rome, and sent Father Martin Martini to state their case to the Holy See. In 1656 he secured from Pope Alexander VII an approval of their conduct in the matter of the 'Chinese Rites'. But Moralez returned to the attack and obtained another decree adverse to the Jesuits by Clement IX on the 20th November 1669.

The debate on the policy of the Jesuits in China went on for years. The question was vigorously debated at Paris by the doctors of the Sorbonne, at Rome by the Cardinals. Father Gregory Lopez, a Dominican in China, defended the Jesuits. The priests of the Missions Etrangères at Peking sent to Rome a strongly worded statement against them (26 March 1693) and obtained a brief from Innocent XI (15 January 1697). From various quarters there came books, pamphlets, letters,

¹ Other accusations were that they used for the name of God a Chinese word which really meant only the sky or material heaven, and they countenanced the worship of Confucius. These were questions more easily settled. As to Confucius, Jesuits and other missionaries had rightly pointed out that his moral philosophy could be usefully cited in discussions with Chinese scholars, just as those of Plato and Aristotle had been used in the schools and universities of Europe. The accusation that Christians had been allowed to worship the Chinese philosopher was never taken seriously, and that of the name of God was easily settled. The real dispute was about the Chinese household rites.

memoirs, and replies to them, a huge literature bearing on the discussion. At last, on the 20th November 1704 Clement XI published a decree of the Congregation of Rites condemning the Chinese Rites.

This decree of Clement XI is of special importance, for it helps us to understand how it was that the controversy lasted so long. The Holy See was receiving a succession of contradictory explanations from the opposing parties as to the character of the domestic Chinese Rites, which were the subject of debate. The Pope distinctly explains that throughout the Holy See had given judgement on the moral questions submitted to it, without attempting any decision as to the questions of fact, as to which there was a long conflict of evidence.¹ He had already a legate, de Tournon, on his way to the East to regulate, not only the Chinese question, but also questions arising as to practices tolerated in the missions of Southern India. It was for him to promulgate the decree in China, where he would be in a position to deal with the actual situation.

The legate de Tournon had left Europe for India in February 1703 and reached Pondicherry in the following November. Having completed his legatine business in India, he set out for China by way of the Philippines in July 1704, and reached Peking by way of Macao. The Emperor received him in a public audience (29 June 1705) and discussed with him the question of the Rites. The meeting had serious consequences. Kang-Hi, not without reason, claimed to be himself one of the most learned men of China, and was evidently anything but pleased at being involved in a dispute with an envoy who knew nothing of the language of the country and little or nothing of

¹ In his decree of November 1704 Clement XI explains his refusal to give a judgement on the question of fact both in India and China, by referring to the principle adopted by the Holy See in dealing with questions submitted to it in the controversy on the Chinese Rites, the practice of the Apostolic See being '*ad ea quae sibi pro tempore, tametsi diversimode, exposita fuerunt responsa quidem veritatis semper dare, nunquam vero super expositorum hujusmodi veritate seu falsitate pronunciare consuevit*' ('it has been accustomed always to give truthful replies to what has been on occasion submitted to it, even though these matters have been variously stated, without however at any time pronouncing on the truth or falsehood of such statements').

the life and ideals of its people. He formed the unfortunate conclusion that any agreement with the Christians on matters connected with religion was impossible. He broke off all further negotiations with de Tournon, and henceforth, though he was still keen on securing the services of some of the missionaries as mathematicians, astronomers, and scientific experts, he was no longer friendly towards the Christians and their teachers in general. It was a blow to the missions of China, from which they did not recover until their reorganization in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹

Another legate, Mezzabarba, arrived in China in 1720. But Kang Hi was now near his end, and had no inclination for further discussion. The legate left Peking after an interview that led to nothing (4 March 1721). At last a Bull of Benedict XIV settled the question of the rites (11 July 1742). The practical result was that all missionaries going out to China were to take an oath that they would regard as idolatrous all worship given to Confucius or to the 'Ancestors' and use only the term Tien-tchou (Lord of Heaven) to indicate the Supreme Being.

20. AMERICA (1492-1556)

i. *The first colonists.* Before the year 1492 no one imagined that any other continent existed except that on which the nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa lived. The glory of reveal-

¹ In the early years of the seventeenth century the Christians of China numbered less than 20,000. At the end of the century, in 1700, the number had risen to about 300,000. This was the largest total claimed in the missionary reports until our own time. The growing official hostility in the latter years of Kang Hi led to open persecution throughout the rest of the eighteenth century. The suppression of the Jesuits, and the wars and revolutions of Europe, almost entirely ended the supply of missionaries in the latter years of the eighteenth century and the opening of the nineteenth. In 1800 the number of Catholics in China was about 100,000, and few of the missionaries were left. After 1815 the reorganization of the missions began and Gregory XVI gave a great impulse to it. In 1850 the total of Catholics in China was estimated at 330,000. By 1900 it had risen to 741,000. In 1910 it was well over a million and a quarter. In 1920 it was near two millions. In 1925 it was 2,337,000: in 1932 it was over two and three-quarter millions. This figure did not include the catechumens under instruction, who would bring the total to at least three millions. This increase was secured in spite of war, pestilence, and other troubles, and the emigration of large numbers of native Catholics to other countries.

ing to the world this new continent belongs without any possible contradiction to Christopher Columbus. His earlier life had been spent in voyages in the Mediterranean, and to the coasts and islands of Africa, and to the northern seas, perhaps as far as Iceland, where he might have heard men talk of the early expeditions of the Scandinavians to the westward. After ten years of voyages, and long study and reflection on the possibilities of a western voyage across the ocean, he entered the service of Spain in the hope of realizing his idea. It seems that it had come to him as he was reading the *Imago Mundi* of Pierre d'Ailly, a résumé of all the knowledge and the dreams of the ancients as to the form of the world. The invention of the mariner's compass had made it possible to set out in search of a way to the westward, the length of which until the nearest coasts of Asia were reached might be reckoned to be about one-third of the earth's circumference. This was a theory of the Florentine Toscanelli, and Columbus accepted this idea, which was becoming widely spread among the geographers and navigators of the time.

He acted upon this plan of an ocean voyage to the westward and, without for a long time realizing the fact, instead of reaching the Far Eastern lands of Asia, he discovered a new world of which no one had imagined the existence.

The difficulties that Columbus met with before he obtained the assistance of the Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, have often been related without an over-scrupulous regard for the facts of history. But we know that he arrived at the royal camp of Santa Fé at the time of the conquest of Granada, and concluded a contract with the sovereigns in which he showed that he was a very able man of business (April 1492). With his flotilla of three small ships he left Palos on the 3rd August, and on the 28th October he imagined that the land he sighted was one of the islands of 'Cipangu' (Japan). It was an outlying island of the West Indies, where he found only the huts of savages. It was a disappointment, but setting sail to the south-east among the Bahamas he reached the large island of Haiti or San Domingo, which he named *Española*, and on which,

with the timber from the wreck of one of his ships, he erected a stockaded post, and leaving a small garrison there, he returned to Spain. He arrived at Palos on the 15th March 1493, and was received in triumph by Ferdinand and Isabella at Barcelona.

On the 25th September Columbus set out on his second voyage, in command of seventeen ships with 1,200 men. His object was no longer only discovery; he was going to colonize and exploit the new lands and convert their inhabitants. A year was devoted to further exploration. He hoped after this to reach the Red Sea and return to Spain by the Mediterranean. But things were not going well in his new colony, and Ferdinand and Isabella sent out an official visitor, who made so unfavourable a report that Columbus returned to Spain to defend himself (March 1495). He spent two years in preparations for a third voyage, and embarked at San Lucar on the 30th May 1498. On the 31st July he arrived at the island of Trinidad, and then discovered the southern continent—the *tierra firma*—to the south-west of the island. Columbus had perhaps now for the first time some idea that he had found an entirely new world, but he always came back to his theory that he had reached the Indies, a theory generally accepted for a while, and which, after four centuries, has its lasting memorial even to our own day in the name of the 'West Indies'.

What Columbus found at Española was a general state of disorder. Ferdinand and Isabella could not disregard the evidence brought to them by reports from the new colony. It seemed that the great navigator was a very poor administrator, harsh and cruel, and the result was that they appointed a new Viceroy. He arrested Columbus (23rd August 1500) and sent him back to Spain in chains. When he reached Granada, in November, the sovereigns did what they could to mitigate their well-justified resentment. They heaped favours upon him, but refused to give him any share in the government of their new possessions.

He was still dreaming of using the wealth of the Indies for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and the sovereigns consented to his setting out again for the Indies to explore the new lands,

but forbade him to land at Española. On the 11th May 1502 he set out again from Cadiz, and steering to the south-west of Española he reached the coast of Honduras, in the latitude of the Guanaja Islands, still believing that he had reached the shores of Asia. He cruised on the coast, and after encountering some wild weather brought his ships back to the eastward and discovered Jamaica, where his health broke down. In September 1504 he set sail for Spain. When he landed at Seville he had to take to his bed for a while, but he went on to Valladolid, where he died, on the 20th May 1506, without ever realizing that he had discovered a new continent.

Columbus had claimed for himself the exclusive right of exploiting the sea route to the Indies; but from the time when his incapacity for administrative work had been recognized, the way to the Indies was open to all manner of individual adventurers. Ferdinand organized in Spain, at Seville, an administrative centre for the new lands. This was the origin of the famous *Casa de Contratacion de las Indias* (Chamber of Commerce for the Indies), which exercised so great an influence in the government of the New World. Later on the *Casa* became subordinate to the 'Council of the Indies'.

Ferdinand and Isabella hoped to convert their new subjects to the Christian Faith. They sent out Las Casas with twelve Franciscans in 1502. They meant that there should be neither oppression nor slavery in these colonies, and the legislation which they drew up with this object was most honourable to them and to the Spanish clergy.

Yet the sovereigns also hoped that their colony would send gold to the mother country, and the precious metal was not to be got without a considerable supply of labour. But the white colonists had a horror of manual labour, and the Indians proved to be averse to and unfit for it. Those that were recruited for work in the mines died in crowds, and Las Casas suggested that Negroes might be brought from Africa to work for the colonists. As for the Indians it was decided to distribute them on the lands of the leading settlers under the system of *repartimientos*. The result was that they became serfs. On the protests

of Las Casas the system was abolished in 1525, but it was revived. There was a second attempt at abolition in 1542, but without any result.

It was to be expected that the Spaniards would soon meet with rivals in the New World. The most famous of these was Amerigo Vespucci. The account of his first voyage in 1497-9 is open to some doubt, but after 1500 he took part in Portuguese expeditions to Brazil, which had been first discovered by Cabral and was then explored by Vespucci. He was there for five months. He built a fort, explored the coast region, and brought back a cargo of timber to Lisbon (1504).

John and Sebastian Cabot, father and son, obtained from Henry VII of England letters patent conferring privileges on them with a view to discoveries in the new lands beyond the western ocean. Cabot sailed from Bristol and reached the shores of Labrador and Cape Breton (24 June 1497). In a second voyage in 1498 Sebastian Cabot appears to have pushed as far as Hudson's Bay. The difficulties of the Arctic ice forced him to abandon further attempts in that direction, and he withdrew from the north and followed the American coast southwards as far as the Carolinas, perhaps as far as Florida. The Cabots left the service of England for that of Spain, and the elder of them became a member of the Council of the Indies. Meanwhile, the Portuguese under Gaspar Cortereal explored Newfoundland (1500) and Labrador (1501). His ship was wrecked, and Miguel Cortereal set out to salvage it, and was not heard of again.

The great continental land of the south-west discovered by the Portuguese especially attracted attention in Europe. It was spoken of as 'the New World', and a letter that circulated under the name of Amerigo Vespucci made him the hero of many adventures. It may be that one of his friends suggested to a German professor, Waldsee-Müller, the idea of bestowing the name of America on the land whose existence had been revealed by the navigator (1507). Gradually, and with some hesitation, this name was accepted in Germany, Italy, and Portugal to designate this great land of the south that barred

the way to India. It was not applied generally to all the new-found continent until it became clear that the lands of the north had an uninterrupted connexion with those of the south. Amerigo Vespucci died in 1518, and soon after the name of America came into current use for the whole of the New World.

By this time the only colonial establishment was that of Española. The exploitation of Jamaica, Porto Rico, and some of the lesser Antilles had begun. Cuba was yet to be conquered. Diego Velasquez had taken formal possession of it in 1511, and Havana was founded in 1519. At this date no point on the mainland had been occupied, though in September 1513 Balboa set out from the Bay of Uruba with 200 men, traversed in a few weeks the wooded mountains, and saw the Pacific Ocean, which he named 'the Sea of the South'. He returned to Antigua in January 1514.

The quest for a way to the Indies continued to haunt the imagination of navigators and adventurers. They sought for it in the centre, and then far south. The estuary of the Rio de la Plata was discovered in 1508, and the great harbour of Rio de Janeiro in 1515. At last, in 1519, the Portuguese Magalhaens (Magellan) entered into the service of Spain, and was given the task of finding the yet undiscovered way to India. He sailed from San Lucar on the 25th September 1519 with five ships and 265 men. He arrived at Rio de Janeiro on the 13th December. He then reconnoitred the La Plata estuary, and found it was not the opening of a strait, but the mouth of a large river. Sailing still farther south he found, on the 21st October 1520, the opening of a strait. He took a month to make his way through this passage to the Pacific that was to bear his name, and on the 27th November reached the ocean, which he named the 'Pacific'.

Steering a course which he reckoned would bring him to the Indies, he reached the Philippines on the 15th March 1521. Here he was killed in a skirmish with the natives on the 27th April. One of his ships reached the South Atlantic by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and returned to San Lucar, where it arrived on the 6th September 1522, bringing back only eighteen

men, after having accomplished the first circumnavigation of the globe.

This expedition had a decisive result. Henceforth it was understood that the new world, discovered by Columbus, was a new continent lying between Asia and Europe. In 1530 the first map was published that showed North America connected by its central isthmus with South America.

The years from 1520 to 1550 saw the most famous exploits of the Spanish adventurers, who are remembered as the Conquistadores. Their narratives give us a description of the marvellous spectacle presented to their eager ambition, by Mexico, Central America, and Peru. They describe an elaborate and advanced civilization, with abundant use of the precious metals, stately edifices, and a complex social system, administrative organization, laws, education, writing, the decorative arts—developments that seemed to rival what was to be seen in Asia and Europe after long centuries of civilization. The question has been raised as to how far these narratives are genuine and reliable. There have been critics who reject much of the records of the Conquistadores, and at most admit only that they found in the scenes of their victories but a mixture of extreme barbarism and some elementary features of civilization. Others agree that there is an undoubted foundation of truth underlying the narratives in the Spanish chronicles.

ii. *Mexico and Central America.* It was in 1517 that the Spaniards came in contact with the civilized races of the region now known as Mexico. Don Diego Velasquez, the Governor of Cuba, sent an expedition to explore the coast lands of Yucatan. In the following year Don Pedro de Alvarado brought back vases of gold and reports about the 'empire' of the Aztecs. An expedition against it was organized under the command of Hernando Cortez, then thirty-four years of age. On the 18th February 1519 he embarked with not quite a thousand men, disembarked on the continent at the mouth of the Tabasco River, occupied a coast village, and proceeded to mark out the lines of a city, and erect houses and stores. He gave his settlement the name of 'Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz', organized a municipality

(*cabildo*), and arranged that it should resolve, in the name of the King of Spain, that he should bear the title of Captain and Judge of the new colony—so far little more than the base camp of an invasion.

From the city of Mexico the Aztec King Montezuma sent him a succession of messages, varying in tone from friendly requests to grave warnings. Cortez went on with his preparations, drilled his fighting men, entered into negotiations with the chiefs of the neighbouring coast tribes, and when he judged that the moment for action had come, wrote to Charles V a letter reporting his proceedings, and sent presents to Montezuma to establish favourable relations with him. Then, having burned the ships that had brought him from Cuba, he started on his march to Mexico on the 16th August 1519.

Cortez and his comrades had only vague ideas of the native conditions in the country he set out to conquer. They thought of Montezuma as the ruler of a highly organized empire. Imperfect as our knowledge is of the situation in the Mexico of four centuries ago, it is fairly certain that Montezuma was only one of the leading rulers or chiefs of the most important unit of a confederacy of Aztec tribes in central Mexico—a confederacy which exercised a more or less effective suzerainty over neighbouring tribes, not all of the Aztec race. The capital of this league was the city of Mexico in the lake region of the high plateau of Central America. On their march from the coast lowlands into the mountains that form the western barrier plateau, the Spaniards found themselves opposed by tribes whose native name they simplified into that of 'the Tlaxcalans' (Tlaxcalanos). They easily defeated them in four engagements. Cortez thought he was in action with the subjects of Montezuma, the outlying defenders of his 'empire'. They were really tributaries who had lately been in successful revolt against him, and after their first defeats by the Spaniards they not only made peace with the invaders but offered to assist them in their march on Montezuma's capital. For the Spaniards their skirmishes had been bloodless victories, won almost without resistance, for the native tribesmen regarded the invaders as

beings of some strange race, perhaps from another world, with weapons that brought the lightning and thunder of the heavens to their aid, and they were terrified at the sight of the Spanish cavalry, a mere handful of mounted men. Rider and horse were imagined to be together, a strange centaur-like monster. Cannon, muskets, weapons, and armour of steel were all unknown to the natives, who had never seen a horse, and were armed only with a rude weapon of the Stone Age.

Reinforced by the Tlaxcalans, Cortez made his way through the hills and came in sight of Mexico and its five lakes, seeming not unlike an Aztec Venice. As he approached it by its southern causeway he saw Montezuma coming out to meet him, not to oppose him but give him a dignified reception as a guest who was to be honoured and dreaded, for reports had reached the capital that told of the terrible powers of the Spaniards, and some believed they were a new race descended from the gods, and, like them, immortal. Cortez with his officers were assigned as their residence one of the royal palaces. His followers were quartered in neighbouring houses and huts. Their cantonment formed a little quarter in the great city, and supplies of all kinds were provided for them. But they feared treachery and took precautions for defence of their foothold in the Aztec city.

It presented a strange spectacle. The lakes traversed by long causeway-roads made it a stronghold. The greater part of it was a mass of huts and wretched houses, with lanes and canal branches serving for the ways of traffic. Here and there rose temple pyramids and houses and palaces of the ruling and the wealthy class. The palace of Montezuma surrounded by gardens was adorned with treasures of native art and decoration. There was a large market-place, the centre of local trade and industry and for the disposal of fish from the lakes, and about it the workshops of goldsmiths, potters, painters, and carvers of stone. There the slave dealers had their compounds, and more horrible than all were the temples with their high placed altars for human sacrifice and their pens of victims.

Cortez evidently believed that the city and its king were now at his mercy, and was busying himself with plans for reorganiz-

ing his easy conquest, when he discovered that Montezuma was arranging, not for any attack on the Spanish garrison in Mexico, but for a raid on his base at Vera Cruz. He made a bold stroke. He went with only five of his officers to the royal palace, as if for a mere official visit. He made Montezuma his prisoner under menace of immediate death and brought him back to his own quarters, where, after keeping him for some days in chains, he persuaded him to issue a public declaration that he accepted the sovereignty of the King of Spain and swore an oath of loyalty to him. The unfortunate king also agreed to hand over a large amount of treasure from his palace to his new masters. Cortez decided that it should be divided between the Spanish King, himself, and his officers and the rank and file of his expedition. There was some grumbling among the soldiers at the comparatively small share that came to them.

The position of Cortez was now anything but secure, and there came a further complication when he received the news that the Governor of Cuba had sent one of his officers, Narvaez, to Vera Cruz with a strong escort, with orders to take over the command of Mexico. Leaving only 200 of his Spaniards in the city he promptly marched against Narvaez, defeated him in a sharp fight, and then persuaded his opponents to join him. When he returned to Mexico City with this reinforcement, he found that the native population were seething with discontent and on the verge of revolt.

The midsummer of 1520 brought the outbreak of a formidable insurrection. Montezuma strove to persuade his people to maintain peace with the white conquerors, but when he addressed them in front of his palace they attacked him and he died of his wounds. Cortez held out for a while in the improvised defences of the Spanish quarter. But as supplies ran short, and there was no hope of relief, he at last decided that he must temporarily abandon the city. He fought his way out of its lanes and made good his retreat across a lake causeway, leaving behind him his treasures and most of his cannon. For six days the Aztecs pursued, but at Otumbo he halted on a wide plain, and utterly routed them in a brief pitched battle. In the follow-

ing months he made good his authority over several tribes of the uplands, enlisted a large force of native auxiliaries, and reinforced his Spanish corps, though the most he could do was to bring it up to the strength of about a thousand men. In the following summer he besieged Mexico City, and entered it as a victor on the 13th August 1521.

The Aztec confederacy was now broken up. Cortez was able to consolidate and extend his conquests. Personally, or in expeditions led by his lieutenants, he conquered Yucatan, Honduras, and Nicaragua. Despite complaints from Cuba of his irregular methods Charles V recognized his successes by appointing him Captain-General and supreme Judge of 'New Spain' (Mexico). His stern rule provoked local revolts which he trampled out with merciless severity (1529). He made a visit to Spain to meet charges made against his conduct. The Emperor bestowed new honours upon him but sent him back with limited powers, by appointing a viceroy to whom the civil administration was confided. On his return to Mexico he made an expedition that discovered the peninsula of Lower California, and surveyed its gulf (1536). He returned to Spain in 1540, and next year was with the Emperor in his unfortunate campaign against Algiers. His last years were embittered by complaints that he had been ill rewarded and was neglected by the Emperor and his court. He died at Seville on the 2nd December 1547.

Cortez was a most able and resourceful leader of men, a hero without fear but not without reproach. In his most famous campaigns he was 'fighting for his own hand', reckless as to mere legalities and, like many empire makers even of our own time, inspired less by patriotic zeal than by the lure of gold and silver mines in the newly conquered lands. As the fall of the Aztec power swept away its awful system of human sacrifice he regarded his conquest of Mexico as having something of the character of a crusade. In a few years the old Aztec religion all but disappeared from Mexico. It has often been suggested that this was because the Spaniards extended the reign of the Gospel with the sword. But during the conquest of Mexico

the missionaries checked successfully the mistaken zeal of the Conquistadores. There were Franciscans with Cortez in his march on Mexico. The record of the campaign tells how in the Tlaxcalara country Father Olmedo prevented Cortez even from throwing down the village idols. 'Forced conversions would hardly be lasting', he said. 'What use was it to throw down the altar if its idol remained enthroned in the hearts of the people, or to destroy the idol itself only to make room for another?' Force was used indeed to suppress human sacrifices and liberate the captive victims of the temples. This was rightly done. And it was surely a good deed of Cortez when on founding the new Spanish city of Mexico he demolished its great temple, stained with the blood of thousands of human victims, in order to erect on its foundations the first great cathedral in the new world.

iii. *Peru and South America.* All the adventurers who had made voyages of discovery in the 'Sea of the South' told of a barren and unhealthy coast extending for some hundreds of miles, and then farther south the dazzling riches of the empire of Biru (Peru). The hope of its conquest attracted a Spanish adventurer of Panama, Francis Pizarro. He had passed his fiftieth year. An uneducated man, hardly able to read or write when his active life began, he had served in the wars of Italy, and then crossed the Atlantic. He was with Balboa in the expedition that first found a way across the isthmus to the Sea of the South, and he was looking for further employment at Panama when the Governor authorized him to organize an expedition to Peru. It was financed by a wealthy speculator, and in 1524 Pizarro sailed southward. But this first voyage brought back only further reports of the wealth of the Inca empire of Peru. He sailed again in 1526, with an old comrade, Almagro, and an experienced navigator, Ruiz, in two ships. Once more there was disappointment. The only result obtained was a survey of the coast and some further information as to the country during a temporary occupation of a deserted town and an island near the shore. The Governor of Panama refused to send help and recalled the expedition, and was hostile to any further attempt.

Pizarro went to Spain to obtain help and authority to organize

another expedition. He came back to Panama in the spring of 1531, bringing with him his four brothers, and holding a commission from Spain to attempt the conquest of Peru, with the title of Adelantado, or Captain-General of the coveted territory.

On the 28th December 1531, leaving Almagro to follow with reinforcements, he sailed from Panama with a squadron of three small ships, conveying 183 men and 37 horses, landed at Tumbez, and established there his base of operations.

He had arrived in Peru at a critical time. Two brothers had been engaged for some years in a civil war as rival claimants for succession to the Inca throne. The victor, the Inca Atahualpa, had just defeated his brother, and was returning in triumph to his capital, the great city of Cuzco. Pizarro began his march inland in May 1532, with Cuzco for his chief objective. In November he occupied the city of Cajamarca, and learned that Atahualpa was close at hand, returning from his successful campaign. A meeting was arranged between the Spanish leader and the Inca King. What followed is one of the darkest episodes in all the records of European conquest over 'inferior' races. Pizarro acted more like a lawless bandit chief than a caballero. While engaged in ostensibly friendly negotiations he treacherously made Atahualpa his prisoner, forced him to pay a ransom equivalent to over three million pounds sterling of to-day, kept him for months in subservient tutelage as a puppet king, and at last picked a quarrel with the unfortunate prince and put him to death on the 29th August 1533.

Pizarro then marched on Cuzco, the Inca capital, probably at that time the largest and richest city in South America. He occupied it on the 15th November 1533. All the gold and other treasure that could be discovered in the place became the spoil of the conquerors. Each of his soldiers received a gratuity of 4,000 to 5,000 pesos. Pizarro assumed the title of Governor, but set up a young Inca prince, Manco, as nominal ruler of the country. His lieutenant Almagro was sent to Spain to report the successful conquest of Peru, and hand over to Charles V a large share of the accumulated treasure. New parties of

adventurers—soldiers and settlers—arrived from Mexico, and the Governor busied himself with the organization of the country. There was some promise for its future in the coming of missionaries and the building of churches and schools. The native Indian population at first seemed submissive. The long civil war between rival Incas made the return of peace welcome. In January 1535 the new city of Lima was founded, the future centre of the Spanish power.

In the following summer Almagro returned from Spain. He brought for his chief the title of Marquis and the confirmation of all earlier privileges, and for himself the authorization to occupy and colonize the coast region south of his chief's province. He succeeded in occupying a part of what is now northern Chile, but as he advanced farther the opposition of the Indian tribes became more serious. At last he had to abandon his enterprise, for news came that Peru was in widespread revolt against the Spaniards. Both Cuzco and Lima were besieged for months. But the first energy of the rebels was on the wane when Almagro arrived and raised the siege of Cuzco. After this defeat the rising soon collapsed.

But civil war between the Spaniards followed. Almagro insisted that Cuzco should be made part of his intended southern province. Pizarro, who had held Lima during the revolt, declared he was a rebel, and now, himself enfeebled by advancing years and reluctant to take the field, he sent three of his brothers with a strong force to deal with his rival. Almagro was defeated (26 April 1638), taken prisoner, sentenced to death, and beheaded.

This did not end the trail of strife and tragedy. Three years later Pizarro was murdered at Lima by former partisans of Almagro (26 June 1541). His brother Gonzalo was absent on an unsuccessful expedition over the Andes from Quito. It was only on his return a year later that he heard of the assassination and retired into private life (June 1542). A new viceroy, Nuñez de Vela, came from Spain in the summer of 1544 to promulgate a code of laws for the better government of Peru. It included articles for the protection of native interests. But

the colonists protested that they were being plundered of all their rights by the 'New Laws' and prepared for resistance. Gonzalo Pizarro was persuaded to become their leader, with a veteran of the conquest, Francis de Carbajal, as his right-hand man. He marched on Lima with 1,200 Spaniards and some thousands of Indians, entered the city in triumph on the 28th October 1545 and was proclaimed Governor of Peru. The Viceroy fled towards Quito, pursued by a detachment under Carbajal. He was defeated and killed in the Battle of Anaquito (18 January 1546). Gonzalo Pizarro was now master of the province, but when the news of his rebellion reached Spain steps were taken to reassert the royal authority. In June 1547 Pedro de la Gasca reached Peru, with a fleet from Panama. He was to be Governor, but first was to bear the title of President of a court of five judges, commissioned to restore order.

Gonzalo Pizarro, with Carbajal and his other adherents, abandoned Lima and retired southwards, after beating off a first detachment of pursuers near the great Lake of Titicaca. Encouraged by this success, he decided to maintain himself at Cuzco.

The President, de la Gasca, after reorganizing the government at Lima, set out in the spring of 1547 to recapture the old Inca capital. The rebel leaders marched out to attack him, but day by day their partisans deserted them, sometimes in large bodies. They dreaded the vengeance of the Royalist army, and either fled or tried to make their peace with the President. Pizarro himself at last lost heart, and personally surrendered to Gasca. Carbajal, with the remnant of his force, was attacked by the Royalist army, taken prisoner, and summarily hanged by his captors. Next day (10 April 1548) Gonzalo Pizarro was condemned to death and beheaded at a parade of the victorious army. De la Gasca returned to Spain, leaving it to his colleagues, the four other judges, to promulgate the new laws and establish ordered government throughout the colony. They had to face fresh outbreaks of the colonists. It was not till the second half of the sixteenth century that, after many troubles, peace and order were established, and Peru

became a prosperous province of the Spanish Empire. Its territory was much more extensive than that of the modern Republic of Peru, and included the whole of what is now Ecuador and lands that are now part of Colombia, Brazil, Bolivia, and northern Chile.

Venezuela had an unfortunate record in the first attempts at European colonization. Amerigo Vespucci had visited the coast and described the Indian villages built on piles and platforms in the shallows of the Gulf of Maracaibo. These suggested the name of 'Venezuela', i.e. 'Little Venice', which he gave to the coast region. In 1528 Charles V raised some money by leasing the country to a firm of Augsburg bankers, the Welsers. They sent out armed expeditions of German adventurers, who lived on the country, became involved in wars with the Indians, set up a slave market for their prisoners, and engaged in disastrous inland raids in the hope of discovering the fabled golden city of El Dorado. After heavy losses the Welsers gave up all hope of gain from the country, and in 1540 they abandoned it to the Spaniards.

The first attempts at colonization in Brazil were made by the Portuguese in 1531, but Bahia was not founded till 1549. In 1558 a French adventurer, De Villegaignon, attempted to found a Huguenot colony in the Bay of Rio de Janeiro. He hopelessly mismanaged the business and was involved in open quarrels with the colonists when the Portuguese attacked and broke up the settlement. The city of Rio de Janeiro was not founded by the Portuguese till 1567.

As for Argentina, it was not till 1535 that a Spanish leader, Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, landed at what is now the site of Buenos Aires, in command of an expedition of 2,500 men with 500 horses. But after six months of unsuccessful attempts to penetrate into the neighbouring country, in which he lost some 2,000 men in battles and skirmishes and by hardship and pestilence, he abandoned his enterprise. The city of Buenos Aires was not founded till the second half of the sixteenth century.

iv. *North America.* The eager enterprise of the Conquistadores met with severe trials in the northern continent. In 1526

Vasquez de Ayllón made an attempt to colonize the part of the coast that now belongs to Georgia and the Carolinas. He lost his life in the expedition. Several of his successors, such as Gomez and Narvaez, were just as unsuccessful. Narvaez made his way through forests and marshes and by streams and rivers, but had to come back to the coast. He re-embarked and followed the coast-line as far as the mouths of the Mississippi, but he was then driven out into the open sea by a tempest, and was never seen again. His companions perished with him, except four of them who reached the shore and reappeared again years after, in Mexico, after having tramped through Louisiana, Texas, and the Province of Sonora. They had extravagant tales to tell of the marvels of the unexplored lands which they had thus traversed.

Cortez was allured by these reports into sending three ships on a voyage of discovery, without any result. In 1540 an exploring expedition left Mexico and from the Gulf of California pushed eastward by land to the upper course of the Rio Grande, then followed it northwards into the barren lands west of the Rockies as far as the mountains of Colorado. The explorers returned to Mexico in 1542 with reports of a great desert to the far northward.

About the same time (1539-43) De Soto made another fruitless expedition into the lower valley of the Mississippi. For some twenty years the memory of these failures discouraged the adventurers from any attempts to the northward. It was not till 1564 that the first settlement was made in Florida, and the town of San Augustin was founded on its Atlantic coast.

After the voyages of the two Cabots to the northern coasts of America, the seaboard of Newfoundland was visited, year after year, by fishermen from England, France, and Spain. By the middle of the sixteenth century the fishery was frequented by about a hundred fishing-boats from England, and France was sending some of her best seamen to take their part in the enterprise, and successfully asserted their right to share in this new source of wealth. Francis I had sent a caravel, the *Dauphin*, to survey the coast of the New World. It returned to Dieppe

after exploring the fishery coast, and voyaged along the Atlantic shores of Nova Scotia (1524).

Ten years later Jacques Cartier, a Breton seaman of St. Malo, set out to explore the coasts of Newfoundland. In his first voyage he sailed all round the island, and then took formal possession of the lands at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and explored the estuary of the great river. His crossing of the Atlantic took twenty days on the outward voyage and thirty on the way home. Newfoundland was now known for years to come as 'la Nouvelle France'. In the next year he sailed westward again with three ships, to ascend the river, which the local Indian tribes called the Hochelaga, and to which he gave the name of the 'river of St. Lawrence'. The flotilla anchored for a while at the foot of the promontory that was to be later the site of Quebec, and then pushed on to the point where Montreal was afterwards founded. Here he and his crews spent the winter, a hard time for them, in huts on an island in the river which he named the Île d'Orléans. The expedition made no discoveries of either gold or precious stones, prizes always regarded as possible by the early explorers of the New World. He returned to France in the spring of 1535.

In 1540 Roberval, one of the minor noblesse of Picardy, obtained from Francis I the title of Viceroy and Lieutenant-General of all the territories and islands of the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, with the authorization to make conquests and establish a colony. He engaged Jacques Cartier to serve as Captain-General and Chief Pilot of his projected expedition. But Roberval and Cartier did not get on well together, and the Breton seaman set off in 1541, without his employer, on a third voyage of discovery. He spent another winter on the Île d'Orléans, and returned to France in 1542. He met Roberval, but could not be persuaded to go with him to Canada. Roberval set out for the St. Lawrence, reached the Île d'Orléans and passed a winter there, but returned to France in the next spring (1543), bringing all his followers back with him. He organized another expedition, but he and all his men lost their lives in a storm on the Atlantic. For some fifty years after

nothing more was heard of plans for founding a New France beyond the Ocean.

21. AMERICA (1556-1648). PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION IN THE NEW WORLD

i. *Spanish and Portuguese America.* When the last of the adventurers who had won wide dominions for Spain in the New World had passed away, an effort was made, and made with more success, to organize these possessions. Mexico was under the orders of a viceroy, whose dominion gradually extended to regions that had never known the sway of the Aztec Kings.

To the northward this expansion was slow, and met with opposition, and it was not till 1581 that the Spanish captains crossed the Rocky Mountains and founded Santa Fé, while others penetrated into California. The most important concern still continued to be the quest of silver mines, but the output of the mines of Guanajuato and Zacatecas was very moderate all through the seventeenth century.

In 1560 Spain was not yet in possession of any settlement in the eastern part of what is now United States territory. Coligny had the idea of founding a French Huguenot colony in Florida. The first attempt at a settlement ended in miserable failure; a second settlement seemed at first likely to succeed, but Philip II's anxiety was aroused and he made an end of it. The Spaniards took possession of its site and founded San Augustin (1565), and after massacring the Huguenots, Spain was thus established in Florida, and France, then weakened by the 'wars of religion', uttered no protest.

Peru witnessed the downfall and disappearance of the rebel adventurers, who fell before the forces of the Viceroys Antonio and Hurtado de Mendoza. The existence of its rich silver mines attracted large numbers of fortune-hunters and led to the foundation of new cities such as Sucre and La Paz. In 1545 an Indian discovered on the mountain of Potosi a deposit of silver like a vast mass of rich ore. At a height of 13,000 feet above the sea-level, a city was founded and almost at once had a population numbering 500 Spaniards and some 5,000

Indians. The last rightful heir to the throne of the Incas, Tupac Amaru, the son of Manco, was found guilty of disobedience to the Viceroy and hunted down and beheaded by Martin de Loyola, a nephew of the founder of the Jesuits (1571). His children died, his relatives were exiled, and thus ended the famous dynasty and the old nationality of Peru.

In Chile, after reverses in which Valdivia (1569) and Loyola (1598) lost their lives, the rule of Spain was at last firmly established along nearly a thousand miles of the coast. On the eastern side of the continent the Spaniards had penetrated into the region of the La Plata, and were firmly established there by 1573. The horses and cattle they imported from Europe multiplied beyond all expectation on the rich pastures of Tucuman, and this province was soon providing horses, mules, and herds of cattle for Peru.

The conquest and the civilized settlement of Brazil began somewhat tardily. Among the first who landed on its shores and made their way back in safety to Europe were French seamen from Normandy, who secured cargoes of dye-woods—the ‘brasil wood’ that gave the country its later name. At that time the Portuguese, who had first discovered its coast, were thinking only of the fabulous wealth of India. About 1515, exiles from Europe and shipwrecked crews began to settle on the shores of Brazil, and by 1524 there was an irregular little colony near the site of São Paulo. But it was not till 1531 that the Portuguese sent out a fleet, and 400 men were landed in the Bay of Rio and a first settlement formed near Santos. In 1534 the Portuguese Government established in the adjacent districts the vast hereditary land concessions, known as ‘Capitanias’, and there were further grants of this kind in 1552 and 1556.

This institution, intended to organize the new colony, led to troubles among the increasing number of local territorial dignitaries, and the evil became so notorious that King John II felt he must send out a Governor-General. The first of these Viceroys of Portugal was Thomas de Souza, who founded the city of Bahia, which soon after was a bishopric (1551). He had

brought with him some Jesuits, who commenced their missionary labours in 1552 and soon made their way inland to the Guaranis of Paraguay and the Moxos and Chiquito tribes.

In Brazil, as in the Spanish possessions and in Canada, the missionaries resolutely took the side of the natives, and made themselves their protectors against the conquerors, who harried the unfortunate Indians with reckless cruelty, especially in the Capitánias of the south. North of Bahia bands of Portuguese and half-breeds were advancing through the coast region, with arms in their hands. By the end of the sixteenth century they had pushed the northern limit of the province as far as Cape San Roque; in 1610 to Ceará; in 1615 to Pará, which gave them access to the basin of the Amazon. It was here they founded the city of Pará. As Philip II had taken possession of Portugal in 1580, the result of the expeditions was, for the time being, to extend the colonial dominions of Spain.

The little French colony of Protestants established on an island in the Bay of Rio de Janeiro in 1555 was badly managed and was in its decline when the Portuguese drove out the French in 1566. They then founded a settlement which became the city of Rio de Janeiro. Another attempt at French colonization at Maranhão, to the east of the Amazon estuary, in 1612, lasted for only three years.

Then in their turn the Dutch attempted to found a colony at São Salvador in 1624. They could not hold their own there, but they chose for a further attempt the seaboard district between the Rio São Francisco and the Rio Grande do Norte, with Pernambuco for its capital.

Under the command of Count Maurice of Nassau the Dutch now extended their territory to Maranhão, and gained successes against the Portuguese troops sent against them. In 1640 the House of Braganza was restored to the throne of Portugal and Brazil was separated from the enormous colonial empire of Spain. But the situation in the Dutch province became alarming for the Portuguese in 1645, when the whole population, whites, Indians, and negroes, took up arms against them. After nine years of intermittent conflict (1645-54) the Dutch garrison

evacuated Pernambuco, but peace was not signed between Holland and Portugal till 1661.

We learn from a report sent in 1648 to the King of Portugal as to the means of defence possessed by the colony that Brazil at this date extended from the 'River of the Amazons' to the Rio de la Plata, and its capital, Bahia de Todos os Santos, and the adjacent district claimed 3,500 inhabitants, and was defended by a garrison of 2,500 soldiers. The city was fortified, but this could not protect the extensive sugar-cane plantations of the neighbourhood from being ravaged. As for the other points occupied on the coast Rio de Janeiro had a few hundred inhabitants and a garrison of 500 to 600 soldiers. The other towns had mostly from 200 to 300 inhabitants, and there were a number of little places such as Porto Seguro, São Vicente, and Santa Cruz that had less than a hundred.

ii. *The English in America.* In the sixteenth century, in central and south America, the efforts of the English were at first directed to obtaining some share in the trade monopolized by the Spaniards, and this developed into irregular raids on the coasts even in time of peace. Such was Drake's voyage of 1577, when he went by the Straits of Magellan to raid the ports of Chile and Peru, seizing merchant craft and plundering warehouses and churches. Knowing that a return by the Straits risked an encounter with a Spanish fleet, he crossed the Pacific, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and returned to Plymouth by the Atlantic (1580). This was the second circumnavigation of the globe. In the war with Spain which followed, English enterprises were directed to raids on the Gulf ports and attempts to intercept Spanish trade across the Atlantic.

In Elizabethan days Raleigh had secured authority to establish a colony on the North American coast, for which, in honour of his sovereign, he chose the name of Virginia.

His efforts ended in failure (1583-8). The chief results were that he introduced potatoes into Europe (planting them first on his Irish land in Munster) and left for later adventurers reports of the riches of the land and the tradition of the name it was to bear. The colony of Virginia was founded under a

charter granted by the Queen's successor, James I, to a London company in 1606. They sent out their first party of settlers next year. These formed their first settlement on an island in the James River, but for a while, what with scanty harvests and illness among the colonists, it seemed likely that the Virginia Company's enterprise would have the same fate as that of Raleigh. In 1610 imminent failure was averted only by the timely arrival of Lord de la Warr with three ships bringing sadly needed supplies for the half-starved settlers. After this a prosperous time began. There were good crops of maize and potatoes; the cattle breeding became successful; tobacco was planted, soon to become a rich source of revenue. In 1619 the colony was granted a local legislature. Emigrants arrived each year, and the Virginians imported black slaves from Africa, for the Indians could not be induced to help them to till their farms. A critical moment came in 1622 when the Red men revolted, and 350 lives were lost among the colonists, who then numbered about 4,000. A war of extermination against the Indians followed and they were at last driven back into the western mountains. The earlier years of the reign of Charles I (before his conflict with Parliament and the Civil War) saw the foundation of the colony of Maryland. A wealthy Yorkshire landholder, George Calvert, is generally spoken of as its founder. This is true in the sense that by many sacrifices he prepared the way for its foundation, but it was actually the work of his son, Cecil Calvert. George Calvert came of a family that had been members of the new Church of England since Elizabethan days. He had done important service to the King, rewarded by knighthood and a large grant of land in Ireland, when in 1624 he became a Catholic. The King was anxious to retain him in his service, and raised him to the peerage of Ireland, under the title of Baron Baltimore. But he decided to leave England, find a new home in America, and found a colony.

In all the English settlements and colonies in the New World Catholicism was under a ban. Lord Baltimore had already purchased a tract of land in Newfoundland, and his plan was to organize upon it a settlement where Catholics from England

and Ireland would be free to practise their religion. If Protestants joined in the enterprise they would have the same freedom for their religious profession.

In 1627-8 he founded the settlement of Avalon on his Newfoundland estate, bringing with him from England his wife and family and three priests and forty colonists. Complaints came to London that Lord Baltimore was violating English law by having Mass said at Avalon, but no action was taken against him, thanks to the friendship of the King. After the hardships of the first winter he wrote to Charles I asking for a new grant of land south of Virginia, to enable him to transfer his little colony to a more favourable climate. Before any reply could come he went to Virginia on a prospecting visit. There he met with open hostility and even personal insult, and he decided to come back to London to negotiate directly with the King and his government. Here he met with persistent and powerful opposition from the London Virginia Company. At last he secured a grant for the foundation of a new colony, north of Virginia, with the Potomac for its southern boundary, access to the sea on the shores of the Chesapeake, and the great valley of the Susquehanna for its hinterland.¹ The Charter was drawn up but not yet signed by the King, when he died (15 April 1632) leaving his great enterprise to his eldest son, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore.

Cecil Calvert secured the actual grant and signature of the Maryland Charter, and organized the new colony. In November 1633 the first expedition sailed from Cowes in the *Isle of Wight*, for the Chesapeake, under the command of his brother, Leonard Calvert. There were two ships, the *Ark* and the *Dove*, conveying twenty gentlemen-adventurers and 300 mechanics and land-workers. Lord Baltimore remained for a while in England to protect the interests of the settlement. He had so

¹ This was a much more extensive territory than that of the present State of Maryland. Its northern and western boundary was the high ground forming the watershed between the head-streams of the Susquehanna and the rivers of 'New France'. Eastward the line of the Delaware separated it from the Dutch possessions. It thus comprised territory now belonging to other States of to-day, including a large part of southern Pennsylvania.

carefully provided the expedition with stores and equipment that it escaped all the trials that had marked the first years of earlier colonies. It was said that Maryland made as much progress in six months as Virginia had secured in six years. By 1650 the colony had a population of 8,000 settlers. There was no Indian war in the making of Maryland. Catholic missionaries came to evangelize the tribes of the Susquehanna valley. While the Mass was banned wherever else the English flag flew, altars were set up in the churches of the settlers, and in the Indian villages of the interior. It was the first colony of England in which there was freedom for the Catholic Church. But at the same time there was toleration for all who professed any Christian creed. When one of the Puritan sects was persecuted by its fellow Protestants in Massachusetts, Baltimore invited the oppressed minority to a refuge in Maryland with full freedom of worship. The tradition of English and American popular history has made the sailing of the 'Pilgrim Fathers' in the *Mayflower* an epoch-making event. Surely the expedition of the *Ark* and the *Dove* should not be forgotten.

The 'Pilgrim Fathers' were English Dissenters—'Independents' who regarded the Established Church as a compromise with a false religion, resented the claims of the Anglican episcopate, and chafed at the disabilities inflicted upon them under the Stuarts for their 'Nonconformity'. Some of them had, since 1608, formed a congregation at Leyden among the Dutch Calvinists. In 1620 a number of them resolved 'to escape from the temptations of the world and emigrate to America, where they might lead an ideally religious life'. Embarking from Holland in the *Mayflower*, they called at Plymouth to take on board some of their West of England brethren, and set out on their ocean voyage, about a hundred men, women, and children, to found a settlement among the Dutch in the 'New Netherlands'. They steered for the Hudson River and New Amsterdam, but by an error of navigation went too far north, and sighted land at Cape Cod. Landing in the bay they founded the settlement of New Plymouth. It was to be a little republic, ruled by the votes of the adventurers in a general assembly of the

congregation. Later it received a Royal Charter as the new colony of Massachusetts. The settlers had at first a trying time. They were involved in quarrels with the local Indians, and in the first winter sickness was rife in New Plymouth and nearly half of the settlers died. But year after year they were joined by other Puritan emigrants from Europe. In 1630 New Plymouth numbered about 300 inhabitants, by 1643 they were 3,000.

Though the Pilgrim Fathers had proclaimed that they sought for religious freedom in the New World, the colonists of Massachusetts insisted that it must be freedom for their own special interpretation of the Gospel and for that only. The early history of the colony tells of fierce disputes turning on points of doctrine, stern insistence on most rigid Puritanism, and persecution or exile of all dissidents. From time to time there was an exodus of such dissidents to found new settlements, the germs of future colonies. Thus it was that Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson founded the little colony of Providence (1635-8), now the State of Rhode Island, and in the winter of 1635-6 another small colony of malcontents was established on the coast of Connecticut. Other victims of Puritan intolerance were wretched women who were denounced and executed in an outbreak of witch-mania.

In 1648 there were eight English centres of colonization on the Atlantic coast of America. Of these only Virginia was directly under the royal rule of the English Crown. Maryland, New Hampshire, and Maine depended on proprietors holding Royal Charters, the proprietors naming their governors. New Plymouth (Massachusetts) had a Charter so liberal that it was all but independent, and the three colonies of Providence, Connecticut, and New Hampshire possessed no Royal Charter, depended on no outside authority either proprietary or political, and were practically independent republics, like New Plymouth.

The flow of Puritan emigrants to New England almost ceased from 1649 to 1660, while Cromwell ruled the home country. After the Stuart restoration there was an influx of a number of the more rigid Puritans who refused to live under a king in England.

iii. *French Colonization in America.* Jacques Cartier's voyages had led to no definite result (1534-43) and until the beginning of the seventeenth century France did not engage in any further enterprise of colonization, but continued to send her sailors to buy furs from the Indians, and to fish for cod off Newfoundland. In 1580 these fisheries were frequented by 350 ships, of which 150 came from France. In 1601 the Governor of Dieppe formed a company of business men, which sent Samuel Champlain to explore the course of the St. Lawrence (1603) and in 1604 De Monts and Champlain undertook the colonization of French America.

Port Royal was founded in 1605, but a raider from Virginia destroyed the settlement and the colonists moved up the St. Lawrence. On the 3rd July 1608 Champlain arrived at the promontory of Quebec. He agreed to join the Indian tribes who were setting out to fight the Iroquois. From that day the Iroquois, a formidable warrior tribe, took every opportunity of uniting with the English in harassing and waging war against the white men on the St. Lawrence. Champlain, leaving his workmen busy in building the first town of Quebec, returned to France and succeeded in gaining the interest of Henry IV in the new colony. The King changed the name of Canada to that of *La Nouvelle France*.

Champlain went back to the colony and soon realized that he would have to contend with the selfish and eager pursuit of quick profits by the settlers and their tendency to ill-treat the Indians. He stood almost alone among those who organized the white settlements of America in the generous spirit and far-sighted care with which he shaped his policy. He took counsel with the Recollect Fathers, whom he had already brought to Canada, and some of the more serious-minded of the colonists. With them he studied and discussed the best means for attracting more settlers to Canada; for protecting the Indians against the exactions of the traders; for converting the natives and educating their children; and for replacing the system of granting trading concessions to a few privileged individuals by a new system of freedom in trade. He felt that

his mission was to establish tillers of the soil in Canada, and to convert the native population. He followed this course in spite of the endless difficulties that arose from so many selfish-minded seekers for gain banding themselves together against his policy of goodwill.

To triumph over this opposition he turned to Cardinal Richelieu, who founded a colonization society, known as the 'Company of a Hundred Associates' (1627). But suddenly war broke out between England and France, and the English (more numerous in America than the French) reinforced by a body of French Huguenots, came up the St. Lawrence and blockaded Quebec. Sheer famine compelled Champlain to surrender on the 19th July 1629. It was not till the 29th March 1632 that Quebec was restored to France, together with Canada, Acadia (Nova Scotia), and the island of Cape Breton. Richelieu in insisting on the retrocession of the colony had yielded to the patriotic representations of Champlain in favour of the 'Christian and national' enterprise to which he had devoted his life.

Champlain, once more entrusted with the government of the colony, began by bringing to Quebec three ships with a first reinforcement of new colonists. These were 200 farmers chosen from amongst hardy country-folk of Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Perche, and Saintonge, all of them carefully selected men of irreproachable character and religious zeal. The colonization of Canada thus received a Catholic impress, which it retained up to and even after the fall of the French dominion. Champlain died in 1635, lamented by both the colonists and the Indians. He used to say—'Kings ought not to dream of extending their power over infidel countries unless it is to introduce into them the reign of Jesus Christ.'

After the death of Champlain there was only very slow progress in the colony. It was subjected to a deplorable economic and commercial system, resulting in a long period of dull depression. There were frequent conflicts with the Iroquois, and the Government became involved in unfortunate disputes with the clergy.

Richelieu did not think only of Canada. The founding of

other American colonies was due to his initiative. An enterprising voyager from Dieppe, Pierre Bélain d'Esnambric, took possession of the island of St. Christopher in the West Indies (1635) and in 1648 Dominica, Santa Lucia, and St. Bartholomew became French lands. About 1632 French buccaneers established themselves in the Tortugas, to the north of Hayti, and between 1626 and 1635 there came the first attempts to secure a permanent footing on the South American continent, in the region which was then named *La France équinoxiale*—the French Guiana of to-day.

iv. *The Dutch in America.* While the French were colonizing Canada, the Dutch made a settlement on the Hudson River. In 1609 they founded at the river-mouth their first permanent station, on what was to be the site of New York, giving their timber-built town the name of 'New Amsterdam'. In 1615 they pushed up the river and founded Fort Orange (Albany). Their purpose was to open trade with the Indian tribes, and it developed so rapidly that a company was formed in Holland in 1627 under the name of 'The West India Company'. Its territorial claims in North America included all the region of the Hudson and the Delaware rivers, under the general name of the 'New Netherlands'.

The third Governor of the colony purchased from the Indians the whole of Manhattan Island (the present site of New York) for the sum of twenty-four dollars. He erected warehouses and mills, and in the hope of attracting wealthy colonists he instituted a system of something like feudal tenures of land, which remained in force even after the colony passed to the English.

Many of the old families of the State of New York trace their descent from this landed aristocracy of Dutch colonial times. But the plan was not very well advised, and it did not attract many colonists or adventurers.

After several disappointments the colony had in 1647 a capable governor, in the person of Peter Stuyvesant, who extended the territory actually occupied by his compatriots at the cost of a war with the Indians. They had pushed almost to the barriers of New Amsterdam, but the Governor inspired

the colonists with enterprise and courage and drove the aborigines away to the northward. In 1628 the Swedes had formed a settlement on the lower Delaware, erected a fort at the river-mouth, and established a colony of 700 inhabitants under the name of 'New Sweden'. But this did not last very long. In 1655 New Sweden was annexed to the New Netherlands, which now claimed a population of some 10,000 inhabitants—1,500 of these in New Amsterdam. The colony seemed to be on the way to a prosperous future, but in 1664 an English fleet arrived at the mouth of the Hudson, claiming in the name of Charles II the sovereignty of all the Dutch territory. The English commissioners offered a pledge that all rights of property should be respected, and that there would be religious liberty, and an elected government for the colony. The opposing forces were so utterly unequal that there was no hope of a successful defence, so Governor Peter Stuyvesant surrendered, and New Amsterdam became New York.

22. AMERICA (1648-1715)

i. *Spanish America*. During this third period there were no notable events in Mexico and the territories acquired by the original Viceroyalty. The Viceroys carried out the directions sent to them from the mother country without attempting any innovations.

The Indians had disappeared from the population of Cuba and Hayti about the middle of the sixteenth century, but in Mexico they were still numerous, and even gained gradually a better status by their association with a more civilized race. Between Spaniards and Indians there grew up a mixed race which produced some remarkable types, but the Mexican element remained predominant.

It was not the same in Peru. Here in the first century after the conquest there was a considerable decrease in the numbers of the native race. The Spanish administration made as many victims as the years of conquest, and for this only carelessness in the enforcement of existing regulations was to be blamed. For there is no proof whatever of any premeditated purpose of

getting rid of the native population. On the contrary, the Government of the home country, warned of the abuses that existed in its American possessions, promulgated severe laws against all acts of oppression—benevolent laws that were not enforced because their execution was confided to men who thought only of making money for themselves.

The leading rule adopted by the Spanish Government as to administration was to allot the less important positions to descendants of the old native population, and reserve all important posts for Spaniards sent out from Europe. This rule was even applied to the clergy. During the century and a half from 1492 to 1637, of 369 bishops appointed to the dioceses of Spanish America, only 12 were of the mixed native and Spanish race.

There was a considerable number of ecclesiastics. In 1649 it was reckoned that there were 1 patriarch, 6 archbishops, 32 bishops, 346 canons, 2 abbots, 5 royal chaplains, and 640 religious houses of men or women. The revenues of the Church were large and the cathedrals and churches were sumptuously decorated. In the capital of Mexico there were 55 religious houses, and the city petitioned the King to forbid any further foundations. At Lima the forty religious houses occupied more ground than the rest of the city. All the evidence that is available is favourable to the higher clergy and to the Jesuits in Spanish America, but, on the contrary, the lower clergy was open to very serious criticism.

As regards the native races, Aztecs or Incas, Hurons or Iroquois, everywhere the part taken by the missionaries of various European countries gave them the right to the highest praise. All showed the same zeal in the protection of the natives amongst whom they lived: studying their customs and their language, instructing them, and making themselves all things to all men. As early as 1579 a native version of the Gospels and Epistles had been produced by the Dominican Didacus de Sancta Maria.

Again and again we find them taking up the defence of the natives, and denouncing those who treated them with harshness

or injustice. The Kings of Spain recognized this as one of their duties. The seventh section in Book the First of the *Recopilación de las Leyes* enumerates the cases in which the Bishops in America are bound to act in defence of the persons and property of the natives. And it is the same for the priests. In 1588 Philip II directed that those of the mixed race who were the offspring of a legitimate marriage could be raised to the priesthood, and the time came when in Mexico there were hundreds of native priests.

ii. *English America.* Cromwell's advent to power led to no changes of importance in the Puritan colonies of New England. After his atrocities in Ireland he suggested that a number of the colonists should leave their plantations and recross the sea to occupy some of the confiscated Irish lands.¹ They refused this offer, and also a proposal that they should take over Jamaica. All they asked of the Protector was that he should respect their local liberty and the freedom of their trade. In the Puritan stronghold of Massachusetts there was a rigorous execution of the laws against all Dissidents. When the Anabaptists appeared in the colony they were publicly flogged (1655) and the Quakers had even a worse reception—flogging, branding, and ear-clipping were their lot (1656), and later some of them were hanged (1659–61).

Puritan raiders from New England invaded Maryland. The Catholics defended themselves, but were defeated and the victors took control of the colony, abolished its freedom of religion, and harassed the Catholics with efforts to suppress the Mass. The Stuart Restoration ended this trying time, and with the return of peace and freedom Maryland saw a return of prosperity and there was marked development of the colony.

The Restoration also put an end to Puritan interference in Virginia. The Cavalier element was the most numerous in its population, and it had been reinforced by refugees from England during the Cromwellian régime. When this came to an end the English Established Church at once resumed its privileged position. In the twenty years after 1650 the population

¹ Cromwell's method of supplying the colonists with slaves from Ireland is dealt with in section 4.

increased rapidly, and in 1670 Virginia had some 40,000 inhabitants—32,000 of the landholding families, 6,000 white servants, and 2,000 Negro slaves. Despite trouble with the Indians in the west and a period of strife culminating in civil war between the border settlers and the Government of the colony, it was a prosperous time. Tobacco-growing became a flourishing staple industry and negroes were imported to work the continually expanding plantations. By the end of the century the population had risen to 70,000, of whom some 20,000 were negro slaves.

When the news of the Restoration came from England, Rhode Island and Connecticut at once proclaimed Charles II and soon obtained from him Royal Charters, which granted the colonists the right of electing a representative assembly and the local magistrates. This royal liberality was largely inspired by anxiety to free the colonists from any inclination to joining hands with Massachusetts.

This ultra-Puritan colony deferred for a whole year any recognition of the Stuart Restoration, and after this the dominant party among the colonists prolonged an attempt to minimize to the utmost any real connexion with the new government at London. In 1665 a Royal Commission was sent out to settle the affairs of the colony. On the news of its coming the local government proclaimed a day of 'fasting and humiliation', and there was widespread excitement when the commissioners began their proceedings by celebrating, in Boston, a Sunday morning service according to the ritual of the Established Church. The Commission effected little more than preparing a report on the situation, and its reception in England was followed next year by Charles II addressing a circular note to all the American colonies expressing his dissatisfaction with the conduct of affairs in Massachusetts. The colonial government adopted a policy of passive resistance, either disregarding any orders from England, or giving only a limited application to them, and devoting its attention to promoting the growing American trade of Boston. In 1675-6 there was a fiercely contested war with the Indians. The colonists were victorious,

but only at the cost of heavy losses in the border fighting. Shortly after this critical time the English Government offered to open negotiations for a modification of the Royal Charter, but the colonists, or rather the extremist party in control among them, obstructed any concessions, and in 1684 the King annulled the Charter.

Next year came the accession of James II. During his brief reign attempts were made to change the semi-independent republic into a Royal Colony. Sir Edmund Andros arrived as Governor, taking up his residence in Boston, though he held at the same time the governorship of New York. A frigate anchored in Boston Harbour, and a handful of British infantry was landed to protect the new régime. There was constant friction between the people and their new Governor, who was denounced as a tyrant, and when, in the summer of 1677, letters from England told of the coming of William of Orange and the flight of King James, there was a bloodless revolt in Boston, the citizens making prisoners of the Governor, several of his officials, and the captain of the frigate when he paid a visit to Government House.

The Massachusetts Puritans were ready to accept the rule of the Dutch King of England, and welcomed the Governor he sent to them, Sir William Phipps, a New Englander. William's wars with France diverted attention from local politics, and the colonists engaged in raids against the French in Canada and Acadia. They received a new Royal Charter in 1692, which included some beginnings of a more liberal system of government, and made strict Puritan church-membership no longer a necessary condition of the election franchise. In the closing years of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth, Massachusetts gradually became accustomed to the very moderate bonds of the British connexion. It still was able to enforce its narrow Puritan legislation, and the terrible outbreak of witch-mania at Salem was a blot upon the earlier part of this new period of reconciliation with the Home Government, and the acceptance of Governors appointed by Royal Warrants from London.

In the same year that Massachusetts received its new Charter (1692) a Governor from England decreed the abolition of religious freedom for the Catholics of Maryland. In Virginia from the Restoration the Established English Church had been dominant in the colony, with a delegate appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Two new colonies had been founded farther south under the Stuarts. In 1653 colonists from Virginia had made a settlement on the Roanoke River. This was the beginning of North Carolina. The official creation of the Carolinas (North and South) had its origin in a grant of Charles II to Lord Clarendon and seven others of his courtiers to take over, as proprietary colonies, all the lands of America between the parallels of 30 and 36 degrees north latitude, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast. The grant was based on a claim that the discoveries of the Cabots gave to the English Crown rights over all North America. Charles II found great difficulty in compensating those who had faithfully served his father and suffered for it by confiscation of their estates, for long before 1660 those estates had often passed through several hands and it was not possible to dispossess their present owners without creating as much injustice as one rectified. America offered to him an opportunity for paying Paul without robbing Peter, and on the whole he used that opportunity with discretion. He rejected the constitution which Locke and Shaftesbury drew up for the new colonies, designed to make them settlements of a landed aristocracy with large estates held under the noble proprietors. It was not till 1729 that the Carolinas were transferred to the régime of Royal Colonies. Meanwhile the country had been developed into a land of flourishing estates, largely made up of cotton fields, tilled by negro slaves from Africa. Charleston, founded in 1680, became a great centre for the import of this black labour, and the negroes gradually became more numerous than their white masters. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes brought a fairly numerous French element of Huguenot refugees into North Carolina.

The old Dutch colony of the New Netherlands had become the colony of New York, which had been granted by Charles II

to his brother, the Duke of York (1664). Nicholls, the first Governor appointed by the Duke, organized the new government of the colony, and showed wisdom and prudence in his administration, but it was not till 1674 that any number of emigrants arrived, and the colonization of the Hudson Valley began a rapid development, though for a while internal disputes were a check to its growing prosperity. Under the long rule of the Dutch the population had risen only to about 10,000. In 1712, the year of the Peace of Utrecht, the city of New York had only 5,800 inhabitants, but the population of the whole colony was about 31,000, of whom 4,000 were negroes.

The peninsula between the Bay of New York and the Delaware had been part of Charles II's grant to his brother. The Duke at once passed it on to two other proprietors, and it became eventually the colony of New Jersey, which by 1700 had a population of 15,000. One of its new proprietors sold his share to a group of Quakers, the most prominent of whom was William Penn. His wealthy father, Admiral Penn, had left him his estates and a claim for £16,000 against the Crown. In 1681 Charles II settled this debt by giving Penn the grant of an immense tract of land, to the westward of the New York territory, and including a considerable part of northern Maryland.

Penn's aggressive Quakerism had led to his expulsion from Oxford in his student days, and later to quarrels with his father the Admiral, and more than one imprisonment. He went out to America to found on the lands granted to him a colony that would be a refuge from persecution in Europe for his co-religionists. But unlike the Puritans of Massachusetts, whose policy had been freedom of religion only for themselves, he declared that in Pennsylvania no one would be debarred from freedom of worship and full rights of citizenship on account of whatever religion he professed. As the Quakers forbade the use of weapons and regarded even war in self-defence as an evil thing, one of his first steps was to convene a meeting of the local Indian chiefs, and arrange with them a treaty of permanent peace and mutual co-operation. He planned and founded, as

the capital of his colony, Philadelphia, the 'city of brotherly love'. In his years of government he also acted as governor of the lands secured for the Quakers in New Jersey. These were formed into a new colony, known at first as that of the Lower Delaware (afterwards the State of Delaware). Pennsylvania prospered from the very outset, and its trade and agriculture rapidly developed. In 1715 the united Quaker colonies of Pennsylvania and Lower Delaware had a population of over 45,000.

iii. *French America.* Richelieu's 'Company of the Hundred Associates' did not prove a success, and in 1674 its Charter was cancelled by Louis XIV. The State had already begun to take complete control of Canada as a Royal Colony. Colbert had sent out a special commission to organize its affairs, and a small force of regular soldiers, a little over 500 in all, was provided to strengthen its defence. The colonists, with this reinforcement and their alliance with the friendly tribes of the Hurons and Montagnais were able to deal with Iroquois raiders, and these enemies asked for peace (1666) and the treaty was observed till 1684.

Two capable administrators, Courcelles and Talon, persuaded Colbert of the advantage of allowing free trade to the colony, and they encouraged the work of exploration inspired and directed by the missionaries. In 1672 the Comte de Frontenac arrived at Quebec as Governor of New France. Quebec was then a very small city, and Montreal and Trois Rivières little more than large villages. Besides these there were a few advanced posts, farms along the river and on the shores of Lake Champlain, two military posts in the west and the stations of the Jesuit missions. In 1674 Quebec was raised from an apostolic vicariate to the rank of a bishopric. Its first bishop was François de Laval de Montmorenci, and the Bishop and the Governor were soon involved in serious disputes, arising from their divergent views as to the policy of the colony. Montmorenci and the Jesuit missionaries held the ideas that had inspired Champlain. Canada was to be a land of prosperous farmers, with an organized development of the Indian missions as a dominant interest

in its policy. Frontenac was jealous of the rival power of the Church, and intent on developing trade and assuring the defence of the colony against its neighbours in New England. A long and bitter controversy began when the Governor granted licences to the traders, allowing them to use brandy as a frequent means of barter with the Indians. Montmorenci denounced this as a mischievous step that would lead to the demoralization of the Red men and the ruin of the missions.

Frontenac was successful in his dealings with the Iroquois. The lands of their tribes, the 'Five Nations', lay south of Lake Ontario, in the borderlands of New France and New England. He founded a new settlement and a fort, that long bore his name, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence near the point where it issues from Lake Ontario (1673). He chose for its commandant Cavelier de la Salle, who had already done good service as an explorer in the region of the great lakes. He arranged with La Salle that the chiefs of the Five Nations of the Iroquois should be invited to meet him when he came to inspect his new fort. The Governor treated the Indians with ceremonious courtesy and invited them to his table day after day. They were charmed with this friendly reception, and there was a solemn renewal of the treaty between the Iroquois and the colony.

On one point Frontenac was in thorough accord with the missionaries. He counted on them as able to render great service to the colony as explorers in their adventurous mission journeys. Soon after his arrival as Governor he arranged for an expedition south of the lakes led by the famous Jesuit missionary Père Marquette and Joliet, a trader of Quebec.

Marquette had already heard from the Indians vague accounts of a great river flowing to the southwards. In the early summer of 1673 with Joliet, five other Frenchmen, and a few Indians he started from a mission station on the west shore of Lake Michigan, carried two canoes and their stores over the low watershed between the Lake and the Wisconsin River and, embarking upon it, reached its junction with a much greater river flowing from north to south. They followed its course

southwards, Marquette mapping the country, and giving the river its Indian name, the Mississippi. The voyage was continued past the confluence of the Missouri and that of the Ohio. The direction of the great river was still southwards, and Marquette accepted the repeated assurance of the local tribes that far south it ran into the sea and that there were no white settlements on its course. After passing the mouth of the Ohio, the explorers began their return journey. It was the discovery of a vast region still untouched by the missionaries and traders of Europe. Joliet brought the reports of the expedition to Quebec. Marquette remained in the mission lands by the lakes, where he died in 1675.

When La Salle heard the news he arranged with Frontenac to carry it to France, and returned to Canada with a royal warrant to explore the Mississippi, and to colonize the new lands he would discover (1677). He had interested others in his venture and brought with him some new adventurers from France and a supply of money for the proposed expedition. He set out for Lake Michigan in the summer of 1679, but it was only after many disappointments and delays that at last he was able to embark his party on the upper course of the Illinois river, by which he reached the Mississippi not far from its confluence with the Missouri. He voyaged down the main stream to its mouth on the Gulf of Mexico, and on the 9th April 1682 he formally proclaimed the lands along the great river to be French territory, and in honour of the King gave the name of Louisiana to a vast territory from the Gulf to New France.

On his return to Canada in the following November La Salle found Frontenac on the eve of resigning his governorship and returning to France. The new Governor, Lefebvre de la Barre, was unfriendly to La Salle, and removed him from his command at Fort Frontenac. The explorer and his friends organized a second expedition to make a settlement on the Lower Mississippi. It ended in failure, and he lost his life in a mutiny of some of his followers (1687).

La Barre proved to be an incapable ruler. He became involved in disputes with the Iroquois and, after an ill-directed

attempt to subdue them, he made a treaty that abandoned the tribes of the Hurons to them. This led to such an outburst of indignation that he was recalled, and replaced in the Governorship of New France by the Marquis de Denonville (1685), whose instructions were that he was to deal effectively with the Iroquois, and refuse to accept his predecessor's treaty with them. The frontier posts were reinforced and a little army of about 2,000 men was sent to Lake Ontario. Champigny, one of the Governor's officers, invited the Iroquois chiefs to a conference at Fort Frontenac. They came and, at what they regarded as a friendly feast, they were all made prisoners and then sent across the sea to France. This act of treachery led to a revolt of all the tribes, and an outcry for vengeance on the French, and the Iroquois were promised support from the English colonists of New York. Denonville was so alarmed at the situation that he soon patched up a new peace with the Indians, which was regarded as a surrender. He was recalled and Frontenac was sent back to Canada as his successor (1689).

He set vigorously to work to prepare the defence of the colony.

It was a critical moment, for the war of the League of Augsburg had broken out in Europe, and the Europeans in America were drawn into the conflict, under very unequal conditions. In 1689 the English colonies had some 200,000 inhabitants, whilst in Canada there were only 12,000 white settlers, and 3,000 in Acadia. The French had mission stations on the shores of the great lakes, they had explored the whole course of the Mississippi and the valleys of the Wisconsin, the Illinois, and the Ohio, while the English had not yet pushed their settlements west of the Alleghanies. They counted on an easy conquest of Canada. But Frontenac, with the French colonists and about 1,200 Hurons, held his own against New Englanders and the Iroquois, and even gained some successes, up to the moment when the peace of Ryswick put an end to this deplorable war (1697).

A second colonial war was the outcome of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-18). It ended with the Treaty of Utrecht. These twelve years of war resulted in something like

a dismemberment of New France. All its outlying possessions to the eastward and northward, Acadia (Nova Scotia), Newfoundland, and the Hudson's Bay territory, were handed over to England. Moreover, the treaty recognized as English subjects the Hurons, whom Frontenac had made the protégés of France during his first government of Canada.

23. THE OPENING YEARS OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XV (1715-26)

On the day following the death of Louis XIV the Duke of Orleans was already on his way to meet the Parlement of Paris (2 September 1715). In accordance with the terms of the will, he was appointed to the regency during the minority of Louis XV, then five years old: but with restrictions which the Duke considered incompatible with the rights to which his birth entitled him. Amongst such rights was the command of the 'Maison du Roi', the picked troops of Household Cavalry that formed the royal bodyguard.

After a very lively dispute the Duke of Maine (an illegitimate son of the late king), who had been named for this post, resigned; the king's will was set aside and the Duke of Orleans received the title and authority of Regent of the Kingdom with the right himself to appoint a Council of Regency.

The passing of Louis XIV was seized upon as an opportunity for freedom of action and speech. The hypocrisy of the last years of his reign was followed by an unrestricted outburst in the name of liberty. Philip of Orleans was to be the ruler of a period of history which might aptly be described as the prelude of the French Revolution. This prospect did not deter him, for he was bold and venturesome; confident in his own merits, he was eager to give proof of them and to emerge from the eclipse in which he had been living. He was very well informed, gave as ready a welcome to new ideas as to new acquaintances, was quick to understand, and a good speaker; but he shrank from any exertion which interfered with his indolent habits. Faith, morality, reverence, were things not only unknown but practically unintelligible to him. He was both indulgent to the point of weakness and debauched to excess; but he loved the

royal child whose crown it was his duty to defend, and to whom he hoped to hand over the State after years of loyal service.

At the same time it was impossible for him not to be alive to the possibility that the weakly child might die. In that event Philip of Anjou, the King of Spain, would be by blood the first heir to the throne of France. Orleans himself would be the second heir. It was of high importance to him that Philip should not be allowed to repudiate the renunciation of his claim to the French throne which he had made at Utrecht. Orleans's personal interest therefore coincided with the political interests of England.

He first of all formed six Councils or Committees—the Councils of War, Marine, Finance, Commerce, Foreign and Internal Affairs; their decisions were submitted to the central control of a Council of Regency which decided on the policy to be followed. In practice this organization, in which men of the highest rank played an important part, soon found itself at variance with the Parlement, whose pretensions knew no limits now that it had been restored to political life, and it even went so far as to question the Regent's precedence at public ceremonies. It was soon in open conflict with the Council of Regency and the agitation spread to provincial parliaments. The Regent refused to tolerate any assertion of independence and, on the 26th August 1718, by a decree of the Council of Regency, he annulled the acts of the Parlement and set at naught the great nobles. A 'Bed of Justice' held at the Tuileries put an end to any tendency towards opposition, and a few arrests supplied a decisive argument on the duty of obedience; an attempt at conspiracy still associated with the name of Cellamare ended in ridicule (December 1718).

The six Councils did not long survive the humiliation of the Parlement; on the 24th September 1718 they disappeared, but they left men behind them who had managed to secure appointments and who were to make names for themselves: Law, in Finance; Dubois, in Foreign Affairs; Maurepas, in the Naval Council; Le Blanc, in that of War. The Council of Regency

was spared, it interfered with no one, and everything except politics was amicably discussed when it met. These were in the hands of the Regent, now as absolute a master of the State as Louis XIV had been; only the system had changed, but the course of monarchy was again set as in the past.

The financial situation was as alarming as the remedies proposed for it. The total deficit was 2,500 million livres; the debt payable was sixteen times the net yield of the public revenues. A loan would have been hopeless; there was talk of national bankruptcy, and there was a resort to doubtful expedients in attempts to mislead public opinion as to the depth of the abyss. In March 1716 a special tribunal was instituted to inquire into and punish all cases of those who had made their fortunes at the expense of the State; 1,500 were found guilty and assessed at a total of about 200 million livres, of which the State recovered barely half. The official rate of interest was reduced; there was a reform of the currency, many economies were discussed, but none of these expedients prevented the State from heading towards ruin. It was at this moment that a rescuer appeared.

John Law by name, he was a banker and speculator, who had come from Scotland after living for a time in Amsterdam and London. To France he claimed to disclose a sound idea of credit based on confidence, the latter to be maintained by a reserve of bullion on the basis of which there would be an issue of notes. Gold and silver would have a legal value fixed by the State, which could lower the reserve while giving a forced currency to the notes. As soon as he saw an opportunity of introducing his 'system', Law came to Paris (24 October 1715) and explained his plan to bankers and business men, who rejected it. But the following year he obtained authorization to establish his Banque Générale with a capital of six millions, divided into 1,200 shares, one quarter payable in specie and the remainder in State notes; it discounted commercial bills at first at 5 per cent. and later at $4\frac{1}{2}$. It was a great success. It paid a 7 per cent. dividend for the second quarter of 1717. A circular dated the 10th April announced that the notes would be accepted by the Government offices.

In the following August Law formed the Compagnie d'Occident to develop the Louisiana concession granted for twenty-five years. He obtained the monopoly of trade throughout the vast region of the Mississippi and also the beaver trade in Canada, the ownership of the land, and all but sovereign rights. The capital was 100 millions divided into 200,000 shares payable in State notes. Law also withdrew from circulation 75 millions which the Treasury would no longer be obliged to repay, and the State notes, which amounted to three-quarters of his capital, were converted into 9,000 of the Company's shares. To make the notes more attractive, the State reminted the coinage (May 1718). Thus did the 'system' operate.

In spite of all his forecasts of profit the shares of the Compagnie d'Occident could not reach par. Law offered to repurchase them at a premium; he absorbed other companies (those of the Senegal, the East Indies, and China) and formed the Compagnie Perpetuelle des Indes (May 1719) which issued 50,000 shares at 550 livres the share and received a loan of 25 millions from the Bank. On the 25th July, at a cost of 50 millions, Law obtained the control of the Mint and the right to issue coins for nine years. Shortly after this he was awarded the farming of the revenue and the business of the receivers-general of taxes; thus he gathered all the State revenues into his coffers. At this moment the Company's shares were selling at 5,000 livres. Law took advantage of this to issue 300,000 shares at 5,000 livres, and the 1,500 millions thus obtained were to be used for paying off the State debt in consideration of 45 millions in interest to be paid annually by the Treasury to the Company.

At the end of November 1719 the 5,000 livre shares were dealt in at from 15,000 to 18,000 livres. Paris presented a spectacle which left its mark in history in the new term of *agiotage*, which became a fashionable word for stock-jobbing. To buy, sell, and buy again to resell became a positive obsession. Law's house was besieged or invaded by a crowd of noblemen and ladies of quality all anxious to buy shares. The public carried on its transactions in the rue Quincampoix, where almost

frenzied crowds would gather. Police had to be put on special duty to protect business men, and gates were closed at both ends of the street at nightfall. Every house was converted into offices; the case is on record of a humpback who made a small fortune by allowing people to use his back as a desk. It was said that men went into the street in rags and came out millionaires. On the 5th January 1720 the Regent appointed Law Controller-in-chief of Finance; he had become a professed Catholic to qualify for this appointment.

Suddenly the bubble burst. On the 30th December 1719 it had been announced that dividends on the shares would be at the rate of 40 per cent. on the original price; this meant 2 per cent. for those who had bought at 10,000 livres the share. Panic began, people sold, and, to check the rush, Law depreciated the currency, changed the rate for specie fourteen times in one year, and forbade the holding of more than 500 livres in currency or the payment of sums of over 100 livres in anything but paper. Then he printed thousands of notes; they amounted to 2,500 million livres. The public was allowed to convert shares into notes and conversely at 9,000 livres. Panic became general. Every one wanted to save his fortune, money was scarce, and notes were not accepted. On the 17th July 1720 the Bank closed its offices, and there were angry crowds in the rue Vivienne. An order from the Regent banished Law to Pontoise (21 July) and when, on the 10th October, a decree did away with the forced currency of the notes, over 3,000 millions of this paper money had been printed. The shares were selling for 200 francs in specie. Credit no longer existed. On the 14th December Law fled to Brussels.

These experiences had taught France the existence and power of credit, but its abuses had set all minds against it and strengthened their prejudices, even against sound financial enterprise. There was a general straitening of circumstances, of which the results continued through the eighteenth century. Numbers of private fortunes no longer existed; respectable middle-class families were ruined and reduced to seeking manual employment. The nobility, unable to accept what they considered a

humiliation, preferred *mésalliances* which brought them a fortune, whose origin was often better not acknowledged. The great noblemen had acquired and retained a taste for speculation, and numbers engaged in reckless gambling. The cost of living increased nearly fivefold.

To this financial collapse was added the collapse of morals and of religion. Not that Christian faith was banned or persecuted, but with many it passed for intellectual weakness. In private life cynicism was considered smart, licentiousness and debauchery were flaunted in public; the Regent set the example and the court followed it. Foreigners flocked to Paris and, then as now, played their part in corruption at which they affected to be scandalized.

There were calamities such as the great fire at Rennes and the plague at Marseilles. The latter was an appalling scourge, aggravated by the very precautions taken to resist it. The zeal shown by the Chevalier Rose and the Aldermen Estelle and Moutiers was admirable and Bishop Belsunce showed heroic courage; but the plague abated only after claiming 40,000 victims. It might, perhaps, have been averted by a more intelligent use of those hygienic precautions which were needed in this great Mediterranean port at a time when the plague was still rife in the Levant.

The scandal of the career of Cardinal Dubois was worse than any catastrophe. It may be that his moral laxity and his unscrupulous ambition were exaggerated by his enemies, but he connived at the Regent's depravity and collaborated with him in his policy. He was a courtier, and a cleric only in name for nearly all his life. He had received the tonsure as a boy of thirteen, but it was only in his sixty-seventh year that he took Holy Orders in order to be promoted to the rich Archbishopric of Cambrai (1720).

When Louis XV attained his majority Dubois became his Prime Minister (22 August 1722); a year later he died (23 August 1723) and the Duke of Orleans took his place, but only for a short time; on the 2nd December he died of apoplexy.

The sudden death of Orleans put the power into the hands

of the Duke of Bourbon, great-grandson of the 'Grand Condé' but a man of boundless greed and well-known incompetence. His character was a compound of wickedness, obstinacy, and pride; he lived under the thumb of a mistress, the Marquise de Prie, separated from her husband, and daughter of a jobber, who meant to make the most of the favour which she enjoyed to increase her fortune. This sorry couple had already endangered the peace by overthrowing the policy of the Regent, who had intended the hand of a Spanish Infanta, the daughter of Philip V, for the young Louis XV. But the young king, whose health had long been delicate, was subject to alarming convulsions. The Infanta was a mere child whose age excluded all hopes of an early marriage which would give heirs to the king, and the Duke of Bourbon decided on dismissing the project of a Spanish marriage and choosing a princess of a marriageable age. The choice fell on a very worthy princess, older than the king, daughter of a former King of Poland and yet belonging only to the lesser nobility, Marie Leczinska. She showed great gratitude to the instigator of her unexpected promotion in rank, and he thought he could do as he pleased. He distrusted the underhand ambitions of Fleury, the aged Bishop of Fréjus, a former tutor of the King, who gave him his full confidence. One day when the King and the Minister were together, Fleury waited for two hours without being ushered in, and after this slight he withdrew to his country estate at Issy. The King recalled him. Shortly afterwards the Duke of Bourbon received a note in the King's hand from the Captain of the Guard ordering him to retire to Chantilly without seeking an audience (11 June 1726).

24. PHILIP V AND ALBERONI (1714-16)

Philip V, King of Spain, had only felt that he really occupied his throne since the Treaty of Utrecht (1712), which had required him to renounce his rights to the Crown of France; he had submitted but with a lasting sense of ill usage. At the cost of sacrificing Italy and the Netherlands, he had, with the aid of French troops, completed the conquest and subjection of

Catalonia by the storming and capture of Barcelona (12 September 1714). Exasperated by the concessions which Louis XIV had exacted from him, he turned away from France. He had just lost his wife, Queen Marie-Louise (14 February 1714), and found himself in the hands of the *Camarera-mayor*, the Princesse des Ursins, a schemer of the highest ability. She was actually mistress of the kingdom for a year and her dictatorship raised up implacable hatreds against her. She remarried Philip V to an Italian, Elizabeth Farnese, who, as soon as she set foot in Spain, dismissed the Princesse des Ursins and had her conducted to the frontier (25 December 1714). Philip V agreed to everything; he now came under the influence of a group of Italians whose leaders were Elizabeth Farnese, Cardinal Del Giudice (the Grand Inquisitor), and Giulio Alberoni, an Italian secular priest who had been the Duke of Parma's agent in Madrid and formed a close friendship with Philip.

They were in a country where, in the course of fifteen years, French influence had carried out a few beneficial reforms while unable to shatter the formidable and sinister power of the Inquisition. From the administrative, military, and financial points of view, the French reformers were more successful, but centralization did not avail to make the government more expeditious or more honest. However, the King had more money at his disposal, which enabled him to keep up an army and a navy; in 1713 the army was of about 80,000 strong; the navy had 21 ships besides some galleys with 6,000 officers and seamen and 5 battalions of marines.

Spain once more occupied a place in Europe. But, on the other hand, everything remained to be done from the point of view of agriculture, commerce, and industry.

Philip V refused to recognize as a fact the situation brought about by the Treaty of Utrecht and still called the Emperor Charles VI by the name of the Archduke Charles. With regard to France he was at no pains to conceal his hostility towards the Regent Orleans. He had hoped that the will of Louis XIV would entrust him with the regency and the precarious health of Louis XV led him to hope that he might succeed him. In his

grandfather's lifetime he had already taken steps to form a party which would summon him to France and support his claims. The will of Louis XIV, the Parlement, and the Regent had brought Philip V's ambitions to naught, and he was now preparing to take his chance under the guidance of Alberoni.

There was complete agreement between the King, always intent on his pleasures, the Queen, ambitious to find thrones for her children, and Alberoni, who, desirous of reviving Spanish prestige, was filled before its time with a dream of Italian unity for the achievement of which this revived Spain was to be used, and planning to overthrow the Treaty of Utrecht. He knew that Philip V wanted the Regency of France and the Provinces lost by Spain in the Netherlands and in Italy; this meant overthrowing the Duke of Orleans and the Archduke who stood in the way; at the same time he had to act against the King of England, whose claim to the throne of the Stuarts had been sanctioned by the Treaty of Utrecht. Alberoni was considering schemes which would lead to the triumph of the King of Spain, who would then have thrones in plenty for the sons of his first marriage and for those of Elizabeth Farnese. The boldest ventures allured him. He signed a treaty of commerce with the English, organized a conspiracy against the Regent, and instigated an alliance of Charles XII and Peter the Great with a view to restoring the Jacobite Pretender. Nothing seemed impossible.

Alberoni realized the personal advantages to be gained from the reforms introduced by the French. He vented his restless longing for excitement, which he mistook for activity, on the Spanish nation. He revised the contracts for State leases, drew up a new tariff of customs, put down colonial smuggling, set up an official printing press, founded a cloth factory which was to receive the army orders, and introduced the weaving of fine linen into Spain. He instituted the naval college at Cadiz to provide officers for the navy; he reopened the foundries and factories for the manufacture of cannon, muskets, and side-arms, launched fourteen new warships and put as many more on the stocks; he even ordered some to be constructed in Havana. Cadiz had lost its importance as a port. He revived it; the

harbour of Ferrol was deepened, Barcelona was fortified in order to make the city rival Toulon and become one of the chief ports of the Mediterranean.

The Triple Alliance (1717). If the Duke of Orleans had an implacable enemy in the King of Spain, he had a natural ally and a relation in George I, King of England. There was a degree of similarity in their positions. The Regent feared the King of Spain's ambition, just as the King of England was uneasy over the activities of the Pretender, James III; but this analogy was an insufficient foundation for a policy. In France, as in England, the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht were respected, and the Regent hesitated between an alliance with George I and a marriage between James Stuart and his daughter. An attempted rebellion in Scotland ended in disaster and the Pretender returned to France a fugitive; whereupon the King of England made further demands before agreeing to an understanding. The most humiliating of these demands was the expulsion of James III from the territory of Avignon where he had taken refuge; the Regent could not induce him to leave this Papal enclave and, when George I insisted, he refused to do anything until after the signature of the treaty. It was when negotiations were at a standstill that the Abbé Dubois intervened.

He had come to an inn at The Hague, disguised and under an assumed name, to negotiate with Lord Stanhope, George I's Minister. After reading his report the Regent sent him to Hanover, where George I was living at the time. As Elector of Hanover he had declared war on Charles XII of Sweden in October 1715. This prince had drawn the Russian armies into Germany, and by this time the Elbe was the only barrier between the Russians and the Electorate. George I feared an understanding between the Regent and Peter the Great and hastened to conclude the agreements with France. Dubois obtained the consent to the expulsion of the Pretender between the signature and ratification of the alliance, into which he drew Holland.

There were long delays before the Treaty of the Triple

Alliance was signed at The Hague on the 4th January 1717. It stipulated for a close alliance, offensive and defensive, between the three contracting powers. The Pretender was to leave France and be given no assistance, the fortifications of Dunkirk and the Mardyck dam were to be destroyed, and lastly, the conditions in the Treaty of Utrecht regarding the French and English successions were confirmed. In the event of one of the contracting parties being attacked, the other two had to come to its assistance within two months.

France had just been offered the chance of another alliance. Peter the Great of Russia, who no longer had any reason to fear Charles XII, had grounds for complaint against George I, whom he was inclined to oppose by countenancing a new attempt by James Stuart in Scotland. Alberoni supported the scheme, which failed miserably on the publication by Lord Stanhope of compromising documents (February 1717). The Tsar, who had lent an ear to the Jacobites, felt that he was very ignorant about Western statecraft and, to gain information, decided on a visit to Paris and the French Court. His stay in Paris lasted six weeks (7 May–20 June), during which he did everything in his power to conclude a political alliance, while the Regent only desired a commercial agreement. He was proposing a second Triple Alliance between France, Russia, and Prussia; it was concluded at Amsterdam (15 August 1717).

The Spanish War (1717–20). Europe had become too small for the ambitions of Dubois and Alberoni. The latter wanted to prove his worth by breaking up the Triple Alliance concluded by the former at The Hague; but, while Dubois did not depart from the methods of diplomacy, Alberoni launched out into armaments. He had just obtained from the Pope authorization for the money needed for a crusade against the infidels and to be obtained by a levy on the Spanish clergy, when the break between Madrid and Vienna occurred. Philip V wanted war, Alberoni did not, though he had prepared for it; but, threatened with dismissal, he yielded the more readily since he had just received the much-coveted Cardinal's hat (12 July 1717).

A fleet which had set sail from Barcelona (18 June) anchored

off Sardinia. Pope Clement XI complained loudly, saying that he had in all good faith counted on a crusade. There was general agitation, but Charles VI had no navy and Philip V thought that he was on the eve of recovering for Spain her former Italian States; while Charles VI claimed the surrender of Minorca as compensation for the aggression on Sardinia. England played a watching game and was careful not to intervene.

In London, Lord Stanhope and Dubois were studying the draft of an agreement (November 1717) and, after much hesitation, the Duke of Orleans declared in favour of an Anglo-Austrian alliance on condition that Spain was treated with consideration, and that Charles VI renounced his claim to its throne, and that Tuscany and Parma were promised to the son of Philip V and Elizabeth Farnese. England approved and the Emperor agreed (4 April 1718). But Spain wanted war at any price as well as the Jacobite enterprise, which would bring about a reconciliation between Russia and Sweden. Backed by subsidies from them Spain might send 30 warships and 30,000 men.

At this time the English Parliament was voting the necessary grants for a great naval armament to be fitted out at Portsmouth, and Alberoni declared that he would consider the dispatch of a British fleet to the Mediterranean a *casus belli* (April 1718). On the 15th June the English fleet left Portsmouth for an unknown destination which was guessed by Dubois, who declared himself willing to do everything in his power to bring about the dispersal of the Spanish fleet. Admiral Byng's original instructions authorized him to prevent the Spaniards from landing in Italy proper, but fresh instructions included Sicily. At this point Lord Stanhope arrived at Madrid and proposed the recognition of Philip V's kingdom by Charles VI, the settlement of Parma, Tuscany, and the island of Elba on the Infante Carlos, and even the restoration of Gibraltar (August 12). Alberoni received him and gave him to understand that he had no fears and was even expecting an important diversion in northern Europe. On the 27th August Lord Stanhope left Madrid; the Spanish fleet had ceased to

exist on the day before. Byng had taken it by surprise, beaten, sunk, and dispersed it, forcing many ships to surrender; the disaster was complete and the attack deliberately planned, though Byng's excuse was that the battle had been the result of a misunderstanding and did not necessarily involve the two nations in war; he even offered his ships' carpenters to assist in the repairs of his disabled opponents.

Despite the loss of the Mediterranean fleet, and the consequent abandonment of his Italian projects, Alberoni did not fear a conflict with France, even if she had the support of England. He had a mistaken idea that Spain was only vulnerable on the Pyrenean frontier and that there was a strong party in France favourable to Philip V, while England could be embarrassed by a Jacobite rising in Scotland.

Dubois had been appointed Secretary of State through the support of the British Ambassador (George I's Secretary of State). He immediately wrote to Stanhope: 'I am indebted to you for the post which I occupy' and promised to fill it 'in the service of His Britannic Majesty, whose interests I hold sacred'. In spite of his great devotion to England, Dubois was conscious of the opposition of French opinion to a declaration of war on the grandson of Louis XIV, when Philip V committed the grossest of blunders.

His ambassador in Paris, Prince Cellamare, had been associating with that discontented group which persisted in the delusion that Philip V would only have to present himself on horseback to be acclaimed by the whole of France. A conspiracy was hatched after the disaster of the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro, but it was betrayed and those most deeply compromised were arrested and imprisoned. This hopeless plot was denounced as a Spanish attempt against the safety of the kingdom (8 December 1718). Cellamare was conducted to the frontier (11 December) and on the 3rd January 1719 France declared war on Spain, with the support of England, Holland, and Austria.

Philip V left Madrid at the head of an army, convinced that the French regiments would disperse when they saw him. But

he never even passed the frontier. He had 15,000 men and Marshal Berwick 40,000; there was no serious fighting, but a Spanish retreat from Pampeluna back to Madrid. A few towns were taken: Pasaje, Fuentarabia, San Sebastian; all the dockyards which Alberoni had equipped for the Spanish navy were destroyed by the English fleet.

On the 5th December 1719 Alberoni was expelled from Spain, deprived of all his titles and of the Archbishopric of Malaga. As soon as he reached Italy, the Pope brought on his trial, hoping secretly to be able to deprive him of the purple. It was with great difficulty that he found refuge in the territory of the Republic of Genoa.

Philip V and his wife spurned their vanquished servant, attributed all their mistakes to him, and persisted in unreasonable demands until the fear of losing the Italian duchies decided them. Philip V promised his adherence to the Quadruple Alliance on the 20th January 1720, and claimed in return the possession of Gibraltar, which was refused.

Dubois had triumphed, and possibly the Regent might have forgotten to reward him; the English made it their business to do so. King George I of England asked and obtained for him from the Regent the Archbishopric of Cambrai (June 1720). Dubois had to wait a little longer for the Cardinal's hat; he was promoted by Innocent XIII (16 July 1721) who reluctantly yielded to pressure from Paris.

25. CONFLICTS AND PEACE-MAKING (1718-33)

In northern Europe Charles XII and Peter I seemed to be on the point of reaching an agreement. The latter was to give up almost all the Swedish provinces occupied by the Russians, the former was to abandon his German allies, and both princes were to turn their hatred against George I, Elector of Hanover and King of England. At this point the King of Sweden was killed by a musket-shot at the siege of Fredrikshall (November 1718), and this ushered in a long period of anarchy amongst the nobility. Sweden made peace with Hanover, Prussia, and Denmark and returned to the idea of retaking the lands con-

quered by Russia. Peter I decided to subdue Sweden by a war of devastation; he burned four towns, two hundred villages, castles, mills, factories, and forests without meeting with any opposition. In 1720 an English fleet appeared in the Baltic but either dared not or would not defend its Swedish allies. This raised Russian pride to a high pitch. Where England failed, France was about to succeed. Peter requested her mediation (20 May 1720). Campredon, the French Minister at Stockholm, went to St. Petersburg (18 February 1721), where he found Peter determined to yield nothing and declaring that he would invade Sweden with 6,000 Cossacks who would lay waste the country. On his return to Stockholm, Campredon was able to persuade the King of Sweden and his Council to accept the Russian conditions and give up any idea of continuing the war. The Peace of Nystad (1721) put an end to a twenty-one years' war.

It was a triumph for Peter, who substituted the title of 'Emperor of All the Russias' for that of Tsar. He now had a seaboard and a capital on the Baltic; he was master of Courland, Mecklenburg, and Holstein; Poland was his vassal, and so too was Sweden. Peter I was shrewd enough to realize of how great value French mediation had been to him in the north; he was anxious to strengthen the bonds between France and Russia and even had visions of marrying his daughter Elizabeth to Louis XV, or, failing him, he would have been satisfied with the Duke of Chartres, a son of the Regent, to whom he would have guaranteed the Polish succession. The Regent delayed his reply for six months and then made conditions which were not encouraging.

Peter I's matrimonial schemes not only ran counter to the obvious objections which would certainly be raised to the union of the King of France with a Russian princess, but Louis XV's hand was no longer available. After a short war, France and Spain had made a treaty of alliance into which England had entered (13 June 1721), and the Regent had engaged the young King to a daughter of Philip V, the Infanta Anna-Maria Victoria, not yet four years old. She was sent to

France to be brought up there (9 January 1722). The Franco-Spanish entente was restored.

It did not last long. In the course of one year events occurred in quick succession: the death of Dubois (23 August 1723), the death of the Regent (8 December 1723), the abdication of Philip V (January 1724), the death of his son King Louis I (31 August 1724), on which Philip V resumed the crown. In France the Regent's successor, the Duke of Bourbon, alarmed at Louis XV's ill health, was anxious to see him married at once without waiting for the Infanta Anna-Maria Victoria to reach an age at which she might give an heir to the throne. She was sent back to Spain and Louis XV married Marie Leczinska (4 September 1725). It needed no unusual acumen to foresee that the rejection of the Spanish princess would involve a breach between France and Spain.

Philip V marked his resentment by making an alliance with the Emperor, an alliance which forced France to oppose this league with a counter-league and to tighten the bonds with her allies; this was the object of the Treaty of Hanover signed by France, England, and Prussia (23 September 1725), a treaty to which Holland agreed a year later (autumn 1726).

In the interval Peter the Great had died (28 January 1725) and had been succeeded by his wife Catherine I. The latter renewed the offers of a matrimonial alliance, but without success. The result of this was an alliance between Russia and Austria. At last on the 12th June 1726 the Duke of Bourbon was dismissed and replaced by Hercule de Fleury. The aged bishop was a good servant to France, with the idea of serving her by co-operating with the English minister, Walpole, in his attempt to break with the traditional English policy of the maintenance of the balance of power. His first object was to renew the treaties of France with Sweden, England, Denmark, Bavaria; his continued efforts tended at first to avoid warfare, to win back Spain, and to dissolve the coalition formed against France. When the Duke of Orleans was relieved of the Regency and the Duke of Bourbon of the ministry, Fleury's term of government was a beneficial period of convalescence for France.

Thanks to the wisdom of the old man, Europe was temporarily at peace. France, Spain, and England concluded the Treaty of Seville (9 November 1729), to which Holland added her name (21 November). Austria was duped and in no condition to take her revenge. Charles VI had his full share of worries, for he wanted to transmit his entire inheritance, with the imperial crown, to his only daughter Maria-Theresa; he had just negotiated with England and Spain to persuade them to accept the Pragmatic Sanction by virtue of which the Archduchess would neither marry a Bourbon nor any other prince so powerful that the marriage would compromise the balance of European power. England had signed the Treaty of Vienna on the 16th March 1731, followed by Spain (6 June), Holland (28 July), Tuscany (21 September). The following November an English fleet landed 6,000 Spaniards in Italy, where they occupied Leghorn, Porto-Ferraio, Parma, and Piacenza in the names of Don Carlos, son of Philip V, and of Elizabeth Farnese, to whom Parma and Tuscany had been awarded.

In a few years, thanks to Fleury's policy, the desire for peace had taken the place of imminent warfare throughout Europe; Spain had gained the object of her ambitions in Italy, or at least her ambitions modified; France was once more on good terms with Spain and had avoided a conflict with Austria in which the latter would have been supported by Russia: lastly, England and Holland, to whom political considerations were only important in so far as they facilitated their commercial gains, were fully satisfied and remained peacefully inclined. The Emperor alone was discontented and anxious and, the better to defend—if need be—his Pragmatic Sanction, he kept his army on a war footing until 1733.

26. THE POLISH SUCCESSION (1733-9)

France had scorned the advances of Russia and had thrown her into the arms of Austria, to whom she was now allied by the Treaty of Vienna (6 August 1726). So, on the death of Augustus II, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland (1 February 1733), the vacancy of the Polish throne produced amongst

other candidates the late King's son Augustus III and Stanislas Leczinski, father of the Queen of France. A third candidate appeared, but then Austria and Russia agreed to compel (by force if necessary) the election of the Saxon Augustus III (19 August). The Diet assembled and acclaimed Stanislas, who was proclaimed King on the 12th September. Meanwhile the dissentients appealed to the Tsarina, who set an army of 20,000 Hussars, Cossacks, and Kalmuks on the march towards Warsaw. Under the walls of the city Augustus III was proclaimed King, while Stanislas could find, in all his kingdom, no stronghold in which to assemble his partisans. He moved, with his government, to Danzig. In France public opinion was aroused in favour of Stanislas and, in spite of Fleury's opposition, war was declared against Austria in October 1733.

Spain, Savoy, and the German States had been won over, but England and Holland could take no action owing to their undertaking not to touch the Austrian Netherlands; but it was not enough to strike at Austria, the action of France must be felt in Russia, and to do that, the distance being too great to permit direct attack, Turkey and Sweden must be incited to fight her war by proxy. Nothing effective could be expected from the latter, but Turkey could intervene at once and throw 100,000 men against South Russia. When the French ambassador, the Marquis de Villeneuve, appealed for this intervention, the Grand Vizier proposed a treaty of alliance subject to unreasonable conditions and claims that could not be reconciled with the cautious policy of Fleury, who only gave an ineffectual and limited consent. During these negotiations the Russians had laid siege to Danzig. The Comte de Plelo's heroic defence did not save the city, which capitulated after 135 days' siege, but King Stanislas had had time to escape and to summon his adherents to Koenigsberg (9 July).

In Constantinople Villeneuve was at last winning over the Ottomans on behalf of the Poles, while France was reluctant to make use of their goodwill and was trying to obtain some results from the activities of a secret agent in Russia. Six months thus went by and, as no immediate help seemed in sight,

King Stanislas's party broke up, came to terms with the conquerors, and abandoned a lost cause. In 1735 the whole of Poland submitted to the yoke that was thus laid on it and once more was subject to foreign rule. Stanislas became a sort of political figure-head to be set up as required until the end of his career.

Failing Russia, which was too far away, France turned on Austria and attacked her in Italy, where Louis XV's minister, Chauvelin, was busy increasing the number of minor states that were willing to submit to French influence and unite in limiting the power of Austria. France began by joining hands with Spain (25 October 1733) and Sardinia (26 September 1733) and immediately afterwards began hostilities in Lorraine and Italy, where Marshal de Villars won the last victories of his career and entered Milan in triumph, while the King of Sardinia took possession of his promised share and the Spaniards went on to conquer the Kingdom of Naples. The imperial army attempted to regain the lost ground in northern Italy, but after fierce battles was compelled to withdraw to Mantua (1734). Meanwhile, in the south, the Spaniards had defeated the Austrians and were completing the conquest of the Two Sicilies, so that from the end of 1734 the whole country recognized the Bourbon rule. In Germany the Emperor made a great effort which ended in a great disaster. An army of 100,000 Frenchmen laid siege to Philipsburg, the key to Germany, against 60,000 Germans commanded by Prince Eugène. Already advanced in years and anxious not to compromise his established reputation, he ventured only on cautious and ineffective efforts to raise the siege. The Crown Prince of Prussia, the future Frederick II, was in his camp, and had ample leisure to observe at close quarters the weakness of an Austrian army.

The campaign of 1735 dragged even more wearily. Charles VI had based all his hopes on the intervention of the naval Powers in his favour; disappointed at the British Minister Walpole's half-hearted policy, he decided to deal directly with France and approached Cardinal Fleury with proposals to put an end to the old rivalry between France and Austria. Nothing could

have pleased the Cardinal better than to negotiate secretly on the following basis: the two Sicilies were to be assigned to the Infante Carlos, Parma and Piacenza to the Emperor, and all the Milanese territory except a few districts to the King of Sardinia. Lastly, since Duke Francis III of Lorraine and Bar had just been betrothed to the Archduchess Maria-Theresa, Charles VI's heiress, Lorraine and Bar, instead of becoming an Austrian province, would fall to Stanislas, on whose death they would return to France as part of Maria Leczinska's dowry. In exchange Francis III was to have Tuscany (3 October 1735).

Nobody was satisfied, and Fleury did not display the needful persistence in pressing his proposals. Chauvelin reappeared on the scene and proved himself to be in favour of peace and an energetic and capable negotiator. He insisted that the fate of Lorraine should be settled by a special act before the final drawing up of the peace treaty. The duplicity of the Austrian policy prolonged these negotiations for a year. To hasten a decision Chauvelin intimated to Vienna that the King of France would order the evacuation of Philipsburg, Kehl, and Trèves only if Lorraine were handed over to Stanislas. This led to fresh discussions, but Austria now realized that she had to submit; on the 15th February 1737 the last Duke of Lorraine signed the act of cession which broke for ever the bonds which had united this province to Germany.

The final terms of the peace treaty were agreed on the 13th November 1738; France definitely guaranteed the imperial Pragmatic Sanction (the act that regulated the Austrian Succession).

France's moral supremacy had not been so great in Europe for a long time. Fleury was discreetly drawing her into more friendly relations with the Emperor. He was convinced that Richelieu's policy was now an anachronism and that an alliance between the Bourbons and the Habsburgs would realize the ideal of peace and open the way to the period of continental security which France needed in order to turn her attentions towards enterprises beyond the seas.

27. THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION (1740-48)

The principal anxiety of Charles VI's life had been to secure the transmission to his eldest daughter of all his dominions, comprising the Austrian provinces, the Kingdom of Bohemia and that of Hungary, his possessions in Italy, and the Catholic Netherlands. This vast inheritance was the cause of an Act which guaranteed the existence and continuity of the dynasty, even through the female line; this Act, known as the Pragmatic Sanction, was promulgated on the 6th December 1724. Charles VI sought to have this sanction guaranteed by the Empire and all the European States; he was everywhere successful (except with Bavaria), and he believed that on his death his daughter Maria-Theresa would come into possession of her inheritance without difficulty. In 1740 she was twenty-three and was destined to prove herself worthy of the position she occupied by her character, her courage, and her intelligence. Her exchequer was empty, her army inadequate, and round her she had rivals ready to attack her inheritance. The most formidable was the King of Prussia, Frederick II, twenty-eight years of age, whose military genius and political unscrupulousness were as yet unsuspected.

He began by making Maria-Theresa certain advantageous offers (including five millions in ready money) in exchange for the surrender of Silesia. She refused, and he took possession of the country and renewed his proposals, which were again rejected. Frederick II thought only of his own interests. His ambition and pride cost Europe rivers of blood and his tortuous diplomacy brought Maria-Theresa to the edge of the precipice more than once. The latter had appealed to England and France; but Protestant England and her minister Walpole were glad to be able to refuse help to a Catholic State. As regards France, her octogenarian minister Fleury was opposed to war, but public opinion was misled by the idea of reviving Richelieu's 'great scheme' against the House of Austria. Thus Frederick found an ally in France. A sceptic who scoffed openly at Christianity, he regarded Voltaire and the French philosophers

as the leaders of the world's progress. He habitually spoke French in his home life, as the language of educated men, and nearly all his writings were in French, for next to his military ambition was his hope to be recognized as a French author of distinction. It was a strange development that, thanks to the tradition of rivalry with Austria, France should seek the alliance of this admirer of Voltairian scepticism, who was to be the founder of the military power of Prussia and the hero of a militant Germany.

War spread rapidly to the banks of the Danube, the Elbe, the Po, thence to the Scheldt and the Meuse, and from there to the seaboard. A state of war existed in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. France had adopted Charles Albert of Bavaria as candidate for the Empire.

In the summer of 1741 two French armies each of 40,000 men entered Germany, and on the 31st July the Bavarians were masters of Passau; on the 10th September, in conjunction with the French, they occupied Linz, three days from Vienna. Maria-Theresa appealed to the Hungarians. They insisted on guarantees and only gave their services with a full knowledge of the situation; then they occupied the left bank of the Danube and steps could be taken to defend Vienna. The Franco-Bavarian army turned aside from Vienna and marched into Bohemia while Frederick II was betraying his allies and coming to terms with Maria-Theresa. Immediate action was imperative. The Franco-Bavarians seized Prague (25 November), where they proclaimed the Elector of Bavaria King of Bohemia (7 December). The Electoral Diet assembled at Frankfort proclaimed him Emperor with the title of Charles VII on the 24th January 1742; he was crowned on the 22nd February. The triumph was short-lived, for on the 23rd February Munich, the capital of Bavaria, was captured by the Hungarians and Croats.

Frederick II concluded the Treaty of Breslau (11 June) and it was ratified in Berlin (29 July); he retained the whole of Silesia except only some small territories. In London and Amsterdam there was rejoicing at the humiliation of a great Catholic power, in Paris there was widespread consternation

when it was learned that the King of Prussia had duped his allies. Cardinal Fleury was disheartened and did not conceal his regret at having been entangled in this fatal policy, while Marshal de Belle-Isle brought the Prague garrison back to France by a retreat which was compared to that of the Ten Thousand, and Charles VII had to make peace with Maria-Theresa.

Fleury died (29 January 1743) and Louis declared his intention of governing the country himself—a mere passing fancy. The position was becoming serious: the French frontiers were threatened; men had to be recruited by drawing lots and by calling up the militia. England sided openly with Maria-Theresa, since Walpole had been replaced by Carteret, the avowed enemy of France (February 1742). Holland was persuaded to promise a contingent, and George II as Elector of Hanover assumed the command of an army composed of English and Hanoverians. It seemed to be a triumph for Maria-Theresa. She had been crowned at Prague on the 10th May and declared her intention of making up for her Silesian losses at the expense of Bavaria. Germanic patriotism was already being stirred by the promise of the conquest of Alsace and of Lorraine, and she began to have designs on the Franche-Comté and Burgundy. In London there was talk of confining France to the limits imposed by the Peace of the Pyrenees, England laying claim to Dunkirk and Canada; it was less a question of the Habsburg than of the Bourbon succession.

War spread everywhere, not only to Italy, but to the Netherlands and the Rhine, to the East and West Indies (Hindustan and Canada). Moreover, dynastic war flared up on British territory where Charles Edward the Pretender entered Edinburgh in triumph (17 September 1745), advanced as far as Derby, 130 miles from London, but had to retire, and after a last victory at Falkirk (17 January 1746) was finally defeated at Culloden (16 April).

Important events were happening elsewhere. In the spring of 1744 two French armies amounting to 80,000 men entered Flanders, took several towns, and on a sudden the storm seemed

about to burst in eastern France where Maria-Theresa's husband was making ready to retake Lorraine. Louis XV hastened to the threatened front, but on reaching Metz fell ill (5 August); he was in danger of death, and the sorrow throughout France was sincere; when he recovered there were great rejoicings. Prussian intervention cut short the German invasion of Alsace and Lorraine. Frederick II took the field, captured Prague, and took back a much diminished army to Silesia.

In the following year, 1745, Marshal Saxe opened his campaign in the Netherlands by the siege of Tournai, and the Duke of Cumberland's Anglo-Dutch army attempted to save the town; it failed and was badly defeated at Fontenoy (11 May), the last great victory won under the eyes of a King of France. Tournai, Ghent, Oudenarde, and Bruges surrendered. Louis XV made a triumphal entry, heard a *Te Deum* in the Church at Ostend, and London was in fear of the Jacobite march into England.

A few weeks after Fontenoy, Frederick II won the victory of Hohenfriedberg (4 June) and immediately, on pretext of having been deserted by his ally, made overtures to the losers of Fontenoy, with whom he signed the Convention of Hanover (26 August) which reinforced the Treaty of Breslau. Maria-Theresa did not interfere; she had the satisfaction of seeing her husband elected Emperor with the title of Francis I; she even hoped to be revenged on Frederick—to invade Brandenburg and enter Berlin. She was badly mistaken, and very soon, by the Peace of Dresden (25 December), had to cede her conquests.

In 1746 Marshal Saxe took Brussels and defeated an Austrian army at Raucoux (11 October). Louis XV was unable to conceal his wish for peace. The year 1746 was spent in attempts at reconciliations which left the situation unchanged by the spring of 1747. Finally, Marshal Saxe obtained permission to invade the territory of the United Provinces with the undertaking to restore it at the conclusion of peace. The consequence was a revolution, but the Stadholder, William IV, had no military capacity. Saxe won the victory of Lawfeld (2 July) over the Anglo-Austro-Dutch army, and this was followed by the storming of Bergen-op-Zoom (16 September).

Negotiations were resumed the more eagerly because all parties were exhausted and a new belligerent Russia was advancing towards the Rhine. In the spring of 1748 the English, tired of paying allies who did not save them from having to appear in person on the battlefield and badly disposed towards the Dutch who refused to find the pay for the Russian troops, took the initiative in proposing peace. Maria-Theresa was quite prepared to treat, although she had to submit to abandoning Silesia and to territorial losses in Italy. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded on the 7th October 1748 on the following terms: Francis I was recognized as Emperor by the whole of Europe; Frederick II retained Silesia and the Countship of Glatz; Don Philip, Louis XV's son-in-law, became sovereign of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla. Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia received compensations whereby his states were extended along the Ticino, from Lago Maggiore to the Po. The Duke of Modena recovered his states, and Genoa's independence was guaranteed.

Louis XV restored all territory won in the Netherlands and in the Alps. In India he restored Madras, in America he was given back Louisburg and Cape Breton. England obtained the demolition of the defences of Dunkirk and the expulsion of the Stuarts from France. The war left Austria poorer by the loss of that flourishing Silesia which she considered to be 'the pearl of the Empire'.

28. THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1755-63)

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was only a truce. France and England were rivals on the Continent, on the seas, and in the Colonies. India was the scene of French enterprise. In Canada France was opposing English expansion in America. French commerce had greatly developed in Martinique, Guadaloupe, Bourbon, and the Île de France. All this entailed an increase in the French navy and was attracting the trade of East and West to the French ports. England watched the progress made by the navy and commerce of France with jealous eyes; she

was anxious to check the progress of Dupleix in India, and to break up the French settlements on the banks of the Ohio.

The Seven Years' War in Europe (1756-63) had its prelude in disputes between French and English as to the boundary of Acadia (Nova Scotia) and hostilities between the colonists of both nations in the wooded borderlands of the New England Colonies. These began when the French pushed out a new post—Fort Duquesne—from their settlements on the Ohio. The first encounters took place in 1754, and next year a British column under Braddock was all but destroyed by an inferior force of French and Indians. Meanwhile a squadron under Admiral Boscawen had been intercepting French transports conveying stores and reinforcements to Canada. War between the two countries followed, the French opening their naval campaign by the capture of Minorca. France was involved in this conflict with England just when Louis XV was about to engage in a great war in Europe.

Maria-Theresa was not resigned to the loss of Silesia and, in order to recover it, was working for a European coalition against Frederick II. Out of this dual rivalry between France and England and between Austria and Prussia came the Seven Years' War which saw France and Austria, though traditional enemies, fighting on the same side. What was the explanation of this sudden change? It was the deliberate personal work of Louis XV and Maria-Theresa aided by her minister Kaunitz. Louis XV believed he was ill served and ill obeyed by his ministers, and he conspired against them by means of secret agents who corresponded directly with him. This was 'The King's Secret', in the interests of which loyal Frenchmen worked, cleverly, unassumingly, but were all the same adventurers and intriguers. The King's ministers and mistresses knew nothing of all this and Louis XV was more truly King than has been generally believed, when he thus personally arranged the alliance with Maria-Theresa.

As England was already at war with France, it was obvious that there would be an alliance with Prussia. A treaty was signed at Whitehall (16 January 1756) by which the contracting

parties undertook to oppose any Power that violated German territory.

On their side, Louis XV and Maria-Theresa reached an agreement the more easily because the King of France felt an instinctive aversion for the King of Prussia and had received warning that he was increasing his forces. Maria-Theresa rendered him this service and sent with the news a scheme for an alliance. Louis XV was considering this when he heard of the Treaty of Whitehall. It roused him to action and he agreed to the Austrian proposals, and by the Treaty of Versailles the two Powers guaranteed to assist each other with 24,000 men against all aggressors. So there came what was known as the 'reversal of alliances'.

Louis XV's mistake was that he thus worked for the restoration of Silesia to Maria-Theresa and sought to make conquests in Germany for the benefit of Austria, while he was already committed to a naval and colonial war. He failed in both these enterprises. Prussia retained Silesia and England secured India and Canada.

Maria-Theresa had been clever enough to draw the Empress Elizabeth of Russia into her alliance and to organize a vast coalition against Frederick II, so that Louis XV found himself the unwilling ally of the Russians to whom East Prussia had been promised. Poland and Sweden were also brought into the alliance by a fresh treaty signed at Versailles on the 1st May 1757. Instead of 24,000 men, France was to give more than 100,000 and an annual subsidy of 12 million florins. She was pouring them into a bottomless pit.

The Seven Years' War may be divided into three periods, the first, from the summer of 1756 to the end of 1757.

In August 1756, while the Austrians were still concentrating, Frederick invaded Saxony, occupied Dresden, and blockaded the Saxon army in its entrenched camp at Pirna. When the Austrians tried to intervene, Frederick defeated them at Lobositz (1 October) and drove them back into Bohemia. The Saxons surrendered, and thousands of them joined the Prussian army. In the spring of next year the French had 100,000 men

across the Rhine, divided into two armies. Another 100,000 Russians and Swedes were menacing east Prussia. In April Frederick invaded Bohemia, defeated an Austrian army before Prague (6 May 1757), and besieged the city. Early in June another Austrian army raised the siege and inflicted a severe defeat on the Prussians at Kolin on the 18th June. Meanwhile the French northern army had advanced into Hanover, and on the 26th July it defeated an Anglo-German army under King George's son, the Duke of Cumberland. The other French army advanced through south Germany, picked up a small Austrian contingent, and was over 40,000 strong when it found its way barred at Rossbach in Prussian Saxony by Frederick with only a little over 20,000. Soubise, the incompetent French commander, who owed his position only to court influence, made an attempt on the 5th November to outflank his opponent. He was surprised on his line of march, and his whole force scattered, captured, wounded, or killed in a fight that lasted only an hour and a half, and in which only about 10,000 of the Prussians were closely engaged.

While Frederick was thus dealing with the French advance, the Austrians had overrun the Saxon kingdom. He turned upon them, and by a victorious flank attack in the snowy woods of Leuthen just a month after Rossbach he completely defeated their superior force.

In the second part of the war (1758-60) Frederick, with so many losses of his veterans, whose places were filled by young recruits, and with a half-empty treasury, had to face a trying time. In the west the Anglo-Hanoverian army under the Duke of Brunswick drove the French out of Hanover and Westphalia, inflicting a severe defeat on them at Crefeld. In the east Frederick defeated the Russians at Zorndorf in August, and despite a defeat at Hochkirch in October regained possession of Saxony in the winter. But in the following year he was reduced to what might well seem the verge of disaster. His detached forces under his lieutenants were defeated. Saxony was occupied by the Austrians, and at Kunersdorf on the upper Oder on the 12th August 1759 he himself suffered a

terrible defeat. He had to meet a combined Austro-Russian army over 70,000 strong, with only 43,000 men, and half his small force was destroyed—20,000 killed and wounded in the fight and 2,000 prisoners and 178 guns taken by the victors. But in the west the Duke of Brunswick with the English and Hanoverians had defeated the French at Minden (1 August 1759). After this Brunswick had an almost unbroken career of victory in the following years.

But Frederick was in dire straits. The Russians sacked Berlin in the early stage of the campaign of 1760. The Austrians gained possession of Silesia. The Swedes were in Pomerania. But Frederick not only kept the field, but by bold strokes at his opponents won the victories of Liegnitz and Torgau (15 August and 3 November). Outnumbered three to one at the close of the year, he was saved from disaster by the breakdown of the Russian supplies. But by the summer of 1761 he was standing on the defensive, in a strongly entrenched camp which his opponents did not venture to attack.

In the final period of the war (1761-3) both parties were nearly exhausted by the long conflict. With the new year of 1762 there was a sudden change in the whole situation. On the 5th January the Tsarina Elisabeth died, and her successor, Peter III, at once withdrew the Russian armies, persuaded the Swedes to follow his example, and offered peace to Prussia. With only the Austrians to deal with, Frederick won new victories, regained Silesia, and sent his brother Henry to invade Bohemia. In the summer, after fresh defeats in the west, France opened negotiations with England. Austria, now isolated, soon sought also for peace, and on the 10th February 1763 the Treaty of Paris was signed by England and France and the treaty of peace between Austria and Prussia five days later. England had gained and France lost most by the war. During the battles in Europe the naval war had seen the victories of Rodney, Hawke, and Boscawen, and the French navy was all but destroyed. In America Canada had passed to England, and in India Clive had secured against France the dominion of an Eastern Empire.

29. THE CONQUEST OF INDIA (1718-63)

When war broke out in Europe in 1741 the French East India Company had steadily prospered, thanks to the able governors of Pondicherry, Lenoir (1721-35) and Dumas (1735-47). Their successor, Dupleix, was one of the ablest men the Company ever sent to India. He was the son of a wealthy tax-farmer in French Flanders, and since his arrival in the East he had risen steadily from one post of influence to another. The time was past when the English and French Companies were content with establishing trading stations in India. The Moghul Empire was in its decline. In southern India local chiefs, who had long been its subjects, were becoming practically independent of Delhi while still paying it a mere nominal allegiance. The question of the near future was whether the French or the English would succeed to the heritage of the native empire of India.

Though the war in Europe had begun in 1741 and George II had commanded a victorious army against the French at Dettingen in the summer of 1743, he fought not as King of England but as Elector of Hanover, in command of a German army, with some British troops in the battle-line. It was not till 1744 that France declared war against England. In 1746 the war extended to India. The French Admiral La Bourdonnais, the Governor of the Île de France (Mauritius), arrived off Pondicherry with a fleet of ten ships. Like Dupleix he was a keen advocate of a French forward policy, and it was decided to attack the English at Madras by land and sea. The place surrendered to the French on the 14th September and the small English colony took refuge at Fort St. David. In the operations of the siege and the negotiations for the surrender Dupleix and La Bourdonnais were involved in continual disputes as to precedence and authority. The Admiral was a royal officer, Dupleix only the official of a company, and the Admiral regarded its possessions in India as dependent on Mauritius, France's naval outpost in the Indian Seas. He was recalled to France, and Dupleix, in the two following years, failed in

attempts to capture Fort St. David. But in 1748 Admiral Boscawen arrived with a British fleet and with the aid of a land force of 6,000 men, British and native, besieged Pondicherry. Dupleix made a brilliant defence for five weeks, during which 20,000 projectiles fell in the city. Then the siege was raised and the news came that the war was over. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had been signed, and Madras was to be restored to the English.

But Dupleix found a way to continue the contest with England. In the very year of the treaty civil war had broken out in the neighbouring State of Hyderabad, the death of its ruler, the Nizam, having left two rival claimants to his throne. Hyderabad is still the largest native state in India. In 1748 it was much more extensive, and held suzerain rights over the coastlands of the Carnatic and the Sirkars, the belt of lowlands that extends for nearly a thousand miles from Cape Comorin northwards between the sea and the highlands of the Deccan. Dupleix concluded a treaty with one of his rivals, Salabat Jung, who was actually in possession of the capital in July 1749; a first contingent of 1,600 men (two-thirds of them sepoys) with six guns was sent by Dupleix to Hyderabad. The English Company were already recruiting sepoys for the rival claimant, Nizam Ali. In six months, after losing two great battles, Ali gave up all hope of success. The victorious Nizam, Salabat Jung, agreed to a French contingent being stationed in his capital, its expenses being paid from the taxation of the Sirkars, and in further recognition of the help he had received he appointed Dupleix Governor of all the Carnatic, the local ruler, the Nawab of Arcot, ranking only second to him.

But once more there began irregular hostilities between Dupleix and the British settlement of Madras and St. David. The death of the Nawab of Arcot was followed by a dispute for the succession in which Dupleix openly assisted the successful claimant, Chandar Sahib, against his rival Mohammed Ali, who had the support of the English. Dupleix had hoped to seize Madras with the aid of his protégé, for the city had only a weak garrison, and quite expected an attack from the Nawab's

capital, the city of Arcot, only sixty miles to the westward. But Chandar Sahib took most of his forces away to the southward to besiege Trichinopoly, held only by a small English force, and a young officer of the Madras garrison, Robert Clive, with only 500 men, most of them native troops, made a bold dash for Arcot, and reached it in the midst of a tropical thunderstorm. It was an unwallled city, and the garrison abandoned the citadel, which he occupied. Here he was soon besieged by an army hurried up by Chandar Sahib to the rescue of his capital. Clive held out for two months, and was all but starved out when the siege was raised by native chiefs who had opposed the French protégé (1751).

For three years after this there was intermittent warfare between rival parties in the Carnatic, backed by Dupleix on the one side and the Madras Government on the other. Dupleix had now a difficult time. In vain he appealed to the Company in France, and wrote letters to Louis XV and sent presents to Madame de Pompadour, begging for reinforcements and supplies. But in Paris opinion was turning against him. The Company wanted peaceful business and dividends, the Government feared that these local rivalries in the Carnatic might mean war with England, and Voltaire was influencing public opinion against these eastern adventures.

At last negotiations in London led to the acceptance of an English proposal that two commissioners should be sent to India to arrange matters so that war between the two companies would be impossible while the governments of the two countries were at peace. The commissioner for France was Godeheu, a director of the French Company. He arrived at Pondicherry on the 2nd August 1754, bringing with him 2,000 French troops and an order for the recall of Dupleix. He opened negotiations with Madras through his English colleague, and a convention was signed on the 26th December to ensure peaceful relations between Madras and Pondicherry. Dupleix had already embarked for Europe on the 12th October. The rest of his life was spent in controversies with Godeheu, and unsuccessful attempts to obtain from the Company repayment of at least some part

of his private fortune, which he had expended in their service. He died in poverty and obscurity in 1763.

Clive's services in the Carnatic had brought him fame and fortune. He paid a visit to England and returned to India in June 1756, with the rank of Colonel in the British Army, the Governorship of Fort St. David, and the promise of the Governorship of Madras. In a few days after his arrival news came of a disaster in the north. Suraj-ud-Dowlah, the Nawab (or Viceroy) of Bengal (angered at the refusal to hand over to him one of his treasury officials, who had carried off a large sum to Calcutta), had suddenly attacked the city, stormed the old fort that was its sole defence, plundered the place, and crowded 147 of his British prisoners into a small vaulted prison where all but 23 died of thirst and suffocation before dawn next day. Clive was sent to revenge this horror with a small mixed British and native force and the support of a squadron of war-ships. He retook Calcutta and routed the Nawab's army in a battle to the north of the city (January 1757).

The Seven Years' War had begun in Europe, so Clive, with the help of the fleet, captured the French settlement Chander-nagore on the Hoogly River twenty miles above Calcutta. He was in correspondence with Jafar Ali, the Nawab of Bengal's Prime Minister, and other men of high position at his court, who were engaged in a conspiracy against him. Some of the incidents of this intrigue were anything but creditable to the young conqueror of Bengal. It was in reliance on the help of the conspirators against Suraj-ud-Dowlah that Clive marched on his capital, Morshedabad, in the summer of 1757, with a force of only 1,100 British and 2,100 native troops and ten guns. On the 23rd June, near the village of Plassey, he defeated and scattered an army of some 50,000 horse and foot with 53 guns. Suraj-ud-Dowlah fled from the battlefield, and was murdered by one of the conspirators a few days later. Clive occupied his capital, and set up Jafar Ali as Nawab of Bengal, a puppet sovereign, for under a treaty which he signed the control of the country passed largely into the hands of the East India Company.

In the south, Dupleix had been succeeded by Count Lally, a distinguished French officer, the son of an Irish Jacobite refugee in France and a French mother. He had commanded a regiment of the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy, and served on the staff of Charles Edward in Scotland in 1745. He had fought in all the wars of France since as a youth of nineteen he received his first commission. He arrived at Pondicherry in 1758 with reinforcements from France. He besieged Madras, but had to withdraw on the arrival of an English fleet. He was defeated by Eyre Coote at Wandiwash in 1760. In the autumn he was besieged in Pondicherry and had to surrender after a defence of five months (17 January 1761). Mahé, the last place that remained to France in the Carnatic, was captured in the following month. The French contingent in Hyderabad had already been replaced by a British force.

France had thus lost all her possessions in India, and English power and influence was supreme in north and south. By the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, Pondicherry and Chandernagore were restored to France, but all chance of anything but an English conquest of India had ended.

30. THE SUCCESSORS OF PETER THE GREAT (1725-62)

On returning to Russia after his first travels in the West, Peter the Great realized that his son Alexis was by his mentality opposed to his reforms. Time only increased this tendency, and the heir to the Empire showed himself to be nothing but a narrow-minded and lazy solitary with no taste except for desultory studies of 'Orthodox' divinity; all else was of no interest for him. Though already married, he took a mistress and chose her from the serfs; heir to the throne, he obstinately refused all responsibility, and came to hate his father so much that he seemed to wish for his death. Alexis declared himself ready to abdicate and become a monk, and finally fled the kingdom. For a time his movements were unknown; then he showed himself in Vienna and the Emperor's ministers sent him away to a fortress near Naples. There the Tsar's emissaries found him and persuaded him to return to Russia. The Tsar

was pitiless and cruel, and took his revenge at once. Alexis was judged and condemned to death. He had to undergo the torture of a flogging with the knout and died of it a few hours later. Thus ended the last tragic episode in Peter I's struggle for the civilization of Russia.

In 1702 the Tsar became attached to a girl of the serf class, illiterate, but intelligent and thoughtful. He loved her and appreciated her good qualities; in 1712 he married her, and in 1719 their first child died, struck by lightning. In 1721 Peter I issued a Ukase asserting for the sovereign of Russia the right of appointing his successor; two years later he solemnly crowned Catherine, now the mother of two daughters, and when he died intestate in 1725 the great Tsar's followers assigned the throne to her. This was a strange innovation in an Empire where, hitherto, woman had been of no account, and which was now to be governed, for nearly three-quarters of a century, by women: Catherine I (1725-7); Anna Ivanovna (1730-40); Elizabeth Petrovna (1741-62); Catherine II (1762-96).

When Catherine I died, the son of Alexis, Peter II, a very different man from his father, could not be excluded from the throne; but his reign was brief; in January 1730 he died of a chill. After an attempt at constitutional government by an aristocracy, Anna Ivanovna was proclaimed as an absolute ruler (21 March 1730). Her reign lasted for ten years, and under the influence of her acknowledged favourite, her equerry Biren, everything was German at the court of Russia. Anna's will aimed at prolonging Biren's influence by naming as her successor her infant niece Anne of Mecklenburg and appointing him Regent, but a *coup d'état* put an end to the scheme and brought to the throne Elizabeth, daughter of Peter I and Catherine, then thirty-one years of age (1741). She was destined to reign for rather more than twenty years, to throw off the German yoke, and to display on all occasions, though without much effect, her sympathies for France. Her morals were a mixture of immorality and drunkenness, she swore like a trooper, and was withal bigoted and superstitious. She managed to cope with the young element at

court headed by her Lutheran nephew, Peter of Holstein (the future Peter III), who was compelled to adopt the Orthodox religion and to marry, in 1745, a German Princess, who took the name of Catherine Alexievna (she was later to be famous as Catherine II). On Elizabeth's death, Peter III succeeded to the throne and by his change of policy saved the hard-pressed Frederick II. In a few months Peter III managed to stir up the whole Russian nation against his rule; he had already quarrelled with and dismissed his wife from court.

During the night of the 8th July 1762 the Tsarina Catherine, banished by her husband's orders to Peterhof, was escorted by Prince Orloff to St. Petersburg and proclaimed Empress as Catherine II. The Tsar was incapable of action; he waited, sent out an envoy, and learnt that the Empress was marching against him with 20,000 men. He abdicated and four days later he was dead. This was the end of the German régime in Russia.

Then began the period of government by favourites whom Catherine chose in succession throughout her long reign. Gregory Orloff aspired to marry her but fell from favour and was stripped of his offices. His influence had lasted for ten years (1762-72). His successor, Vassiltchikof, only lasted for two years and was replaced by Potemkin. He exercised absolute power for a year, then he too proposed marriage and the charm was broken (1774-5). Though repudiated and superseded, he was treated like an Emperor; he was allowed to control South Russia, his 'Empire of Taurida', and the strange influence he still exerted enabled him to select Catherine's favourites, of whom there were seven more. The Tsarina's affection was shown by her absolute confidence in him and a grant of 20 million roubles a year; he was surrounded by a Court and gave magnificent entertainments. None of his successors was to receive such treatment. Each new favourite entered the 'harem' with orders not to absent himself without permission; he received 100,000 roubles besides presents and jewels, and once his reign was over he was paid for his services with the grant of a number of villages. Catherine II's favourites cost Russia nearly six-

teen million sterling. The scandal of the Pompadour and of the Dubarry at the court of Louis XV were nothing in comparison to this; but these women harmed the State, while Catherine saw to it that her 'lovers' were useful to the Empire.

The statecraft of the reign can be considered under three periods: (1) from 1762 to 1781, the Northern Policy, or the alliance with Prussia and England; (2) from 1782 to 1788, the Austro-French policy, with the return to an alliance with France and Austria; (3) from 1789 to 1796, the anti-revolutionary policy. During the first period the Tsarina put up with her collaborator Panin; after 1781 she only consulted Potemkin and Zuboff.

At first this policy was peaceful and cautious. German by birth, the Tsarina was only Russian in her thoughts and aims. Her neighbour, Frederick II, King of Prussia, dreamed only of extending his kingdom, and his thoughts turned towards Poland, whose fate hung by a thread, the life of its King, Augustus III. The State of Poland had reached the last stage of dissolution. Its far-spread territory contained only 14 million inhabitants and had its natural frontier at the Carpathians; the population was mixed, and racial differences were complicated further by those of religion. The Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, and Jewish elements were all violently antagonistic. No people in the world were more oppressed or more wretched. The nobility were the only landed proprietors, there were no commoners; all the rest were serfs. The Poles were royalists, but their King was powerless; in short, anarchy had taken the place of liberty. Every royal election gave rise to an internal crisis which might lead to a European war. Europe dreaded these periodical occurrences, the last of which was fresh in her memory, and the neighbouring rulers were getting ready, as a precaution to avoid another 'War of the Polish Succession', to suppress Poland. They only needed an opportunity, which was provided by the death of Augustus III (3 October 1763).

Catherine sounded the opinions of the court of Versailles,

which declared for a Saxon prince; the court of Vienna asked for preliminary explanations, while Frederick's one wish was to satisfy the Tsarina and conclude a favourable alliance with Russia. On these terms, he approved the candidature of Poniatowski. The alliance was signed at St. Petersburg on the 11th April 1764. Russia and Prussia had agreed as to the fate of Poland, and though for some years to come they had to defer open aggression they had settled the ultimate destiny of the country.

The Tsarina was for a while occupied with events in the south of the Empire, where the Turkish war was keeping her army and navy busy. The Sultan had long been concerned at the persistent encroachments of Russia in the Caucasus. He demanded that Russia should cease to occupy herself with the affairs of Poland, presented an ultimatum, and declared war on the 6th October 1768. Catherine II raised five armies, won some brilliant successes, the most important of which was the naval victory of Tcheshmé, in which the Turkish fleet was burned and sunk (8 July 1770),¹ but the Russian admirals did not dare to penetrate into the Dardanelles and push on to the Bosphorus. Then followed successes in the Danube provinces and, in 1771, the conquest of the Crimea. It was now that Polish affairs became complicated and the Tsarina began to favour negotiations which led to peace (1774).

From 1771, Catherine II could stretch out her hand at will over Poland, the Crimea, the shores of the Black Sea, and the Rumanias; that she did not take advantage of this was due not alone to any wise moderation but also to prudence in face of the opposition which her schemes raised in Europe. The Turkish war showed that the Russian might was not invulnerable.

Frederick II considered the possibility of seizing part of Poland; Austria, for her part, maintained that the fate of the Danubian provinces should not be settled without her consent and participation. The Russian victories and advances had

¹ The battle took its name from the town of Tcheshmé, near Smyrna. The Russian Baltic fleet had been brought round to the Mediterranean and destroyed the Turkish fleet in the bay of Tcheshmé.

not been gained without exhausting efforts, and Russia had to agree to satisfy the ambitions of her competitors. It had been Catherine II's aim to subordinate the whole of Poland to her protectorate; the most important result of the war with Turkey was to force her to accept the dismemberment of Poland, leaving a share to Prussia and Austria.

Austria was discreetly drawing nearer to Prussia, and from their agreement sprang the idea of giving the Tsarina some profit for her wars elsewhere than in Turkey, in other words, in Poland. If she agreed, Frederick II saw a chance of realizing his own schemes in that country. As Austria and Prussia were acting in close accord, Catherine realized that they would be quite ready to do without her and she did not want this to happen. Frederick II presided over the partition, searching his archives for proofs of his rights to the coveted territories. He encouraged Austria to follow his example and 'take advantage of the opportunity', adding: 'I also will take a share, and Russia will do the same' (27 April 1771). Maria-Theresa's qualms of conscience, Kaunitz's cautious methods, were extraordinarily irritating to the King of Prussia, who had no faith in them. He made fun of the scruples of Maria-Theresa, who 'was always weeping while she helped herself'. He wanted Austria to be a party to his schemes, otherwise all the hatred of the Poles would be vented only on the Prussians. Maria-Theresa's remorse was mixed with a fear of being unfairly treated in the sharing of the spoils; she spoke of the proposed partition as a transaction, under unfair conditions, that was repulsive to her. But when Prussia and Russia issued their ultimatum, Austria agreed (19 February 1772) on condition that 'the shares should be perfectly equal', and that everything should be kept secret till action was taken. It was essential that France should be faced with an accomplished fact. On the 25th July the three accomplices concluded a treaty 'in the name of the Holy Trinity' to regularize and sanction their encroachments. On the 2nd September the King and the Diet of Poland were notified of these treaties; they opposed them for more than a year, and finally submitted (18 September 1773).

In this iniquitous partition, Prussia obtained the smallest but also the richest share, and the territorial result was to consolidate the Prussian possessions in the north so as to make Prussia a great power. Catherine II's share was the country east of the Dvina and Dnieper, or about half White Russia, poor compensation for the immense acquisition she had at one moment anticipated, which was no less than the whole of Poland. Austria received the largest share, in respect of area, population, and wealth.

From the racial point of view, Prussia was annexing German and Polish territories; Austria, Polish and Russian territories; Russia, Russian territories. King Poniatowski was still left with a large territory with ten million inhabitants.

The partition of Poland, completed by the subsequent aggressions of 1793 and 1795, was an abominable crime committed against a nation to whom the West owed an eternal debt of gratitude for having repeatedly defended European civilization with its blood against barbarian invasions. It was a challenge to international morality and the negation of the law of nations, thus sacrificed, to the law of force. If this could be justified what protest could be urged on a not distant day when the conquests of the French Revolution and of Napoleon were to cause the disappearance of States secure in their right and only to be accused of inefficiency?

France was not directly involved, but her responsibility was heavy and undoubted. In 1764 the opposition of the Duc de Choiseul could have prevented the signature of the treaty concluded between the King of Prussia and the Tsarina. The errors of a power such as France are so far-reaching in their consequences that those who commit them cannot be forgiven.

31. EVENTS PRIOR TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE U.S.A. (1765-75)

During the first half of the eighteenth century the English colonies in North America made rapid progress. At the time of the Peace of Utrecht (1713) the total population consisted of 450,000 inhabitants, of whom 400,000 were white and 50,000 black; on the other hand, the French in Canada numbered

only about 20,000 to 30,000, and this number was hardly double by 1750, while the total population of the British colonies reached 1,500,000 (of whom 300,000 were black) in 1755. Thus England possessed a colonial empire stretching right along the coast without interruption from the Kennebec in the north to St. Mary River in the south; the three wealthiest colonies were Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, but these three colonies differed from one another in climate, cultivation, origin of peoples, beliefs, conditions of life. The internal history of the colonies in the earlier part of the eighteenth century is made up of their mutual disputes and of their relations with the aborigines,¹ but from 1750 onwards the struggle against French colonization caused the English colonies to combine their efforts so that the general history of the English settlements in America may be said to begin at this date.

The French attempted to colonize immense territories out of all proportion to the comparatively narrow coastal strip of the English. After the assassination of Chevalier de la Salle, d'Iberville had resumed his enterprise, rediscovered the mouth of the Mississippi and opened up a tract of country which was traversed in all directions by missionaries and traders.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, the English had obtained from the Spaniards a limited right of importing African negroes into the Spanish colonies. This gave opportunities for a big trade in contraband which led to every kind of abuse and infraction of the letter of the treaty. The Court of Madrid protested, dealt rigorously with the smugglers, and in England the reports of harsh treatment revived the hatred against the Spaniards to such an extent that in 1738 Walpole, against his better judgment, was obliged to begin a war which lasted two years and ended in failure. Meanwhile, the French, who were always enterprising in spite of the paucity of their numbers, were hoping to occupy the rich and fertile valley of the Ohio where the English colonists were beginning to penetrate (1748). The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle restored to France the island of Cape

¹ These relations were now friendly, now hostile, too often the latter (see the account of these matters in vol. vii of this work).

Breton and Louisburg, coveted by the colonists of Massachusetts, whose hostile manifestations warned the Canadians of the risks run by their colony and of an imminent struggle between France and England for the possession of North America. France failed to send forces to America; in fact she took no action whatever.

The rivalry for the valley of the Ohio began in 1754 on the eastern slopes of the Alleghanies. The Governor of Canada, Duquesne, sent out an expedition to seize the country, under the command of M. de Jumonville; he met with a Virginian force under Major George Washington. Jumonville was killed but Washington had to surrender a small outpost he had established and recross the mountains. The French were now occupying the valley of the Ohio, but England determined to drive them out, and to take possession of Canada with the help of the colonies. The colonists made a forecast of the large share in the enterprise that would be required of them; it was then that Benjamin Franklin suggested a scheme of confederation, which did not materialize till later.

The Seven Years' War had broken out in Europe, but the court of Versailles paid no heed to the appeals of the Canadians while England was sending out reinforcements to her colonies, and the first local successes of the Marquis de Montcalm fostered in France the illusion that Canada could be victoriously defended with its own resources. Pitt had come into power, was dispatching reinforcements, and opposing Montcalm's few troops with a fleet and an army of more than 50,000 trained men (1759). The fighting concentrated on Quebec, where Montcalm and Wolfe fell on the same battlefield (13 September 1759); the victorious English entered Quebec on the 18th. In 1760 Vaudreuil was obliged to capitulate at Montreal. New France had now become Canada and it was yielded up to England by the Treaty of Paris (1763). Of the immense territory which she had possessed, France only retained the islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon. She sold New Orleans and all Louisiana to the west of the Mississippi to Spain. But thanks to the generous conditions secured by the Canadians, though now

British subjects, they retained their French character, their language, their schools, and their traditional laws and customs, with full freedom for their religion, the recognition of the authority of the Catholic hierarchy, and the possession of all Catholic foundations and Church property—this too at a time when in Great Britain and Ireland the Catholic religion was still banned by the law.

The thirteen colonies, now that the rivalry with France was ended, did not long remain on good terms with the home government in England. Almost immediately disputes arose as the result of steps taken by George III's ministers to regulate the relations of the old colonies in America with the mother country in matters of finance and trade. The colonists already enjoyed a larger measure of self-government than those of any other nation. They had their own Legislative Assemblies in every colony, though there had already been complaints that the supplies they voted and local taxes that were levied to provide them were largely expended by officials appointed from London. In early days their trade had been entirely or all but entirely with the home country. As it developed they had accepted regulations, or agreements, that still monopolized the chief gains of commerce for those who carried on the trade between England and America. But there was in all the maritime countries of the old world the tradition that colonies existed to give new openings for trade to the country that founded them.

There had already been some discontent in the colonies at the enforcement of trade restrictions after the Treaty of Paris, especially on account of the interference as to direct trade with the Spanish West Indies. But the tension, that finally developed into civil war, began in the early weeks of 1765, when the English Parliament at Westminster passed the 'Stamp Act'. It was to provide a considerable part of the cost of maintaining the British garrisons in the colonies, by imposing a stamp duty on a wide range of legal and business documents—contracts, leases, probate of wills, bills of lading, port clearances for shipping, and many more. It was estimated that this would supply

a revenue of £100,000. There was an immediate outburst of agitation against the Act. It was declared that only their local assemblies had any right to levy taxes in the colonies, and that no such power belonged to a Parliament at the other side of the Atlantic in which they were not represented. The Stamp Act was denounced as the first step towards a new system of governing America from England. In many places riotous crowds attacked the officials who tried to circulate the stamps, and early in the next year a change of ministry in England was followed by the repeal of the obnoxious Act. But this concession was accompanied by a declaration that the British Parliament possessed the right of imposing taxes and promulgating laws and regulations in the colonies.

Within another twelve months, in 1767, an attempt was made to enforce this claim. It was enacted, not that taxes should be levied in the colonies, but that duties should be collected by the customs on a list of selected imports into colonial harbours. This was answered by still more excited and angry resistance and Boston, then the most important maritime city in America, became the focus of an agitation that soon led to deeds of violence. Attacks were made on the customs officers, juries refused to convict the rioters indicted for these disturbances, and there was a general agreement to refuse to handle or use any goods on the list of dutiable imports. This boycott was so successful that instead of the £40,000 a year estimated as the product of the duties they never brought in more than a few hundreds. In 1770 Lord North, the Prime Minister of England, at last cancelled all the duties except that on tea, informing the House of Commons that this was to be still levied to assert the right of the home government to tax the colonies. But the resistance continued. In the winter of 1770 a crowd stoned the sentries at a barrack gate in Boston, the guard turned out and fired on the assailants, killing five of them, and all through the colonies there were meetings denouncing 'the Boston Massacre'.

There was as yet no idea of separation from England or of agitation and local rioting ending in open rebellion. In England there were many sympathizers with the American protests.

Burke, in the House of Commons, and the elder Pitt (now Earl of Chatham) in the House of Lords protested that the American Colonists should be allowed to manage their own affairs, and that Lord North should abandon his provocative attempt to enforce taxes decreed from London. In the colonies association for vigorous protest against North's persistence began to develop into the first attempts to organize for self-defence against military coercion. In the summer of 1773 an East India Company's ship with a tea cargo arrived at Boston, sent by the Company at Lord North's request. A citizens' meeting asked the Governor to send the ship away without attempting to land the tea. He told them he must carry out his orders. That night a party of young men disguised as Red Indians rushed the ship, and threw the tea cargo into the water. The 'Boston Tea Party' led to war, thanks to the action of North when the news reached England.

The Parliament that met early in 1774 passed Acts forbidding all export or import trade with Boston, and the holding of any meetings without the Governor's permit, and finally an Act placing in his hands nomination to numbers of official posts that had so far been elective. General Gage, a veteran of the Seven Years' War, and commander of the troops in the colonies, was appointed Governor of Massachusetts to enforce these laws. The local legislature of Virginia led the protest against these coercive measures by sending to all the other Colonial Assemblies a proposal that they should choose delegates for a congress at Philadelphia to arrange for united action. The Congress in September 1774 sent a petition to the King asking for a repeal of the coercion laws, and the abandonment of interference with the rights of the colonists, and it was resolved that until there was this redress of grievances there should be no trade with the home country.

The levying of local defence forces began with drilling, arming, and collecting supplies. The most active of the colonies in these preparations were Massachusetts (with the adjacent New England colonies) and Virginia, where Washington had promised to raise a thousand men at his own cost. Large

numbers of the colonists had guns for sport and hunting, and not a few had rifles, a better weapon than the muskets of the regular army. Fighting came at last on the 18th April 1775, when Gage sent out a small detachment from Boston to seize and destroy a depot of arms and ammunition at Concord a few miles away. On the village green of Lexington they found their way barred by a body of volunteers, which drew off after a brief exchange of fire, but on their march back to Boston the regulars were fired on by armed parties that rapidly gathered to harass their march by firing from hedge, ditch, and wall for mile after mile.

This skirmish was like the fuse that starts an explosion. In every colony local forces drew together and the New England levies began to gather round Boston. In May there was another Congress at Philadelphia, which described itself as the 'Congress of the United Colonies'. While still expressing its wish for a settlement with the home country, it resolved on the organization of an army of defence, and named Washington its commander-in-chief (15 June 1775). He was on his way to take over command of the local forces that were closing in upon Boston when the first battle between the British and the 'Continentials' was fought at Bunker's Hill on the 17th June. The night before the Colonials had occupied a low promontory north of the city and its harbour at the mouth of the Charles River, entrenched and barricaded its crest, about 100 feet above the sea-level, and placed an outpost at the usual landing-place, the little village of Charlestown. They were about 1,200 strong. Gage attacked them in the morning, sending transports from Boston with about 2,500 men under General Howe, with the support of a squadron of warships. These opened a heavy fire on the hill and on the village, which was soon in ruins. Then the troops, moving up in close order, attacked the entrenchment. Twice the attack was repulsed by a deadly fire at close quarters. Despite heavy loss, a third attack was made. The Americans were now running short of ammunition and the entrenchment was stormed, its defenders making good their retreat by a narrow neck of land that linked the height with the mainland. They left only 30 prisoners to the victors, but

more than 400 of the defenders had been killed or wounded. The British had lost 1,054 men, including 89 officers. It was a defeat; but it proved to be as inspiring as a victory. It showed the colonists that their new levies could make a good stand under the fire of the fleet and against the attack of well-trained regulars. In a few days Washington was able to concentrate some 20,000 men along the land fronts of Boston.

So the war of the American Revolution began. But a large number of the colonists were still averse to separation and hoped for a peace with England. Later on some of these even volunteered to serve with the British. On the other hand, the war was anything but generally popular in the home country. Several officers of rank threw up their commissions rather than embark for service against the colonists. In Parliament there was clamour from a minority for concession and it was even attempted, though most unfairly, to put the whole blame for it upon the King. He had in fact been disabled by insanity at the time that the Stamp Act was passed. The Corporation of London passed resolutions urging a settlement at the eleventh hour.

32. THE WAR OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1775-83)

The Congress of Philadelphia found itself called on to assume the functions of a national government after the battle of Bunker's Hill. It realized that the rupture with England was final and that the logical conclusion would be a declaration of independence.

The colonies had provisionally set aside their governors and it became customary to appeal to the Congress, which by the end of 1775 had instituted committees of war, finance, maritime and foreign affairs. Washington was given command of the forces near Boston on the 3rd July 1775, and blockaded its land side with an entrenched line, but it was not till 17th March 1776 that the British evacuated the city. Meanwhile there had been an unsuccessful raid into Canada, under the mistaken idea that the French Canadians would join the revolt against England. Montreal was occupied and Quebec, which had only

a weak garrison, was unsuccessfully attacked (31 December 1775). But the French Canadians stood beside the British in resisting the invasion. They saw in the raiders from Massachusetts and the other Puritan colonies of New England the enemies of the religious freedom they enjoyed under the treaty that had transferred them to English rule.¹

In the summer of 1775 there were not quite 18,000 British troops in the colonies, and it was difficult to send any large reinforcements from the home country. At the end of the Seven Years' War (as was usual after all the English wars of the century), the army at home had been reduced by disbanding whole regiments, and it was now difficult to find recruits or to get old soldiers to re-enlist. To meet the emergency the Government made the mistake of hiring regiments from the Grand Duke of Hesse and other German princes to be shipped across the Atlantic. Bitter feeling was excited in America by foreign mercenaries thus being employed against the colonists. But in England the official view was that the rising in America was the armed revolt of a party that had not the general support of the people, that it was formidable only in the New England colonies, and had no great resources at its disposal, and that it was sound policy to use the readiest means to crush it before it spread farther. It was, indeed, true enough that the colonists were not unanimous as to armed resistance. Large numbers were anxious for peace, and held aloof from the revolt. Some even sided with the British, and even took up arms as 'Loyalist Volunteers'.

The occupation of Boston, when the British abandoned it in

¹ The popular histories of the time, both English and American, are silent about or only briefly allude to the outbreak of angry protests in Massachusetts against the concessions made to the French Canadians in the capitulation of Quebec, and the subsequent treaty that ended the Seven Years' War. The guarantee of the religious rights of the French Canadians was denounced in Massachusetts as an act of apostasy, and a complicity with idolatry. In 1770 the Massachusetts Legislature reasserted the law of 1645 that declared no priests should enter the colony. On the eve of the civil war, when the Parliament in London passed the Quebec Act guaranteeing the rights of the French Canadians, there was a renewal of the agitation, and some of the volunteers marched to the camps around Boston with banners denouncing any concession to 'Popery'.

the spring of 1776, gave a new impulse to the revolt, and agitation began changing its purpose from a mere redress of grievances to a claim for independence. The Assembly of Virginia led the way, by proclaiming the colony a self-governing State, and inviting the Philadelphia Congress to unite all the colonies in a general declaration of independence. On the 7th June Richard Henry Lee, the most prominent of the Virginian members of the Congress, proposed at Philadelphia the resolution:

That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

The resolution was adopted on the 2nd July and the Declaration of Independence, drafted by another Virginian, Thomas Jefferson, was voted on the 4th, and accepted with very few dissentients, hesitating members of Congress who believed this decisive step was premature. The vote was, however, unanimous when, a few days later, the Declaration, with some minor omissions,¹ was ordered to be printed and issued. Further resolutions proposed that steps should be taken to obtain the help of allies, and a plan for the Federation of the States should be forwarded to the local legislatures for their consideration.

Leaving local forces to garrison Boston, Washington moved his army southwards and occupied New York. General Howe had taken the British troops from Boston to Halifax and received reinforcements and supplies from England. The fleet made his army a mobile force that could be readily brought into action anywhere along the coast-line. In the summer he renewed active operations to recover New York. After some hard-fought actions Washington had to evacuate the city. Ground was lost and won in New Jersey and the hard winter ended a disappointing campaign for the Americans. Washington found it no easy matter to keep his force together. Men went on leave

¹ The chief revisions were the omission of a reference to the rights of the colonies having been violated by the 'people' of Great Britain and of a passage denouncing slavery.

without asking for it, and sometimes never came back. Whole companies broke up when their first term of service ended. It was to rouse the soldier spirit of his little army again that in mid-winter he made surprise attacks on advanced detachments of the British. One of these victories was the scattering of a Hessian battalion, surprised in the midst of its Christmas Eve festivities.

But important work was done that winter in Paris for the newly proclaimed Republic. Three Commissioners of the United States had been sent to the French court. The most useful of them was Benjamin Franklin, who already knew Europe, was famous for his electrical researches, and was an honorary member of the French Academy of Sciences. He made many friends, and called forth in influential circles a growing enthusiasm for the American cause. The young King Louis XVI and his ministers, after some hesitation, decided to send secret help to America unofficially through a group of business men formed by Franklin, and two million livres in cash, with supplies of cannon, muskets, and various stores and equipment were smuggled across the Atlantic. The Marquis de Lafayette went over to America, joined Washington's army, was given the rank of Major-General, and did good service in staff work and command in the field. Some other young French officers, who followed his example, were not so successful. It seems that they showed an exaggerated opinion of their own importance, resented the offer of inferior posts, quarrelled with their hosts, and finally went back to France, Congress merely paying their expenses.

French hesitation as to an open alliance with the Americans was at last ended by a brilliant success of the colonials in the summer campaigns of 1777. Howe, with his head-quarters at New York, held command of the line of the lower Hudson River. The British had reinforced their army in Canada, where General Burgoyne commanded a force of more than 11,000 troops about Montreal, largely British regulars, with some 3,000 Canadians. A plan of campaign prepared in London was that Burgoyne should move southwards into the upper

valley of the Hudson, and combine operations with Howe. From the head of Lake Champlain on the Canadian border the distance to New York was about 300 miles. For nearly half the distance Burgoyne's line of advance and supply would be by the waters of Lakes Champlain and George. A small American force held Fort Ticonderoga, at the head of Lake George. Beyond this there was for some distance difficult forest and hill country. But Burgoyne was to be helped by a force sent up the Hudson from New York. Once the line of lake and river was held by the British the New England States would be cut off from the rest of the colonies. Burgoyne crossed the frontier in June, and with the help of water transport was before Ticonderoga by the 1st July. He had then about 8,000 men with him at the front. The Americans abandoned the fort, but the advance was delayed by the difficulties of country. Supplies broke down, there was sickness among the troops, and despite the help of his Red Indian allies Burgoyne found himself delayed by having to deal with guerrilla raids on his flanks in the forest land, and he heard that a larger force than his own was concentrating in his front. But he relied on Howe sending a force to act against the enemy's rear from the lower Hudson. Progress was slow, and he was still in the rough country south of Lake George when he had a disappointing message from Howe. A small force was being pushed up to Albany to join hands with him, but Howe's main force was operating against the 'enemy's capital'. Howe had received his instructions from England after long delay, and was already engaged in a march on Philadelphia. He occupied it, and Congress had to meet elsewhere. But he had failed to realize that the important scene of war was now the upper Hudson Valley.

Still hoping for a diversion in his favour, Burgoyne, encouraged by a local success, tried to push on. General Gates, who had gathered reinforcements from all New England, now barred his way with more than 12,000 men. With now only about 5,000 effective troops at his command Burgoyne entrenched his force about the village of Saratoga. His supplies were failing, for the defenders had cut his communications.

His entrenchments were under heavy artillery fire, and the end came when he capitulated on the 17th October.

It was this victory that altered the whole conditions of the war, for it won powerful allies for the Americans. When the news of Saratoga reached Europe Louis XVI formally recognized the United States as an independent Power (17 December 1777). A Treaty of Alliance was signed on the 6th February 1778, with commercial agreements annexed to it, and the contracting parties undertook not to make a separate peace. A fleet was commissioned at Brest for service in European waters, and a squadron of twelve other ships under Admiral d'Estaing sailed from Toulon for America on the 13th April. England declared war on France and sent very conciliatory proposals to Congress, which the Americans refused to entertain. On the 27th June a naval battle off Ushant ended in the withdrawal of the English fleet, and gave the French for a time command of the Channel.

The news of the alliance reached Congress on the 3rd May and it hailed the King of France as 'the Protector of the Rights of the Human Race'. The English commanders evacuated Philadelphia and their army was only slightly pressed in its retreat by Washington. When d'Estaing's fleet arrived in the Delaware the English army was already safe in New York.

Spain joined the Franco-American alliance in the hope of recapturing Gibraltar. From the summer of 1779 to the winter of 1782-83 the fortress made an heroic and successful defence against persistent Spanish and Franco-Spanish attacks by land and sea.

The help that the French alliance at first gave to the United States was indirectly that of creating new difficulties for England in Europe, and directly that of supplying liberal financial subsidies, and much-needed supplies of munitions and equipment, and, most important of all, taking away from the British fleet on the American coasts the undisputed power which it had so far possessed of covering the movement of armies from one base of operations to another by sea transport and the seizure of ports from which to strike inland at the Continental

forces. It was not till 1780 that Rochambeau's army was landed in America and began to combine with Washington's operations. The main effort of the British had by this time been directed to the south. It was in the Carolinas that from the very outset there had been considerable slackness in the local resistance to the British, and the 'Loyalists' were most numerous and active. In 1780 the British had seized Charleston and made it the starting-point of their operations in the Carolinas. These were at first successful, but ended in failure. In the summer of 1781 Lord Cornwallis, who was in command in North Carolina, found his force dwindling and moved into Virginia, collecting detachments that raised his numbers to nearly 8,000. In the autumn, in the hope of receiving reinforcements and supplies from the British at New York, he occupied Yorktown, a small place near the point where the York River runs into the Chesapeake. He elaborately fortified the town with entrenchments and redoubts, but soon found himself cut off from help by sea by the arrival of De Grasse's fleet from the West Indies. In September he was blockaded also on the land side by a combined French and American force under Washington and Rochambeau. The allies decided to convert their blockade into a regular siege. On the night of the 7th-8th October they opened their first parallel. They had pushed their approaches to within 300 yards of the place, and stormed some of its advanced works, when on the 19th October Cornwallis surrendered with more than 7,000 officers and men, some of the best of the British troops in America.

Yorktown did not end the war, but it was the beginning of the end. There were minor operations in various parts of the States. But Lord North spoke truly enough when, on the news of Yorktown reaching him, he exclaimed, 'This is the end'. It was the French command of the sea that had given victory to the allied armies. Other ill news was arriving. De Grasse had returned to the West Indies and was seizing island after island. In the Mediterranean Minorca surrendered to a Spanish and French fleet. In the Eastern Seas Suffren, one of the ablest naval officers that France ever produced, was harrying the

East India Company's commerce. In England there was a growing weariness of this luckless war, and North felt his position in Parliament in danger.

On the 20th March 1782 he resigned office, and a new ministry was formed by Lord Rockingham. Amongst his colleagues were Fox and Lord Shelburne, who before the war had been an intimate friend of Franklin. It was a peace ministry, and it was easier for it to open negotiations when the news arrived of Rodney's great victory over De Grasse, off the island of Dominica (12 April 1782).

Congress entrusted the negotiations to Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams. In spite of the written treaty which bound them not to negotiate except jointly with France, these three acted independently of her. On the 30th November 1782 the preliminaries of peace were signed, by which England recognized the independence of the United States and yielded up with the thirteen colonies all the territory between the Alleghenys and the Mississippi.

Vergennes, Louis XVI's minister, was informed only when matters were concluded. The Treaty of Paris was signed on the 3rd September 1783; it proclaimed the independence of the United States of America. Spain recovered Minorca and the Floridas, England the islands she had lost in the West Indies. In Asia she restored to France her settlements in India, a few islands in the West Indies, and Goree and Senegal in Africa, and cancelled the article in the Treaty of Utrecht that forbade Dunkirk to be fortified.

33. THE DECLINE OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY

The brilliant victory of Fontenoy was the last triumph of French royalty in Europe. Louis XV lacked those essential qualities that had given his predecessor a prestige which the misfortunes of the end of his reign had scarcely impaired. His morals were a disgrace, his government likewise, his policy led to the brink of the precipice; he knew this, and consoled himself by saying that the existing state of affairs would certainly last as long as he would. Religion was losing its hold on the classes

which led society; the higher clergy was loaded with riches and favours, while the lower clergy practised its virtues in what amounted almost to destitution. The nobility, as in the past, had every intention of deriving as much benefit as possible from public office and of reserving for themselves all privileges. The *Tiers-état*, the professional and middle class, with growing ambition, aspired to a fair share in the government of the kingdom, and found in the Parlements judicial bodies eager to interfere in politics and if possible to seize political power; but Louis XV was quite decided not to tolerate the formation of any organized body posing as representative of the nation and the trustees of its freedom. Notwithstanding his resolution to remain master, the King was only capable of short-lived bouts of energy. After the blow of Choiseul's downfall, which came like a thunderbolt, Louis XV, with the help of Maupeou, joined issue with the Parlements and had to listen while some of them urged the convocation of the States-General. The old Parlements were done away with and replaced by new ones; the 'Maupeou Parlement' came into being and the nation thus learned that a time-honoured institution could be abolished and replaced by a substitute embodying the theory that might is right.

All this was as nothing in the presence of the financial troubles of the time. The floating debt was more than 100 million livres; the annual deficit reached 63 millions; there was a constant menace of bankruptcy and the cause of this confusion was not the crazy extravagance of the court but the unfair system of taxation; the expedients of the Abbé Terray did nothing to remedy the evil. What increased it was the socialistic experiment of the Administration; under the pretext of regulations to insure the control of the harvests, it undertook the marketing of the wheat crop, and a company was granted the right of handling this business 'for His Majesty's account'; so there was an organization known as that of 'The King's corn' (*blés du roi*), and Louis XV was suspected of investing part of his fortune in this affair, which was soon popularly described as the 'Famine Pact' (*Pacte de famine*), a terrible catchword that piled up bitter

hatred against the Crown. When Louis XV died (10 May 1774) one might say that it was already under a ban.

However, it regained a genuine though transient popularity at the outset of Louis XVI's reign. The young King and his Queen Consort were credited with all the virtues and all the talents; Louis XVI deserved this popular goodwill, but his capacity never rose above mediocrity. Marie-Antoinette only rose to any serious display of character when at last she had to face misfortune. Public opinion was sharply disillusioned when it became known that this well-meaning young King was entrusting the government to the Comte de Maurepas; but it failed to appreciate the excellence of two other selections, the Comte de Vergennes for Foreign Affairs and the Comte de Mury for the Ministry of War. A month went by and Maupeou and Terray were dismissed, while Turgot was made Controller-General of France and Sartine was given the Navy. It was then realized that there was an end of the régime of Louis XV, and, finally, when the old Parlements suppressed by Maupeou were again assembled and given back their authority (12 November 1774), the young King witnessed an outburst of popularity which may well have led him to believe that his throne was henceforth quite securely established.

Turgot's ministry did not last quite two years. With those whose interest lay in pleasure-seeking and profit-hunting, who lived on comfortable sinecures, and fattened on other abuses of the time Turgot was regarded only as a restless kill-joy, who would not 'leave well alone', but spent his time in ferreting out abuses and listening to grievances and was always talking about economies and denouncing established customs as crying abuses. He was especially hostile to what was perhaps the most mischievous of them all, the long-established system of farming out the collection of the taxes to contractors, who in one year received 152 million livres and only paid in 89 millions to the State. Turgot thus made enemies who would never forgive him. A more popular and a bolder decision was that of freeing the internal grain trade in France from official control (13 September 1774). It is not easy for us to realize the courage of

this innovation; its application stirred up the opposition even of people of undoubted sincerity, and Necker, a Geneva banker, a man whose vanity only just fell short of his incapacity, led the attack on the new legislation. Traders and farmers became anxious and the poor harvest of 1774 complicated the situation and led to disturbances long remembered as 'The Flour War' (*Guerre des farines*).

To the name of Turgot it is only just to add those of Malesherbes, the Comte de Saint-Germain, and de Sartine, men as determined as Turgot, who had included them in the ministry. This was the brilliant period of the reign during which the abolition of the *corvée* (forced labour) and of the privileged and monopolist trade 'corporations' or guilds followed closely on one another (January 1776). Louis XVI approved the decrees and gave his full confidence to his ministers, but the Parlement was hostile and, on the 2nd March, refused to sanction the innovations which aimed at substituting taxation for the *corvée*. A 'Bed of Justice', held on the 12th March, overcame this resistance. It was Turgot's last success; everybody combined against him: the Queen, the Minister Maurepas, the Parliamentarians, the courtiers. Those like Vergennes who were in favour of a vigorous foreign policy argued that France should take advantage of England's embarrassments in America to intervene in the war and wreak vengeance for the Seven Years' War—an intervention which Turgot saw would be fatal to his schemes of economic reform. On the 12th May 1776 Malesherbes resigned, and the next day Turgot received the order to give up office. With him went the only serious hope of salvation for the monarchy.

The work of destruction began. Maurepas wiped out the reform effected by Turgot, and in six months the kingdom was once more plunged into complete financial confusion. There then appeared the one individual who was least capable of managing the finances of France, the Genevese Necker, who paved the way for the ruin of the kingdom. No reform which infringed a privilege could be executed. Reviving an idea of Turgot's, his successor proposed the convening of 'Provincial

Assemblies' with equal representation for the Three Orders.¹ Four such Assemblies were formed, but only two lasted for any time. Necker was on the verge of failure and foresaw his fall; to avoid it he had recourse to a method which was a sign of the times; he appealed to public opinion in a statement (*Compte rendu*) which received great publicity; it was a denunciation of all that was opposed to his policy and an *apologia* for his administration. This man, who was always talking of his sincerity, was worse than any charlatan; he spoke of an increase in the revenue of 27 millions and never mentioned the deficit which amounted to 114 millions. On the 19th May 1781 this ill-omened politician resigned. The prime mover in his downfall was Mme de Polignac, the Queen's favourite, and it was perhaps the one good thing that she did in her life.

Necker was replaced by M. de Calonne. He was convinced that, failing money, he could rely on credit; to secure credit, wealth must be simulated, and the appearance of wealth was obtained by lavish spending. He spent extravagantly and borrowed in order to get the money. While the money was being poured out on the satisfaction of the most senseless whims, the Ministries of War and of Marine made attempts at good administration and were successful on minor points, but the Ministers Ségur and Castries introduced division into the army by a spirit of caste, resolving that it was necessary to be of noble descent to become an officer. No measure raised greater hatred against the monarchy.

Contempt was to be added to hatred when the 'Affair of the Diamond Necklace' came to light (1784-5). A criminal intrigue of a group of speculators sufficed to make the Queen of France appear to be an unprincipled woman ready to go to any lengths to obtain a jewel which she could not afford to buy. A scandal such as had not been known in France for centuries exposed the honour of Louis XVI and of Marie-Antoinette to the hostile action of the Parlement, which acquitted the chief culprit, Cardinal Louis de Rohan.

After this episode, the problem of finance had to be faced once

¹ Clergy, Nobles, and Commons (*Tiers État*).

more. Calonne had borrowed 487 millions in three years and could find no more lenders. As the common people could not pay any more he proposed frankly to admit the deficit and to summon an Assembly of Notables, who were to agree to a tax in kind on all property whether privileged or not. This news roused the indignation of the court, while the non-privileged masses were alarmed on learning of the existence of the deficit. The Assembly of Notables met at Versailles on the 22nd February 1787, but remedied nothing. Lafayette appealed for the convocation of a National Assembly, and the Notables rejected all proposals which aimed at subjecting the privileged classes to taxation; finally they denounced the extravagances of Calonne, who was dismissed by the King on the 9th April.

Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Sens, was only too eager to take his place, but was no more successful. One of the first acts was the banishment of the Parlement from Paris to Troyes; but money would soon run short for the public services, and disaster was impending. On condition that the King agreed to the convocation of the States-General, the Parlement was ready to agree to the necessary loans. This simple and honourable plan failed, and the people considered that the Parlement, two members of which had been arrested, stood for the defence of individual liberty. The country now thought only of a States-General, of which the King and his Minister Brienne would not hear at any price; a *coup d'état* was preferable. It took place on the 5th May 1788 when two councillors were arrested. On the 8th May the King held a Bed of Justice at Versailles and blamed the Parlement.

Throughout the provinces events began to move and the excitement was even greater than in Paris. Everywhere the nobility sided with the magistrates. A new régime was demanded in Pau, Rennes, Grenoble, and Aix. The 'seventh of June' at Grenoble, the 'Day of Tile-smashing' (*la journée des tuiles*) was a genuine rising in which the people won the day; on the 21st July, at Vizille, 600 representatives of the three Orders addressed an appeal to the other provinces of France to

resist despotism and refuse to agree to any tax so long as the States-General were not summoned.

The clergy, also, had just declared itself in favour of the convocation of the States-General and of the confirmation of its privileges. The Minister hastened events. On the 5th July 1788 an order of the Council invited the provincial Assemblies and the learned societies to give their views on the convocation and composition of the coming States-General. On the 8th August a decree fixed the 1st May for the opening meeting. But what was to happen until then? On the 16th August only 400,000 livres were left in the Treasury to meet the most pressing claims. Heavy payments had to be deferred; France lived under the threat of impending bankruptcy. Everything was collapsing, but Brienne himself made sure of a revenue of 600,000 livres out of Church property, obtained the promise of a cardinal's hat, a dowry for his niece, a mitre for his nephew, and then he resigned.

Necker again took office (26 August), but his honesty did not atone for his inefficiency. He was absorbed by one single purpose, the retention of his popularity. In less than two years he found himself despised and hated by every one. His first care was to recall the Parlement to Paris, a measure which could no longer be of use. The Parlement was only too glad to find fault and lost no opportunity of doing so. But the motive which inspired many of those who demanded the States-General so urgently soon became apparent: they imagined that this assembly, in which the two orders of the Clergy and Nobility together formed a majority over the *Tiers État*, was their surest protection against the levelling of classes and surrender of privileges. So the Parlement asked that the States be 'summoned and composed strictly according to the forms observed in 1614' (25 September). The popularity of the Parlement vanished immediately and it was openly asked: Will the voting be by individuals or by the decision of each order? Will the *Tiers État* be numerically as strong as the other two Orders combined?

The Assembly of Vizille and indeed the whole nation had

declared in favour of what was called the 'doubling of the Tiers État' (*doublement du Tiers*).¹ Necker postponed matters, waited, assembled the Notables a second time. The latter, thoroughly embarrassed, were at a loss to decide, and in the end unanimously carried the maintenance of the vote by order; only one committee, that presided over by the Comte de Provence, the King's brother, declared for the doubling.

This discussion had already lost all interest, for the *Tiers État* was conscious of its power and already felt that it would take by force whatever was not readily conceded. At the end of this year of 1788, the French Revolution was no longer impending: it had begun.

34. GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND UNDER THE FIRST HANOVERIAN KINGS (1714-84)

Though on the death of Queen Anne (1 August 1714) George Louis, Elector of Hanover, had at once been proclaimed 'King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland' and urgent messages had been sent to Hanover urging him to hasten to England, it was eight weeks before he landed at Greenwich (18 September) and reached London, bringing with him a numerous retinue of his German friends, courtiers, and servants. He was in his fifty-fourth year. Since 1698 he had been the absolute ruler of his small North German territory: England was for him a strange foreign country. He knew nothing of its language, and next to nothing of its institutions and traditions. As its King he was to be head of its Church and 'Defender of the Faith', though he was himself a Lutheran, at least in profession, for religion of any kind had little part in his life. He had left his wife, Sophia of Celle, a State prisoner in the Castle of Ahlen, where she had been immured for twenty years.²

In the royal party that landed at Greenwich were his two mistresses, Mesdames Killmansegge and Schulemberg, easy-going comrades in his domestic establishment. One of his early

¹ i.e. the increase of its numbers to balance those of the other two Orders united.

² Her release came only by her death in 1726 after a captivity of thirty-two years. George's marriage with her had brought him a fortune and added a new duchy to his electorate.

acts as King was to give them English titles as Countess of Darlington and Duchess of Kendal.

King George had been a soldier since his youth, and had seen active service in many continental wars. With his new subjects he won no personal popularity. He seemed to them a dull, ungracious figure, awkward in his manners, careless in his dress, making no attempt to play the part of an English king. He was of course handicapped by his ignorance of the English language. Only one of the Whig Ministry formed to carry on the Government could speak German. So the King could only discuss business in the imperfect colloquial Latin that was still the language of diplomacy. The traditional English suspicion of all foreigners was against him. It was said that England would have to provide for the advancement of his German interests. On the day of his coronation at Westminster (20 October 1714) there was little popular rejoicing and there were riots in Norwich, Birmingham, and Bristol.

While the King's arrival was awaited the Ministry had been reorganized by eliminating all who were known to be friendly with the exiled Stuarts. The Royal Proclamation issued for the election of a new Parliament called on the voters to return members faithful to the Protestant succession, and the Whig Ministry secured a good working majority.

As for their procedure, the fact that the King knew no English made it impossible for him to preside personally over their deliberations, so he set the precedent followed ever since then. As a result the minister who had to preside over the Cabinet's meetings gained for himself a certain precedence over his colleagues, and the hitherto unknown title of Prime Minister made its first appearance. The King took little personal interest in the affairs of his kingdom, but he paid repeated visits to Hanover and was anxious to find means of adding to the territory in which he ruled without having to trouble with a Parliament and the strife of parties.

Bolingbroke, whose plans for a Stuart restoration had been wrecked by the death of Queen Anne, and who was now menaced with impeachment for treason by the victorious Whigs,

had fled from England (March 1715). He found 'James III' and the Jacobite refugees in Lorraine busy with a scheme for a rising against the Hanoverian King, and encouraged by exaggerated reports of his unpopularity in England and Scotland. In vain he argued that any such enterprise would be premature. In the autumn the attempt was made. All chance of success was thrown away by hopelessly feeble leadership. In September the Earl of Mar with some of the northern Highland clans proclaimed 'James VIII King of Scotland' at Braemar. Marching south and collecting some 10,000 men, he fought an indecisive battle against the Government forces at Sheriffmuir in Perthshire. Both sides claimed a victory. An attempt to seize Edinburgh Castle by a local rising failed. Mar kept the field only because Argyle, who opposed him, was waiting for reinforcements. In December James III landed at Peterhead, joined Mar, and pushed on to Scone, to be proclaimed King where the old Kings of Scotland had been crowned. But on the approach of superior forces the Highland army began to break up and James returned to France. Meanwhile, in the hope of a victory in the Highlands the Jacobites had risen in the north of England under Lord Derwentwater, and Lord Kenmure had gathered a small force on the Border and joined hands with them. Failing to surprise Newcastle they marched westward to join the Jacobites of Lancashire. The campaign ended with their defeat and surrender at Preston on the 14th November. Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded at Tower Hill. In Scotland and the north of England there were scores of executions by martial law, hundreds of prisoners of war and suspects crowded the jails, the houses of Catholics and of Tory Protestants were sacked under pretext of search for arms, and finally many hundreds of the 'common folk' from the Highlands and Border counties were sent to work as indentured labourers in the American plantations.

The Jacobite enterprise had been a wretched failure, but nevertheless Jacobitism remained for another generation a disturbing element in the affairs of Great Britain. The clan system of the Highlanders remained almost as strong as ever, the

authority of their chiefs unbroken. In the north of England many of the old houses kept their loyalty to the 'King across the water', and again and again foreign politicians, when their schemes included a conflict with England, took the hope of a Jacobite movement in Great Britain into the combinations.

The coming of the Orleans Regency in France was a set-back to the Jacobite cause. France for a while ceased to be the traditional enemy, and in 1717 was the ally of England and Holland. 'Anglomanie', a craze for everything English, became the fashion in French society, and there was some reciprocal adoption of Paris fashions in London. In the earlier years of John Law's financial adventures, his bank that took over the collection of the revenue, his companies that were to make vast fortunes in the East Indies and the Mississippi Valley, the wild mania for speculation in Paris had effect on London.

A city company founded in Queen Anne's days to develop trade with tropical countries—the 'South Sea Company'—had been doing a modest business for some years. Under the influence of reports of fortunes made in France, its directors expanded it into a huge trading corporation that promised its shareholders speedy profit, and the Government was persuaded to enter into an arrangement to support its operations, and in return was presented with a scheme for paying off in a few years the floating debt of ten millions, and the funded National Debt which then stood at what financiers of the present day would describe as the comparatively trifling amount of fifty millions. The South Sea Company had been in the first place the creation of the Tory Harley, in order to break the power of the Whig Bank of England. Therefore naturally the Bank of England was opposed to it and to its project of repaying the National Debt on the permanence of which the power of the Bank of England so largely rested. Therefore the Bank protested against public credit being thus involved in a doubtful speculation. But it was in vain. In July 1720 the £100 shares of the company were quoted at over £1,000 and there was a wild growth of other companies for fantastically speculative objects.

Next month there were reports that the directors of the

Company and some of the other big men who held shares were selling them to snatch a profit. There were rumours that the King and the Prince of Wales were thus realizing. The rumours so far as the King was concerned may have been untrue, but the Prince of Wales certainly made a profit of £40,000 out of one of the fraudulent subsidiary companies, the English Copper Company, which then sprang up and which soon after had to be prosecuted. Worse still there were hints, soon to be proved true, that the Company's claims to profitable business were fictitious, and based only on doctored accounts. There was a deluge of panic share-selling that brought prices down headlong and there was widespread ruin. When Parliament met in the winter there was a crisis unparalleled in its history. Lord Sunderland, the Prime Minister, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Aislabie, and several of their colleagues were denounced as accomplices in the ruin of thousands and as having enriched themselves by accepting bribes for concessions to the South Sea Company, and selling its shares to their dupes when these stood at an exaggerated price.

A committee of the Commons reported that the accounts of the Company had been deliberately falsified to mislead investors. Sunderland resigned office, but was acquitted of the charges against him. Aislabie was expelled from the House, tried, and sent to prison. One of the minor office-holders, Craggs, the Postmaster-General, committed suicide—a very rare crime in those times.

The Whigs were so strong in both Houses that even this discreditable exit of Sunderland's Ministry left the party still in power. But among their leading figures Walpole alone was not involved in responsibility for the disaster. He had warned the country against it, though at the same time he had personally profited from it. In the new Whig Ministry, formed to deal with the situation, he was the leading figure. He had held office, in various administrations, since the days of Queen Anne, when he had been an active champion of the Hanoverian succession. In April 1721 he took office as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and for more than

twenty years, under two kings, he was at the head of the Government. His first task on taking office was to do what was possible to restore business credit, and find some help for the sufferers from the bursting of the 'South Sea Bubble'. An Act of Parliament forfeited the ill-gotten fortunes of the Company's directors. Some two and a half millions sterling were thus obtained, and more than two millions were distributed among those it had ruined, and whose total loss was estimated at over seven millions. But even the culprit directorate was saved from utter ruin by some £300,000 being left to be distributed among them for a new start in life. With the help of the Bank of England, the Company itself was reorganized with a new Board, and carried on its legitimate business on better lines till the early years of the nineteenth century, with neither any sensational loss nor gain.

Walpole's policy was to avoid foreign entanglements, and keep England out of continental wars. 'War,' he used to say, 'is the worst of evils.' As to home affairs, he held that the soundest policy was to interfere as little as possible with the people's affairs and everyday life, 'leave well alone', and let theorists worry about reforms. Peace and order at home would mean prosperity. It was said that he held his party together and secured a majority at elections and in the House of Commons by the free use of the large patronage at his disposal, supplemented, if need be, by some expenditure of cash. He might reply that discreet bribery and corruption was then a recognized method of policy. He held that each of these men had his price, speaking of the so-called 'Patriot' politicians who were attacking him and his government. The Tories must be kept out of power. If they were in office there would be Jacobite plots, and intrigues with foreign Powers, and renewed attempts to extend the interference of the Crown in home affairs. He held he was assuring peace abroad and at home by keeping the Whigs in office, dexterously managing elections and satisfying his supporters in the Commons with whatever favours he could give them. If the Tories were in power they would do as he did. It was the custom of the time, and he had no scruples about going with the current.

George I died suddenly in an apoplectic fit on the 11th June 1727. The fatal stroke came upon him when he was travelling on a Dutch road in a closed carriage on a blazing hot day, on his way to revisit Hanover. He had left two children by his marriage with Sophia of Celle, a daughter who had married Frederick William of Prussia, and became the mother of Frederick the Great, and a son, George Augustus, Prince of Wales, who was in his thirty-first year when he came to England with his father and was forty-four years of age when he succeeded him as King George II. In 1705 he had married Caroline of Anspach, a woman whose mental capacity and tactful gifts were more marked than his own. He had served with a German contingent in Marlborough's Flanders campaigns. Since he came to England he had learned to speak English with a strong German accent. Queen Caroline was more popular than her husband. He had repeatedly quarrelled with his father, and had no friendly feelings towards Walpole, who owed his retention of office under the new King to Caroline's influence in his favour. For seven years more he remained in office, finding the King more anxious to interfere in English affairs than his father had been. At last Walpole had to deal with an opposition made up of a combination of malcontent Whigs and Tories who were jealous of his long control of affairs.

He was forced to resign his Premiership when, against his better judgement, he yielded to an outcry for war with Spain. In 1732, with a Royal Charter and a grant of £10,000 from Parliament, General Oglethorpe had founded the new colony of Georgia, south of the Carolinas. The Spaniards complained that the colonists were encroaching on their territory of Florida, but the real cause of the quarrel was trouble between English sailors and Spanish coastguards in the Gulf of Mexico. The Treaty of Utrecht had given the English the right of bringing African slaves to Spanish America, but their general trade was restricted to sending one ship each year to Panama. Besides making use of this ship to run more than one cargo, English slavers and traders had organized an extensive system of smuggling on the Spanish-American coasts, and some of the

sailors engaged in this contraband trade were roughly handled by the coastguards. One of them was taken from place to place in England, telling how the Spaniards had cut off one of his ears and exhibiting the dried-up ear to impress those he addressed. The opposition had been lately reinforced by William Pitt, a young orator destined soon to rise to power, and to be the father of the younger William Pitt who directed the fortunes of England in the wars of the French Revolution and the Empire. The alleged cruelties of the Spaniards and their claim to search English ships even on the high seas were denounced, and there was a call for strong action, which was echoed all over England. In vain Walpole declared that Spain was ready to negotiate and make amends to any Englishman who had suffered ill treatment. He yielded to the clamour, and war was declared against Spain in the autumn of 1739. Naval operations in the Spanish seas gave some minor successes and some disappointing failures. Walpole was accused of having allowed the navy to become inefficient. At the elections of 1741 he lost many supporters, and after a defeat in the Commons he resigned office, and with the title of Earl of Orford retired to the House of Lords.

It was the end of the years of peace that England owed to Walpole's prudent policy. The wars that followed this quarrel with Spain have already been dealt with in earlier pages of our survey of the course of events in Europe, America, and the East. England became involved in the entanglement of continental alliances in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-8) which began with the invasion of Silesia by King George's nephew, Frederick the Great. While England was still at peace with France George II, as an English King, drafted British troops to Hanover, and as a Prince of the German Empire led them in victorious battle in line with his Hanoverians against Marshal Grammont at Dettingen (27 June 1743).¹ It was not till next

¹ Handel composed the Dettingen *Te Deum* to celebrate the event, and it became at once popular in England, where Dettingen was counted as an English triumph. Popular feeling was then on the side of Maria-Theresa, but in the Seven Years' War Frederick the Great became a hero of the English people, and 'The King of Prussia' a favourite sign for inns.

year that England formally entered the conflict, the declaration of war coming from France.

Marshal Saxe's victory over the Allies under King George's brother, the Duke of Cumberland, at Fontenoy (11 May 1745) led to the last war on British ground. Louis XV had already invited Prince Charles Edward, the son of 'James III', to France, in the hope of keeping King George busy at home with a Jacobite insurrection. A first plan of action had been abandoned, but Fontenoy revived the activities of the Jacobite exiles. Having received some promise of help from France, Charles Edward embarked at Nantes with only seven followers, and landed in the north of Scotland in the first days of August 1745. On the 19th he raised the standard of 'James VIII King of Scotland' at Glenfinnan. There were few troops in Scotland or England, nearly all the regular army being abroad, and the force sent under Sir John Cope to deal with the Highland rising was only a little more than 2,000 strong. Marching south Charles Edward occupied Edinburgh, and on the 21st September a charge of his Highland swordsmen routed Cope's regulars in ten minutes at Preston Pans, east of the city. Edinburgh Castle held out against him and some time was wasted in an attempt to reduce it. In November he decided on a dash into England and crossed the Border with 6,500 men, mostly Highlanders. He hoped to be joined by the northern Jacobites, but few rallied to him as he marched through Lancashire after capturing Carlisle Castle. Regiments were being hurried home from Hanover and Flanders. He outmarched an army sent to intercept him, and on the 6th December he occupied Derby. There was a panic in London and a run on the Bank of England, and the Guards were marched out to Finchley to take up a defence position. He had received little help from France beyond the coming of some officers of the Royal Army and the Irish Brigade. Few joined him after he crossed the Border, and most of the Highland chiefs urged that he should abandon the dash for London, retreat to the Scottish hills, and hold on there for a new campaign in the spring. He had to yield to this pressure and the retreat began in the first

stress of the winter weather. At Falkirk on the 17th January 1746 he won a last victory over a pursuing force, but his enterprise ended in utter defeat on the 16th April, when he attempted to surprise the Royal Army under the Duke of Cumberland, encamped on Culloden Moor.

The victor's ferocious vengeance on the defeated clansmen gave him the name of 'Butcher Cumberland'. The civil courts were kept busy dealing with prisoners who crowded the jails, or had escaped the first fury of martial law. Three Scottish peers were beheaded at Tower Hill, and there were scores of executions at Carlisle and other centres in the north. Hundreds were transported to work for the West Indian and American planters. A reward of £30,000 was offered for the arrest of Charles Edward, but the people of the Western Highlands and the Hebrides protected him in some five months of wandering, and at last he was able to embark at Moidart in a small craft that evaded the English cruisers and reached France in safety. The Jacobite cause had fought its last battle and was no longer a danger to the Hanoverian line. The Highlands had been its stronghold. But military roads were now made through the hills and forests and military posts established, the clan system was broken up, and the traditional powers of the chiefs declared illegal. An unsuccessful attempt was made even to abolish the Highland garb and the Gaelic speech.

England's successes and permanent conquests in the Seven Years' War (1756-63) were largely due to the vigorous policy of William Pitt. He helped Frederick the Great with liberal grants of money and by sending British troops to oppose the French in Western Germany in the Duke of Brunswick's army, but he insisted that the main effort should be on the sea against French commerce and French possessions in the East and West. He it was who sent Clive back to India and chose Wolfe for the enterprise against Canada, in both cases setting aside the claims of senior generals for command. He resigned office soon after the accession of George III. In 1766 he was promoted to the House of Lords as Earl of Chatham. He was in failing

health, and though he held a post in the Ministry from 1766 to 1778 he took little part in its proceedings.

George III, who came to the throne on the death of his grandfather George II in 1760, was the first of the Hanoverian line who secured any popularity in England. He had never been in Hanover. In his speech at the opening of his first Parliament, he added to the draft of it prepared by his ministers the declaration that 'Born and brought up in the land of freedom he gloried in the name of Briton'. The freedom of the time was still somewhat limited and the King had a fixed idea that he must act as a King, and be something more than the crowned president of a republic. He was of a decidedly obstinate temperament. It was difficult, indeed all but impossible, to move him from any opinion or determination he adopted. He had no liking for parade and ostentatious ceremonial. His home life presented a happy contrast to that of his two predecessors and of most of the sovereigns of the time. In disregard of convention he liked to talk with 'mere common people'. George I and II had been educated as soldiers, and commanded troops in action. George III had no military tastes. In his first meeting with his ministers in 1760 he told them he was anxious to see an end of 'this bloody and expensive war'. He took a keen interest in country life, not however in field-sports, but in farming. Under the assumed name of 'Ralph Robinson' he contributed articles to Arthur Young's *Annals of Agriculture*.

The troubles with America began when the Stamp Act was passed in 1765, and ten years of growing tension led to the War of the American Revolution (1775-83), that soon involved England in war with a European coalition. The King's obstinacy undoubtedly helped to accentuate the first differences between the colonists and the home government, and prolonged the subsequent war, though it is entirely unhistorical to attribute to him any especial responsibility for the first inauguration of that policy. William Pitt, the son of Chatham, entered Parliament in 1780. In the earlier stages of the war his father had defended the cause of the colonists in the House of Lords. Pitt

from the outset of his parliamentary career advocated a friendly settlement with America. In the very year that ended the war George III invited him to form a ministry, and when Parliament met in the new year of 1784 he took his place as Prime Minister with the offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury. He was in his twenty-fifth year.

One of his first proposals, which, however, he had to abandon for lack of adequate support in the Commons, was the reform of Parliament to make it more representative of the people. It actually represented only the landed gentry and the successful traders of a few great towns. One flagrant abuse (destined, however, still to survive for nearly fifty years) was the existence of more than sixty of what were popularly known as 'pocket boroughs'—small towns and mere villages that returned members to Parliament by the vote of a handful of tenants, who voted as their landlord directed. Such seats were valuable family heirlooms, for they could be sold by the local magnate to aspirants to political life. Pitt himself had entered Parliament by the friendly nomination of the landlord of Appleby in the Lake District. His famous father had been first sent to Parliament by the noble proprietor of the grass-grown mounds on the edge of Salisbury plain that marked the abandoned site of Old Sarum. The only voter was a shepherd who must on pain of dismissal nominate and elect the man of his master's choice. It is a strange proof of the ideas of the time that Pitt recognized these pocket boroughs as sound honest property and suggested that a million sterling should be devoted to compensating their owners for its loss.

The American War had produced important results in Ireland. The Penal Code, reinforced since the surrender of Limerick by new statutes deliberately designed to impoverish the Catholic majority, had reduced the great mass of the people to a condition of wretchedness that it is difficult to exaggerate. The Protestant minority had felt the pressure of other laws and restrictions designed to cripple Irish trade and industry for the benefit of British shipowners, merchants, and manufacturers, and though it nominally ruled the country through a Parlia-

ment in Dublin this was a body that had lost all real power and could act only under the direction and censorship of British officials. On the part of the oppressed and impoverished Catholics of Ireland there seemed to be no likelihood of the revolt in America leading to any hostile action against English officialdom. There had been no movement in Ireland to support the Jacobite enterprises of 1715 and 1745. The Irish Catholics sent the more enterprising of their young manhood to serve in the Brigade in France or in other armies, where several of them had risen to high command. At home in Ireland they seemed to have lost all hope of political or militant action. Their heroism was that of patient endurance, clinging to the Faith of their fathers at the cost of endless hardship. The Protestant minority were regarded by the ruling class in England as a useful garrison for Ireland, and in the political circles of London and Westminster no one imagined that there could be a revolt of this Anglo-Irish colony.

The American war and the entrance of France into the conflict led to the military garrison of Ireland being reduced to reinforce the armies in America and Europe, until before long there were only some 3,000 troops left in small scattered garrisons. American and French privateers were making raids in the Irish seas, and in various coast districts small bodies of volunteers were formed for defence against possible raids on land. This was the germ of the Irish Volunteer movement. It spread through the country. It was at the outset entirely a Protestant force. Its leaders declared it was a loyal effort for the defence of the country, and the arms already in the possession of the ruling class and their friends were supplemented by grants of muskets and munitions by the Government of England, which could not imagine that the volunteer army would presently support a political demand. Though this armed force, which gradually rose to the strength of some 80,000, was almost entirely Protestant, the Irish Catholics gave their sympathy and support to the movement, all the more readily when the Volunteer Conventions began to echo the claim of Flood and Grattan for a free Irish Parliament. Freedom of trade had been

the first popular cry of the time, but the larger demand soon followed. The Volunteer movement became an armed demonstration, but its success was won without a shot being fired. The final triumph came in 1782, when Grattan passed through the marshalled lines of the Volunteers as he went to move the resolutions that Ireland was to be governed by its own King, Lords, and Commons, and its own laws and courts. These resolutions were soon embodied in an Act of Parliament, accepted by the English Ministry, a concession, however, having the serious defect that the appointment of the Irish Executive still remained in the hands of the Government in London. In this same session of 1782 Grattan carried a Bill through Parliament abolishing the worst features of the Penal Code. He would have given a limited franchise to the Catholics and the right of election to the Commons, but it was ten years before he secured a majority even for the former of these concessions.

In England the last of the penal laws had been passed in the first Parliament of George I.¹ The earliest steps in the abolition of the Penal Code were taken under George III. There was a growing spirit of toleration in England and many of the worst enactments of that evil code were falling into desuetude. This was the result of many causes. In the English mind Catholicity was no longer associated with Jacobite politics, while the Catholics were now so few that it was hardly possible for any balanced person to see in them a serious threat to social stability. There was a widespread growth of indifference in matters of religion. Among the educated classes there was the growing influence of rationalism, and in the Established Church more conventional formalism than religious zeal. The sensational preaching of Whitefield and Wesley attracted to their open air meetings and their chapels thousands who were tired of the dull moral platitudes and vague teaching of the parish church, where people of all classes went to the Sunday service chiefly because it was a respectable custom. In the early years of George III there were still cases of country magistrates fining labourers and small

¹ It was an Act obliging all 'Papists' who possessed any real estate to register their names, and the details of their holding, which was to pay a double land tax.

farmers for absence from the Church service, under a law dating from the first year of Queen Elizabeth. As late as 1769 James Talbot, a brother of Lord Shrewsbury, and then coadjutor to Dr. Challoner as Bishop of the London district, was tried before the Chief Justice, Lord Mansfield, under the Act that condemned a priest to lifelong imprisonment for saying Mass, and gave a reward of £100 to the informer. Mansfield told the jury that there must be an acquittal. For all the informer had deposed was that he saw 'Mr. Talbot wearing vestments and performing a ceremony supposed to be the Mass', but there was not any proof given that he had ever been ordained, not a word on the point, which was all-important. This put an end to the informer's trade and it was the last case of the kind. In 1778 Lord Saville's Catholic Relief Bill repealed this and several other enactments of the Penal Code.

Next year the 'Protestant Association' was formed by Lord George Gordon to agitate for the repeal of Saville's Act. On the 2nd June 1780 he organized a march of many thousands to Westminster to present the petition of his association to the House of Commons. An attempt to force an entry into the House, a riot in its vicinity, and attacks on members supposed to be favourable to the Catholics marked the first day of wild disorder that lasted for most of a week in London.

Catholic chapels were sacked and burned, and then came attacks on private houses, amongst them that of Lord Mansfield, and then upon many public buildings. London was at the mercy of a huge mob made up of men who obviously cared not so much for any religious dispute as for the chance of plunder, outrage, and drunkenness. The magistrates, with no organized force at their command, were helpless. The Ministry hesitated about using the troops to restore order, arguing that it was unconstitutional to bring them into a civilian affair. It was the King who took the responsibility of sending them into the streets. In a few hours, at the cost of more than four hundred casualties among the rioters, order was restored. It is strange that it was not till fifty years later that a civilian police force was at last organized.

35. FRANCE IN 1789

The French monarchy had devoted thirteen centuries to gathering together strips of French territory which the Revolution took ten years to consolidate.

However its total accomplishment be judged, the Revolution must be credited with having caused the national consciousness to issue from the crucible of suffering. In 1789 most of the provinces were still insisting on obsolete privileges and taking an interest only in asserting rights that gave no effective benefit. Provincial and civic freedom seemed to have fallen into oblivion; arbitrary administrative divisions had been established without taking into account either the wishes or interests of the people, and at the expense of natural boundaries and local traditions. Routine on the one hand, inertia on the other, perpetuated shocking abuses and held up necessary and urgent reforms indefinitely. Apparent unity concealed a diversity, the details of which present the strangest of complications. Brittany and Dauphiné on every possible occasion appealed to their 'capitulations' as the charters of local rights; Lorraine declared itself a 'foreign province'; Avignon and the county of the Venaissin were enclaves, alien territory in the kingdom, and while eighteen dioceses were not reckoned as belonging to the clerical body of France nineteen other sees depended on foreign archbishops.

The provincial spirit interfered with the national spirit without altogether superseding it. The historical glories of France made the French prouder of belonging to it than to any other country in the world and, in their eyes, the King alone personified the whole past in the same way that he was a pledge of the whole future. Social and individual safeguards were less in men's thoughts than ever; it was the day of the triumph of arbitrary rule in which the personal moderation of the monarch hardly mitigated the tyrannical power of the government departments. In spite of continual abuse of its power, royalty was never unconscious of its fetters, and was rendered incapable of initiative in reform by the impossibility of reconciling conflict-

ing customs, privileges, and interests. Powerless for good, inactive against evil, the Government could only do harm and the mistrust which it inspired made even the best-devised reforms impossible.

There was a moment when it looked as though Louis XVI was about to return to the policy which had strengthened the Capets, by trusting to the *Tiers État*. It was his misfortune that he did not take this course; he was not quite strong enough to break with the privileged classes, that is to say with a minority, for they hardly represented two per cent. of the population of the kingdom. These privileged classes, the nobility and clergy, were not even agreed amongst themselves, for dissension arrayed the old nobility against those newly ennobled in the one order, and the lower grades of the clergy against the higher in the other. The upper middle class resorted to underhand methods against its humbler fellow citizens; nevertheless, in the presence of the obvious danger of the State, an agreement was still possible by means of concerted action, of which the court nobility, the bishops, and many of the legalists of the Parlement would not hear at any price.

The French monarchy had never been financially sound and its downfall was to come from this irregularity; the deficit increased annually, debts accumulated, and to remedy this evil there were only the taxes, the assessment of which was a matter of favour or chance, and unfairness was universal. In one district the taxes would vary from parish to parish; in one street the right-hand side would pay dues from which the left-hand side was exempt. The collection of the taxes raised all sorts of difficulties; every year there were about four thousand cases in the courts with reference to the salt-tax (*gabelle*).

Justice was meted out by thirteen high courts, of which some had a ludicrously restricted jurisdiction, while in others it was inordinately wide. The high court of Paris comprised nearly one-third of the kingdom, that of Dijon did not even include the whole of the counties of Mâcon and Auxerre. The boundaries of the circuits were not clearly defined, those of the bailiwicks gave rise to constant disputes. Sometimes it was necessary to

pass through five or six tribunals before reaching the royal court and then to take the case to the Parlement.

The law recognized a distinction between districts under written law and districts under customary law; there were at least 128 and probably more customary laws; in the jurisdiction of the high court of Paris alone there were about sixty recognized customary laws. In the district of Soule the order of inheritance differed from house to house.

A considerable part of the kingdom was uncultivated; only the culture of the vine was well developed. Besides this, the peasants were opposed to any new ventures and even reduced the numbers of their cattle to avoid paying certain taxes. Small properties were rare and the great majority of small farmers were far from prosperous, and sometimes in actual poverty. This class had no guarantee that any use of or inroad on their property would be equitably compensated; furthermore, they still had to submit to feudal dues which were sometimes unjust and even ridiculous. The *champart*,¹ the *banalité*,² and the monopolies of the game laws were odious impositions, and the last of these led to much destruction of the farmer's property. The *feudistes* were a downright plague; this name was given to those who discovered fresh claims to exactions and dues in the old charters.

Obstacles were put in the way of the progress and development of industry and commerce. The rights of labour did not exist; money-lending on interest for a term of years was forbidden throughout most of the kingdom. This, instead of curbing the power of usury, merely made it certain that the great centres of money-lending would establish themselves outside the country in such places as Geneva and Amsterdam. Everywhere in France the roads were intersected by lines of toll-gates³ and goods dispatched from Brittany to Provence

¹ The right exercised by some landowners to levy dues in kind on the crops grown by the tenants.

² The tenant's obligation to grind his corn at the mill of the landowner, paying a toll in kind. Also in some districts the monopoly of baking bread at the landlord's oven.

³ It was estimated that if the toll-gates could be ranged end to end in a line, it would be more than 8,000 miles long.

were subjected to eight examinations and declarations of value and seven different payments of duty. Weights and measures varied at each posting-house. Dread of famine paralysed trading in wheat, the free distribution of which was forbidden. Roads were numerous, but while in some places they were kept in magnificent order, in others they were hardly passable; this gave rise to the saying: 'What is the use of a magnificent road which can only be reached by impassable lanes?'

Inequality and the discontent which it bred were universal. In the army, where all hope of promotion was withheld from those who were not of noble birth, the provincial gentry complained that important commands were exclusively reserved for the court nobility. Traffic in promotions made the military career a trade controlled by money; the pay of the privates and non-commissioned officers was insufficient and sometimes uncertain. Want and ill-usage encouraged desertion; the army cost at least a hundred million livres, and if the navy was less expensive it was because the sixty-odd millions which it cost were wasted on badly equipped vessels and half-empty arsenals. The twenty-odd millions devoted to the colonies could only delay but could not prevent the collapse of the colonial régime.

France remained, at least in public profession, Christian and Catholic. But though the monarchy still kept its title of the 'Most Christian King', unbelief and libertinage were widespread. The influence of the Rationalists—Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopedists—had deeply affected the educated classes, and many were Catholic in little more than name, while others openly professed 'enlightened philosophy' as their only real religion. The Church suffered from the narrow nationalism that made it dependent on the court and the royal officials. The tradition of the 'Gallican liberties' had made it the slave of royalist bureaucracy and State patronage reserved ecclesiastical dignities and the accumulated wealth of the French sees and chapters for sons of noble houses. Talleyrand-Périgord entered a seminary because an accident had made him too lame for a military career, and the Church was the next best way to promotion. His notorious immorality and lax opinions

did not bar his rise to the Bishopric of Autun (1789) in the last days of royal absolutism in Church and State.

The misuse of royal and bureaucratic patronage made the wealth of the Church a provision for sons of the nobles, and gave pensions from the endowments of the great monasteries by appointing courtiers, mere laymen, as their nominal abbots and protectors, while the stipends of the parish clergy left them hardly a livelihood. No wonder that this led to popular denunciations of the Church's riches (not without, as the event proved, some desire to confiscate and share them). The religion of France also suffered from the infiltration of rigorist Jansenist influences on the ideals of the clergy. Much of the pulpit eloquence of the time was of a character that tended to discourage and repel its hearers. A favourite topic of sermons was the difficulty of the service of God and the very small number of those who would ever win salvation. There was a fatal theory that the worthy reception of the Sacraments was such a difficult matter that the frequent recourse to them was likely to lead to more abuse and irreverence than help and spiritual profit. No wonder, then, that in an age of doubt and unbelief numbers consciously or unconsciously made up their minds that if there was a very remote chance of living a good life and saving their souls it was better to swim with the lax current of the day and enjoy the present life without troubling about the future.

But it would be misleading to conclude that France had ceased to be Catholic, even though there is some truth in Ferdinand Brunetière's saying that 'The eighteenth century was the least Christian century in French history'. Large numbers of both clergy and laity lived faithful lives, sometimes lives of devoted piety and active charity to all who suffered. Even the worst enemies of the Church have never challenged the high reputation of the religious orders of women. Granted that there was some relaxation in not a few of the abbeys and monasteries, there were still many more that were centres of good deeds and homes of learning. Up to the very day of their suppression in 1790 the Benedictines of St. Maur carried on the learned activities that have won them lasting honour. Up to

the very eve of the Revolution priests of the missionary orders set out from France, even to countries like China, where their lives were in daily peril. In France itself, in the years of persecution that followed, some hundreds gladly gave their lives rather than deny their faith. Amongst them were prelates and priests, monks, nuns and lay folk, sons and daughters of noble houses and of peasant homes. Many of the exiled French clergy did apostolic work in the countries that received them. Among those who survived the storm of persecution many are now remembered as the pioneers in the second spring of Catholicity in France.

Public education left much to be desired. The universities, few and badly distributed, clung obstinately to old formalities, and sometimes sold their degrees.

The suppression of the Jesuit colleges had left a blank which it was not easy to fill. As for primary education, even in great towns there were not enough elementary schools to accommodate a large number of the children, and for those who found a place in the existing schools the years of attendance ended at such an early age that they could only receive a very rudimentary education.

There was dire destitution throughout the kingdom, particularly in the country-side. Statistics and administrative reports did not reveal the serious nature of the evil. Famine reappeared periodically, and the number of needy individuals completely without resources was estimated at nearly a million. One is aghast at the methods of those who controlled the poor relief. At the Hôtel Dieu, the chief hospital of Paris, four and sometimes six patients, suffering from different and even infectious complaints, were put in one large bed. The country-side was terrorized by hordes of beggars who roved at large; every year an average of ten thousand of these unfortunates were arrested and as many escaped.

36. CONVOCAION OF THE STATES-GENERAL: FORMATION AND ACTION OF THE NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (1789-91)

With a lack of foresight and a culpable neglect of organization the Government undertook to find a remedy for this

situation. This remedy was the convocation of the States-General of the kingdom. This assembly of the representatives of the nation had not met since 1614. Deputies from the clergy, the nobility, and the *Tiers État* or commons were to be chosen for it by 'election', but these elections were very unlike the process which bears that name to-day. Broadly speaking, one may say that meetings were called for the purpose of choosing the local deputies and drawing up *cahiers*, or memorials, enumerating grievances and proposals they were to bring forward. The number of *cahiers* probably passed fifty thousand, for each parish and even the smallest guild or association had its own. It was a most minute inquiry into the state of France at that time, but the value of the documents was very unequal. The facts to be collected and set forth were innumerable, but with very few exceptions the *cahiers* were inspired by the same ideal—they all asked for 'liberty'.

This word 'liberty' was heard on all sides. It charmed the imagination of all and set all hearts afire. The clergy, nobility, and *Tiers État* asked for periodical meetings of the States-General and the right of voting the taxes and, further, a share of regulative authority for the States-General with individual liberty and the abolition of censorship, and of all exceptional tribunals and special commissions of the judges. These demands are to be found in thousands of *cahiers*, the obvious anxiety also being to secure individual liberty. At this time the question of 'equality' had not yet been raised. It was only thought of and discussed later, when royalty's alliance with the nobility made it plain that the abolition of privilege was necessary before liberty could be firmly established.

The *cahiers* of grievances were nearly all respectfully drafted. Their tone was rather that of entreaty than demand. Just here and there one finds a disquieting word such as in the *cahier* of Châteauevillain where it is said that if the King opposes the reforms he will be discrowned. Rarely is a complaint crudely formulated. Public opinion does not wish to be too abrupt or to cause any disturbance. Confident reliance on the monarchy was still unshaken and the royal letter of the 24th January had

further strengthened it. The convocation of the States-General was regarded as an act of unparalleled generosity. The State, brought to bay by impending bankruptcy, was appealing to the citizens for assistance, and they were moved by the thought that 'the King is giving us freedom to complain! What a precious boon! How grateful should we be to the monarch who, in his tender solicitude, takes his subjects into his confidence.' And these protestations, ridiculous though they seem to us, were sincere. The King was above all discussion, his person and authority were sacred. Let the noble and privileged classes no longer evade the payment of taxes and agree to the vote by individual deputies instead of the collective vote of each order, and no further demand will be made of them. The *Tiers État* would take it to be its duty to 'Respect, honour, and cherish' its superiors. There could be only a joyous, brotherly, and patriotic advance on the way that led to liberty. The provinces signified their readiness to sacrifice any local privileges, even those they had most vigorously asserted. All that was evil was to be forgotten. Reason and humanity were about to come into their own amid tears of joy and affection.

The deputies of the three orders which composed the States-General met at Versailles on the 5th May 1789. The King opened their proceedings in person, but his speech did not come up to general expectation. He made no allusion to the anticipated periodical re-election nor to the expected constitution and equal distribution of taxation. The speech only dealt with the reorganization of the finances, and the maintenance of the royal authority and the principles of the monarchy. Necker then made a long and involved speech. It was difficult to hear, and the assembly withdrew tired, dissatisfied, and inclined to be suspicious.

The first question to be raised was whether the whole States-General should sit and vote as one house or whether the three orders should sit and vote separately and each reform have to be passed by all the three orders. Only under the former plan did there seem to be any hope of bringing about reform. Every one felt that sweeping changes were at hand. The members of

the *Tiers État* met in the Salle des États (6 May), but the nobility and also the clergy decided to hold separate meetings. As yet the only immediate business to be done was the production and verification of each deputy's credentials and this could be done in common, but the two privileged orders expected and feared a tactical move to create a precedent in favour of the individual vote and a general meeting of all. So disagreement began. The whole month of May was spent in negotiations; but on the 10th June the *Tiers État* issued a last invitation for a general meeting. The nobility paid no attention to it, but a few members of the clergy broke away from their order.

On the 17th the *Tiers État*, reinforced by a dozen *curés*, proclaimed itself the 'National Assembly' and took the law into its own hands on the question of taxation by declaring and decreeing that, henceforward, no levy of taxes should take place in the kingdom without the consent of the Assembly. On the 19th it appointed four committees—of Supplies, Inspection, Reports, and Regulations. The Revolution was taking shape.

It seemed a matter of urgent necessity to suspend the sessions of the 'Assembly' and on the 20th June the hall was closed against it under the pretext of necessary repairs. On this the deputies repaired to the hall of the 'Tennis-Court' (*la salle du jeu de paume*), under the chairmanship of Jean Sylvain Bailly, and took a solemn oath 'never to separate and to meet whenever circumstances required, until the constitution of the kingdom was established'. On the 22nd the greater part of the Clergy joined the Assembly, and the court could think of no alternative except to hold a 'royal session' on the 23rd. At this meeting the King read a declaration which annulled the debate of the 17th June and commanded the deputies to break up immediately and meet henceforward as three separate Orders. The nobility and a large part of the clergy obeyed; the *Tiers État* stood their ground and refused to obey the command to leave the room. Bailly, Mirabeau, Sieyès, and Camus made that day a memorable one by their steadfastness and the court was afraid to take action. It was a surrender. Realizing this, the majority of the clergy and a minority of the nobility joined

the Assembly, which found itself fully constituted with the King's consent on the 27th June. The *Tiers État* had won a brilliant victory; on the 8th July its committee of organization introduced a scheme for its proceedings, and a financial committee was established.

In the opinion of the court, further delay threatened the monarchy with impending ruin and the influence of Marie-Antoinette and the King's brothers persuaded Louis XVI to attempt a *coup d'état*. On the 11th July the Minister Necker was dismissed with several of his colleagues. The struggle had begun, and its issue depended, not on the attitude of the National Assembly which could only talk, but on its reception by Paris which could act.

Paris was ardently revolutionary and made no secret of it. The news of Necker's dismissal caused widespread excitement. A young lawyer, Camille Desmoulins, stirred up the crowd at the Palais-Royal to wild enthusiasm (12 July); shops were looted, arms and cannon were taken from the Invalides, men were gathering weapons in hand and irregular troops of citizens were formed (13 July), while the Assembly reasserted all its former resolutions. On the 14th the crowd seized the Bastille, the hated symbol of the arbitrary methods of the old régime. The event seemed like the triumph of liberty over tyranny and the capture of the Bastille became a kind of legend¹ which served as a frontispiece to the history of the Revolution. On the 16th the King surrendered by recalling Necker and on the 17th went to the Hôtel de Ville of Paris, where he accepted the tricoloured cockade. Bailly was appointed Mayor of Paris, and La Fayette Commander of the new National Guard. The King approved these selections; the revolution in Paris had not been against him, but against his advisers and the privileged classes.

¹ A fantastic legend; for the Bastille had ceased to be a place to which the enemies of the court could be sent by mere sealed warrant without trial. The three prisoners released by the mob on the 14th July were mere criminals. It was a fortress only in name. Its cannon had only blank charges for firing salutes. Its garrison was a handful of veterans. They surrendered on a pledge of good treatment, but the mob murdered several of them and their commandant, and paraded the severed heads through the streets as trophies of victory.

The movement spread to the provinces and, almost everywhere, was of the same municipal character; then the rural districts began to municipalize themselves. Rural France came on the scene under the impetus which originated in Paris and the towns, and in the four days from the 27th July to the 1st August witnessed a phenomenon which has never been wholly explained. A panic, still known as the Great Alarm (*la grande peur*), agitated the country; brigands were expected, but they never appeared; while waiting for them, people armed themselves, and when the brigands did not come, remained armed. Then they set on a visible enemy—the feudal system with its title-deeds, its privileges, its dues; and they began to fire the châteaux and to burn the collections of charters. The collaboration between the Assembly and the populace and its share in the destruction of the old régime cannot be disputed. Out of it there came a movement of destruction and reconstruction. The National Assembly did its share by the decrees which it issued on the night of the 4th August and which wiped out the past without compensations or indemnities. That famous night witnessed the suppression of the sale of offices and the declaration that all Frenchmen could qualify for any public office. In a few hours, an avalanche of decrees, issued without reflection, hurled to the ground the whole structure of twelve hundred years and put nothing in its place. Chaos was being substituted for an anachronism.

Nor was this all. Between the 20th August and the 1st October the Assembly passed the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen', then, with a haste in which theory took the place of practice, came the passing of the main articles of the Constitution in the midst of a popular outburst which robbed the deputies of that peace of mind and time for thought so essential to such grave resolutions. Louis XVI, feeling he no longer had control of the situation, hesitated to promulgate so many and such serious innovations. To force his hand the leaders of public opinion organized a demonstration and armed crowds besieged the King at Versailles on a pretext of famine, and compelled him, by violence and bloodshed, to return to

Paris (5 and 6 October). From that day onwards, virtually a prisoner in the Tuileries, in constant touch with the National Assembly who met close by, in the Riding School, the King of France became a tool in the hands of the factions, resigned to submit to everything until the day when the civil constitution of the clergy did violence to his conscience as a Catholic.

The next two years witnessed a feverish attempt at legislative and administrative organization. The National Assembly improvised and drew up a body of constitutional laws which turned out to be a metaphysical and abstract work based on the transfer of sovereignty from the King to the nation. The most advanced thinkers at that time regarded the idea of a Republic in France as a vain dream, incapable of uniting the French nation under a common law. 'On the morrow of the fourteenth of July,' said Madame Jullien, 'the whole republican party would easily have found room on my sofa.' Nobody thought of dispensing with the King's assistance, or of discarding the monarchist principle. France was unanimous in admitting the coexistence of the new and national sovereignty with the old sovereignty by divine right of the King. The following formula was invented to define this situation: 'Louis, by the grace of God and by the constitutional law of the State, King of the French . . .' Actually, divine right¹ was yielding to popular right and, in the new hierarchy of powers, another formula stated the place occupied by each as follows: The nation, the law, the king.

The Crown was to be hereditary from male to male heir; the wearer of it was to enjoy a civil list, have a bodyguard and

¹ It must be remembered that in the France of this time 'Divine Right' was a term used in the sense given to it by the absolutist legists of the Renaissance, the Anglican divines of the seventeenth century, and the school of the same ideals under the Bourbon line in France. When Suarez published his treatise on the *Defence of the Faith against Anglican Errors* in the days of James I, it was burned in London by the hangman under an order of King James, and condemned by the Parlement of Paris (1614) as 'subversive of the rights of Kings', because its author had set forth the traditional teaching of the Catholic schools that, as man was created for social life, organized government was a necessity, and all duly established governments ruled by right divine, not immediately from God, but mediately through the choice of acceptance of the people. In this way it was no heaven-sent monopoly of kings, but belonged equally to the chief of a Republic.

exercise executive authority through a council of ministers outside the legislative body and responsible only to the nation. The nation was to be the sovereign power expressing its will by means of laws to which nothing in France was to be superior. It was regarded as composed of the entirety of the French people, all styled 'citizens' but divided into two classes of citizens, the active and the passive (*citoyens actifs* and *citoyens passifs*) according to whether they were or were not electors, and wealth was to be the electoral qualification. The poor were excluded from the rights of sovereignty. The National Assembly was to be chosen to act as a legislative authority in collaboration with the executive power which applied the laws. Since the monarchy had devitalized and nullified all the old local institutions, a municipal organization was re-established in each city, town, parish, or rural community. The city of Paris was granted a municipality which, under the name of the 'Commune of Paris', often abused its power to influence the course of the Revolution.

An innovation which met with general acceptance from the first moment of its introduction was the division of France into departments. Each department was given a separate administration and thus there appeared 'departmental directorates' and 'district directorates' which were not so much administrative bodies as weapons against the royal power and any return to despotism.

The National Assembly was indefatigable; it created an entire judicial organization which has in part survived to the present day; it allowed the royal army to continue, but with serious modifications, chiefly as regards appointments and promotions. The privileged corps were remodelled, the 'Maréchaussée'¹ was reorganized under the name of 'Gendarmerie', and the National Guard, which came into existence spontaneously in July 1789, was given a local organization.

One of the outward characteristics of this period was the eager anxiety to give everything, new or old, retained from the past or now created, names different from those which had

¹ The 'Maréchaussée' was the corps of mounted police maintained in Paris by the royal government under the old régime.

answered their purpose so long. This gave the illusion of an entirely new France.

After Louis XVI had publicly accepted the Constitution (4 February 1790) the supporters of the old régime lost all hope of restoring the past, and in the army the antagonism between officers and men was particularly strong. The navy, too, was disorganized by emigration of royalist officers. A lack of discipline increased rapidly in the barracks and arsenals. Little attention was paid to this because the National Guard flattered the vanity of the country and gave an illusion of military power. A wave of sincere and boisterous enthusiasm swept over France in the shape of semi-warlike meetings to form 'Federations'. These, with their processions, oaths, banners, badges, and fraternal embraces may seem ridiculous to-day, but they were genuinely effective in impressing the men of the time with the idea that national unity had been achieved. The Federation of the 14th July 1790 at Paris, on the Champ de Mars, with its deputation of National Guards from all over France, called forth intense enthusiasm, and above all gave the impression that the patriotic ideal of 'la Patrie', the fatherland for which all were united, had become a reality.

This impressive manifestation was the best answer to the 'emigration' which had been emptying France of so many of the former privileged classes since the 14th July 1789.

There was a first emigration inspired by panic fear and bitter party spirit that might well be open to severe criticism. There was a second emigration, the result of those lawless outbreaks of violence which were a widespread menace to life and property; after all, it was impossible to wait quietly at home until an armed band came to burn down the country house and drive away the owners. These refugees, however, made the mistake of assembling just outside the frontier, forming an army and announcing their intention of coming back to France to re-establish their lost authority by force of arms, and talking of revenge and inciting foreign powers to join in it. This arrogant, ill-advised conduct of the *émigrés* was a powerful factor in ensuring the internal success of the Revolution.

The *émigrés* at Coblenz were almost as hostile to the King as to the Revolution, and Louis XVI would probably have sided with the latter if the religious question had not been raised. The King was a genuinely sincere Catholic and nothing could make him waver in his loyalty to the Church. When he saw the National Assembly devising a civil constitution of the clergy, he already felt that he was too weak to set up an effective opposition, but he resolved not to sanction a schismatic institution which endangered his eternal salvation. The Head of the Church was in no hurry to pronounce a formal condemnation; the King took advantage of this and avoided a veto which would have turned public opinion against him; he negotiated with the Pope. Pius VI could not take any decisive action till the new legislation had been carefully examined, and it was clear that no arrangement could be arrived at that would protect the Church in France from being transferred into a mere civil department of the State. At last he condemned the civil constitution of the clergy (13 March 1791). Most of the bishops endorsed this judgement and a great part of the lower clergy refused to take the new oath; this led to a split between 'jurors' and 'defaulters' (*Jureurs et Refractaires*) and to a civil war of religious opinion. Racked with anxiety, Louis XVI could not accept personally the ministry of schismatic priests, so he made up his mind to receive his Easter Communion at Saint-Cloud. A riot prevented his leaving the Tuileries; this was the last drop which made the cup overflow. He had resigned himself to every affliction, every concession, but this last outrage decided him to take to flight. Instead of fleeing to the provinces and calling upon them to rally to his side, as Mirabeau had advised, he made the mistake of trying to find refuge with the Austrian army across the frontier.

On the night of the 20th June 1791 that ill-fated adventure was begun which succeeded so well up to the moment of the arrival at Varennes. Four days later Louis XVI and his family returned as prisoners to the Tuileries, thus ending half the journey which was to lead them to the scaffold. The flight to Varennes gave rise to an avowed republican movement; the

King's dethronement was openly discussed. But he was already stripped of all effective power. It was like the experiment of a provisional republic.

The Republic was not to come for another year, but it was being led up to under the guidance of the clubs or political societies, the most famous of which were the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, and the Feuillants. Here the parties faced one another and took stock of one another before laying those resolutions before the National Assembly which the latter no longer had the means to reject, not even sometimes to discuss.

The National Constituent Assembly, though it protested that it knew nothing of party spirit, actually included rival groups that were ready enough for a quarrel. Though they bore a variety of names they might be classed under two heads: 'aristocrats' and 'patriots'. The debates on the Constitution brought new groupings into existence. But it was not so much parties as individuals that became household words in the history of those troublous times. Among the aristocrats were d'Épréménil and the younger Mirabeau. The former was among the parliamentarians who had paved the way for the Revolution and now cursed it. The latter seemed to be less the enemy of the Revolution than of his own brother, who had made himself its spokesman. The Abbé Maury tried to play a brilliant part with the aid of an undisputable eloquence. These formed the Right and next came the 'Central Right' in which the '*Monarchistes*' Mounier, Malouet, and Clermont-Tonnerre were the most noteworthy; they were too honest to fight on equal terms with their opponents, who succeeded in suppressing them. The 'Centre' comprised the 'Constitutionals', authors of the Constitution of 1789-91, and amongst whom there was a certain number of Jacobins. Prominent men of the Centre were Sieyès, Camus, La Fayette, and Bailly. After the King's flight to Varennes, all these found themselves at a disadvantage in presence of more extreme politicians. The left wing included Adrien Duport, Alexandre de Lameth, and Barnave who had a following of a group of about thirty deputies but whose prestige also did not survive the flight to Varennes. The extreme left

consisted of future terrorists who were still cautious: Robespierre, Dubois-Crancé, Prieur de la Marne, and men like Buzot and Pétion who were ready to resort to violence.

One man of genius alone swayed this group of varied talents: Mirabeau. He was the only one to foresee what the outcome of the Revolution might be; his dream was to lead and control it and he was capable of doing so.

No one was more sincerely anxious and actively zealous for a complete break with the absolutism of the past, but he fully realized the danger of a time of widespread and radical changes in the State drifting into a chaos of ruinous disorder. His hope was to rally all moderate men to the creation of a constitutional monarchy, with a ministry responsible to a parliament, which he would have modelled on that of England. From his election to the States-General till his death, not quite two years later, he was working day and night for his ideal. His eloquence won him a leading place in the Assembly and was equally effective with the popular audience of the clubs. He formed a group of assistants to collect information and extend, by journalism and correspondence, his influence to the provinces. He gained touch with the court, and negotiated with men of moderate views, and he counted on success when the end came of these two years of strenuous effort. He was in his forty-second year, but earlier years of reckless dissipation had undermined his strength. In the early weeks of 1791 he found his sight was failing. One evening in March he returned from an oratorical triumph in the Assembly, and told his friends he was worn out with the effort, and that 'he had received his death blow'. He died on the 2nd April. His death was a misfortune for France, and there was no one to replace him. A public funeral, with a procession that stretched for miles, escorted his remains to the Pantheon. But some time later, in the days of the Terror, on the discovery of his letters among the King's papers, he was denounced as a traitor to the cause of liberty and his coffin was dragged out of the Pantheon. History has vindicated his memory, so far as to recognize that he was a loyal friend of ordered freedom in France.

After completing the Constitution, the National Assembly dissolved (30 September 1791). Some parts of its ambitious achievement have survived, and have proved to be useful elements in the national life of France under the many phases of government since the sweeping changes of the Revolution.

37. THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

(1 OCTOBER 1791–20 SEPTEMBER 1792)

The Legislative Assembly was to be the new constitutional parliament of all France, elected every second year, and meeting and adjourning as it willed without reference to any royal decree. The first (and, as it proved, the last) of these elections had taken place in the closing weeks of the Constituent Assembly, which, by a self-denying ordinance, had decided that none of its members were to be candidates for the new Assembly. It held its opening meeting on the 1st October 1791, the day after the Constituent Assembly ended its proceedings. It lasted only till the 20th September 1792, when it dissolved after decreeing the creation of a new kind of legislature, unknown to the Constitution.

During this brief existence the Legislative Assembly issued more than 3,000 decrees, intended to 'make the Constitution work' and safeguard the new freedom. Steps were taken to enforce the Civil Constitution of the clergy, which made the Catholic Church in France a department of the State, and imposed an oath of obedience to the King and nation that barred all authority of the Holy See. The Constituent Assembly had decreed freedom for all religious professions and then definitely subjected the Catholic hierarchy and clergy to the official regulation of a government department, as thoroughly as Peter the Great had subjected the Orthodox Church of Russia to the control of bureaucratic absolutism. On the 29th November 1791 the Legislative Assembly decreed that all prelates and priests must take the oath of submission within a week. The King refused to sanction it. Six months later (27 May 1792) a new decree condemned recusant priests to banishment from

France. If they did not go at once they were liable to ten years' imprisonment or deportation to the penal settlement of Cayenne. Again the King used his right of veto—now almost the only right left to him. Attempts to enforce the oath were already causing widespread troubles in France. Some priests submitted, but most of them had recourse to passive resistance, refusing the oath and trying to carry on their usual round of duty, without even asking for the pittance allotted to the *curés* by the law. There were ugly outbreaks of degraded mob violence in Paris and some of the large cities, with cruel and indecent attacks on defenceless priests and nuns, which were recorded in the papers and broadsheets of the extremists as 'patriot protests against the enemies of freedom'. From the west and other parts of France came reports that the conforming clergy were shunned by the Catholics, and priests expelled from their parishes were going about in disguise and saying Mass in secret. The bishops had nearly all refused the oath. Talleyrand had resigned his see of Autun in January 1791, adopted lay dress, and gone off to London on a diplomatic mission. The ministers appointed some few officially created bishops from amongst the conforming priests. One of them startled even the Assembly by flinging his pectoral cross on the floor and declaring it was time to get rid of all emblems of superstition and servility.

This disturbing conflict between the old Church and the new State was not the only trouble of the time. There was fierce civil war in the south, in and around Avignon. The city and the surrounding district had been for centuries Papal territory. With all France astir for the new birth of 'liberty', no wonder there were movements in Avignon and its subject towns for union with the rest of the country, and the end of the rule of a delegate from Rome. Months of strife, with wild times of outbreaks and repression came at last to the siege of Avignon, and its capture by an improvised army under one Jourdan of Carpentras, soon to be known as Jourdan Coupe-Tête (or Headsman): for, after sending to the Assembly an announcement of his success and the union of Avignon with France, he began a premature reign of terror. This ended in surrender to a govern-

ment force, and his flight, capture, and amnesty, though it had been found that more than a hundred corpses of his victims were rotting in a tower of the old castle. In many other places of France there were local outbreaks of disorder, mostly begun with a wild alarm that the aristocrats were planning a massacre of the patriots. In this autumn of 1791 that saw the troubles of Avignon there came news from the French West Indies that in San Domingo (Hayti) and other islands the negroes were, quite logically but with embarrassing haste, declaring that the Rights of Man knew no mere distinction of colour, and there must be an end of slavery. They were donning the tricolour badge and when an attempt was made to keep them at work they had begun burning the houses of the planters, and civil war, with panic of the white minority, was sweeping through the islands.

But most of all there was anxiety about the growing strength of the 'emigrant' army in the German borderland. Coblenz was no longer its head-quarters. It had moved up the Moselle to form a camp at Trèves, close to the frontier of Lorraine, and had in command the heir of a famous name, the Prince of Condé, who had done good service in the Seven Years' War. In one of its earlier sessions the Assembly had resolved that a decree should be issued that unless the emigrants dispersed they should be treated as conspirators and outlawed with confiscation of their property in France, and the King had interposed his veto (9 November 1791). In the first days of 1792, without referring the business to the King, the Assembly organized a 'High Court of Justice' at Orleans, to deal with the property of these enemies of France by its judgements. In August 1791 Queen Marie-Antoinette's brother, the Emperor Leopold of Austria, had met Frederick William of Prussia, at the château of Pillnitz, near Dresden. They issued a joint declaration that the restoration of order in France was 'a common interest of all European sovereigns'. This was taken to be a menace of intervention, with Condé's levies as the vanguard of an invasion. But actually at that time neither Austria nor Prussia had any inclination for war with France. The chief business debated at Pillnitz was another partition of Poland. The Emperor and the King hoped

for a reaction in France, and Condé's army was tolerated as a useful factor in such a change of affairs.

In France there was a growing agitation for war. It would be a war with the central powers, and there was a widespread belief that success would be easily won. Had not deputations from many countries appeared at the bar of the Assembly to congratulate the French people on their new freedom? Amongst others there had even been a deputation of 'Whigs' from England. It was expected that if French armies crossed the frontier the oppressed peoples would rise in arms to welcome and aid them. Even foreign armies might renounce the 'tyrants' and fraternize with the armies of liberty. 'Let us tell Europe', said an orator of the Jacobin Club, 'that if cabinets engage the Kings in a war against Peoples, we will engage the Peoples in war against the Kings.'

There were three centres of political action in Paris, the Assembly, the Hôtel de Ville, and the Jacobin Club. There was more talk than action in the Assembly. It wasted much of its time in receiving patriotic deputations. Amongst the many decrees that it added to the immense list of such resolutions, it declared that priests who had taken the oath possessed the full rights of citizens, including the right to marry, and presently it welcomed to its bar with much congratulatory oratory the first priest who came with his 'wife' to thank them. Presently it was to be busy with decrees for arming and beginning the great war with the 'tyrants'. But two forces were coming rapidly into power which were of more practical importance than the Legislative Assembly. In the secularized and desecrated chapel in the rue St.-Honoré that had once belonged to the Dominicans (popularly known in Paris as the Jacobins, from the dedication of their Paris priory to St. James—St. Jacobus) a political Club, formed in 1789, took its name from its meeting-place. With its branches in many other cities and its daily meetings for the frank discussion of affairs, it became a centre of initiative and propaganda for the men of the Extreme Left, the Jacobin party. At the municipal elections of 1791 the Jacobins had secured a majority in the City Council, the 'Commune' of Paris, at the

Hôtel de Ville, and in nearly all the local councils of the 'arrondissements' or local municipal districts of the capital. Bailly, the moderate, had been succeeded as Mayor of Paris by Pétion, a thorough-going 'patriot' and 'friend of the people'. The district councils decided to attach permanent deputations of their members to the central council at the Hôtel de Ville and thus there had come into being a Revolutionary *Commune de Paris*, which was soon the real government of Paris and a rival to the Assembly.

On the 24th April the Assembly declared war against the Austrian Emperor and 'his allies'. The King gave his sanction. No other course was open to him. Prussia soon declared for Austria. Neither party was ready for immediate war. The French army was disorganized. It had lost many of its best officers by the emigration, and political zeal counted for more than military capacity in those who replaced them. Austria and Prussia had no large force in western Germany or the Austrian Netherlands. It would be some time before any serious operations would begin. There were only some minor skirmishes on the frontier. The first of these was on the Netherlands border near Lille on the 29th April, when a French detachment came in contact with an Austrian outpost, and broke and fled at the first volley, to the cry of *Nous sommes trahis*.

The Assembly decreed the formation of three armies, under Rochambeau, La Fayette, and Lückner, and steps were taken to arouse the spirit of the nation. Meanwhile, gossip said the real peril was 'the Austrian Committee', a court party that favoured the enemy. The King was accused by popular report of correspondence with Austria and Prussia. There was a perilous day on the 20th June when citizen deputations penetrated into the Tuileries and trouble was averted only by the good-humoured courage of the King, who found fair words to avert any dispute. After this the palace gates were kept closed and guarded by the Swiss.

It had been decided that on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille there should be a Feast of the Federation of the Nation, and a review of detachments of the National Guard from all

parts of France. The most notable of these deputations was that of the men of Marseilles, who marched 600 miles to be present. They had for their marching song the *Chant de Guerre*, written on the declaration of war by a young poet and musician of Strasbourg, Rouget de Lisle, and as yet unheard in Paris. Its ringing appeal and its stirring music caught the popular fancy, and as the 'Marseillaise' it became the national anthem of the wars of the Revolution.

Louis XVI was present at the feast, the last time he ever left the Tuileries as a free man. His friends feared for his life, when his brief speech to the armed 'Federates' was answered, not by 'Vive le Roi' but by cries of 'Vive Pétion', 'Vive la Nation'.

The orators of the Jacobin Club were calling for the King's deposition, denouncing him as in secret league with the enemy: arguing there was no need of a successor, neither a boy king with a Regency, nor the rule of Orleans or his son who posed as Liberals. As for the King's brother, he had slipped quietly out of France in the week of Varennes and was an outlaw. So for the first time there was open talk of a Republic. The Assembly was busy with decrees for defence against the foreigner; the rival Government at the Hôtel de Ville, the Commune of Paris, was quietly organizing for war against 'the enemy at home', the King, the court, the 'aristocrats' in general. The Marseilles men had been kept in Paris and more of them invited. The Hôtel de Ville was organizing a Revolutionary army of the National Guard. Recusant priests and 'aristocrats' were being denounced and crowded into the prisons, until there was no room left, and a new prison was organized for refractory prelates and priests at the Carmes, the suppressed monastery of the Carmelites. Preparations were in full progress for dealing with 'the enemies of the people'.

At the Tuileries there was a plan being worked out for rescuing the King from this palace prison. He was to escape to Rouen and appeal to the men of the north to protect him. A chain of posts was being established along the Seine Valley. But Louis hesitated to make the stroke for freedom and safety till it was too late.

In these days after the Feast of the Federation news came

from the frontiers that the Austrians in the Netherlands were concentrating for a march on Lille; that the King of Sardinia had joined the Allies, and there might be an invasion of Provence; and, most important of all, the main army of the Kings was mustering in the Moselle Valley, Prussians, Austrians, and Hessians, with the French aristocrat army of Condé for their vanguard at Trèves. The Duke of Brunswick was in command, one of Frederick the Great's old generals, with his headquarters at Coblenz. The Assembly declared by decree that 'The country (*la Patrie*, the Fatherland) was in danger', and the fact was impressed on Paris by making Sunday the 22nd July anything but a day of peace. Salvoes of cannon and alarm peals from the steeples woke the city. Minute guns fired all day. National Guards were posted on bridges and in every open space. An armed procession paraded the streets, headed by Pétion and a deputation of the Commune, halting again and again with roll of drums, and a proclamation that *the Country was in danger*. Tents were erected in every square, with the tricolour flying, and tables at which citizens were invited to enrol in the new armies.

In the week that followed this exciting day Brunswick sent out from Coblenz a most unwise proclamation of warning to France. It is said (and it is likely) that he doubted about its having any useful effect, and that it was drafted by some of Condé's officers attached to his staff. The Duke declared that he came not as the enemy of France, but to deliver the people from the tyranny of the Jacobins. French officers in command of troops were invited to assist him, and commandants of fortresses were warned that they must keep them in good order for the service of the King and welcome the Allies. National Guards and members of other local levies taken in arms would not be recognized as regular soldiers and would be shot. If there were any attack on the King of France or if the Paris authorities removed him to some other place, Paris would suffer 'military execution' and all the terrors of fire and sword. These wild threats helped the recruiting and made the war for thousands of the peasantry a war of self-defence.

Friday the 10th August brought insurrection organized from the Hôtel de Ville. The tocsin rang at dawn for a converging march of the new revolutionary levies against the Tuileries. There were some feeble attempts to preserve order and avert bloodshed, but these proved useless. The palace was surrounded, and cannon levelled against it, and by 8 a.m. the King left it, accepting a proposal that with his wife and children he should take refuge in the adjacent hall of the Assembly, once the royal riding school. Then came tragedy. The Swiss Guard received no orders to withdraw, they were not told that the King had left the palace; they knew only their orders to hold the north-western approach, and when the National Guards, with the men of Marseilles in front, after a preliminary burst of cannon fire, tried to rush the gates, they met the attack with steady fire and bold countercharges, till weight of numbers and entrance at other points prevailed, and a horrible massacre of these brave regulars followed. Then the palace was sacked from throne room to wine cellars.

The helpless Legislative Assembly, after declaring that the Royal Family was safe under its protection, passed a decree that was practically an abject surrender, and abolition of the Constitution—a legislative suicide. It declared that such an emergency had arisen that a special National Convention was to be created. It was to be elected by manhood suffrage, and take over the government and defence of the country. It was an abdication that handed over France to the improvised government of the Paris Commune, and the inspiration of the Jacobin Club.

As for these new elections with open voting, and political terrorism in the ascendant, the Convention was certain to represent chiefly the left and the extreme left. It would be dangerous to vote against a 'patriotic candidate'. Terrorism was being rapidly organized. In Paris after the sack of the Tuileries, Danton, the Minister of Justice, who had declared that fear must be stricken into all enemies of 'liberty' organized a special court of justice and the guillotine was set to work. There were house-to-house searches for 'aristos', several execu-

tions, some outbreaks of lynch law, more victims for the prisons. The High Court of Orleans was ordered to send its prisoners for trial by the Paris tribunal. They were mostly murdered by a mob as they passed through Versailles. The King, his wife, sister, and children were prisoners, not yet in name but in fact. After they had been three days under the 'protection of the Assembly' it was decided that for their better security they should be sent to the Temple, the old tower of the Knights Templars in north-west Paris. The King's freedom was now limited to a walk in its walled garden.

The British Ambassador had left France, for no government to which he was accredited now existed. La Fayette threw up his command in the north and rode off to Liège to surrender to the Austrians. From the west came reports of armed royalist movements in La Vendée, and on the 19th August, Brunswick, with the main Allied army, crossed the frontier.

The little fortress of Longwy surrendered on the 23rd. On the 30th the Allies began their attack on Verdun. On Sunday, the 2nd September, the place capitulated, and days of horror followed in Paris. One strange fact is that on that summer morning the report ran round Paris that Verdun, some eighty miles away, had fallen—'betrayed to the invaders'—a report anticipating the event. Bells rang the tocsin as if the Allies were already close to the capital. Crowds collected round the seven prisons, and what was undoubtedly an organized massacre of the prisoners began. There were squads of pikemen and swordsmen gathered at the gates. At each prison another group within formed an improvised court that spared few, and thrust the rest out one by one to be massacred and mangled. Roland, the Home Secretary, sent a feeble protest to the Hôtel de Ville, where the officials of the Commune were actually paying the 'executioners'. The life of Paris pursued its normal course, and even the theatres were open. The Commune arranged for the corpses to be carted to pits in the cemeteries. The Committee of Public Safety sent a circular to other cities, happily without much result, calling on them to follow the example of Paris, where the patriots, before marching to defend the country, had

disposed of its secret enemies. At the improvised prison of the Carmes four bishops and more than a hundred priests were victims of the massacre. (The old monastery is now the home of the 'Institut Catholique', the Catholic University College of Paris.)

The alarm at the fall of Verdun is one of the instances of political war propaganda that have been an evil feature of many wars. Paris was in no immediate danger, and the Allied advance was soon checked by the bold strategy of General Dumouriez, who had succeeded La Fayette in command of the 'Army of the Centre' in north-eastern France. He was a veteran of the old Royal army who had thrown in his lot with the Revolution. By forced marches he seized the passes of the wooded Argonne hill country, then a wilder and more difficult tract of ground than it is at present, with its woodlands extending southward from the Netherlands border to the west of Verdun. He called up reinforcements under another veteran, Kellerman, from Lorraine. On the 5th September the Allies began crossing the Meuse, and in a deluge of rain advanced to force the five passes of the Argonne. Dumouriez had fortified them with barricades and entanglements of felled trees, and for nearly a fortnight the advance of the invaders was held, on the wretched country roads in the forest valleys with miserable weather making all movement difficult, and with illness of various kinds thinning their ranks. By the middle of the month the northern passes were forced, but farther south the barrier was safe and Dumouriez was holding strongly the Verdun-Châlons road, the only good road of the country.

Moving the main body of his army through the captured passes, Brunswick now faced to the south-west, his army pushing on by sodden country roads and cart tracks. His object was to outflank the French, reach the well-paved Verdun-Paris road, and march on the French capital by that old highway of invasions the Marne valley west of Châlons. Dumouriez swung back his line, the right still holding the southern Argonne, the general front looking to the north. On the 20th September the Allies attacked, their main effort being on the extreme French

right, where Kellerman held the high ground crowned by the mill of Valmy. That day saw the one important action of the campaign, the battle sometimes called the 'cannonade of Valmy'.

Brunswick seems to have believed he had only raw improvised battalions in his front, and they could be broken by heavy fire of artillery followed by the attacks of columns of the Allied infantry. The popular legend of the day still describes it as a victory that showed the unexpected steadiness of the new patriotic levies of France. But the critical position on the French left had been entrusted by Kellerman to regiments of long service, and his batteries were commanded and manned by professional gunners, of the French regular artillery, then the best or among the best in Europe. There was an effective reply to the Allied cannonade and the French line was unshaken. Twice only, first in the opening hours of the battle, and afterwards just before its close, a column of attack was sent against the Valmy height. In neither case did it come to close quarters. It was held by the musketry and artillery fire of the defence. The French made no counter-attack. Brunswick at last broke off what he described as an indecisive engagement. It was a victory for the French that proved to be a turning-point in history.

In Paris on this same day of Valmy the Legislative Assembly held its last session, and its successor, the National Convention, took its place. Its first act of importance was to decree that the reign of Louis XVI was ended.

38. THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

(20 SEPTEMBER 1792-26 OCTOBER 1795)

The National Convention, which met at the Tuileries on the 20th September 1792, and whose first important act was the abolition of royalty in France, and then the proclamation of the Republic, though it claimed to represent the French nation, had been elected under conditions that made it representative only of the dominant revolutionary parties. Though it was supposed to be chosen by universal manhood suffrage it has been estimated that less than 10 per cent. of the possible voters went to

the polls. Leaving out of account various minor groups it may be said that at the outset there were two parties in the Convention, the moderates known as the Girondists¹ and the extreme left, popularly known as the Montagnards. The former were in the majority, but the real power was in the hands of the extremists, for they were backed by the Commune of Paris, the informal government installed at the Hôtel de Ville, which had under its control the revolutionary army of Paris formed by the National Guards. The men of the Hôtel de Ville had already shown that they could at any moment let loose this formidable armed force against any opponents of their policy.

The victory of Valmy, and the pitiful retreat of Brunswick's army, that followed it, were well calculated to exalt the national pride and the confidence of the revolutionary leaders and revived Richelieu's idea of acquiring 'the boundaries of ancient Gaul', regarded as 'the natural frontiers of France'. Dumouriez, with the armies of the north, invaded the Austrian Netherlands, and his victory of Jemappes on the 6th November opened the way to the rapid conquest of Belgium. On the 19th November the Convention passed a decree offering its help to all or any of the peoples of Europe who wished to win their freedom, and followed this up on the 15th December by an order to all French generals, wherever they were in command, to proclaim the sovereignty of the people and the abolition of all feudal laws and privileges.

The first peoples to be thus 'delivered' were the Flemings and Walloons of the Austrian Netherlands, the Belgium of to-day. Mostly they resented rather than welcomed the new democratic rule introduced by the invaders. Even the French-speaking Walloons were not responsive to the message brought by Dumouriez. The French armies made war support itself and there were protests against the exactions of the Commissaries of the Convention. It was also not pleasant to have to exchange good silver money for French *assignats* or paper francs. But most of all these liberated people could not understand why in the name

¹ 'Les Girondins'—so called because several of their leading men came from the region of the Gironde in the south-west of France.

of freedom their historic abbeys, convents, and colleges should be suppressed.

This conquest of the Austrian Netherlands was one of several successes for the new armies of France. In the south the Piedmontese made a poor fight and Savoy and Nice were won, and in the centre Custine, with the army of the Rhine, captured Landau and still more important Mainz, at the junction of Rhine and Main, the valley of the latter being the gateway into central Germany. It may be noted that these fairly easy conquests were partly the result of Austria and Prussia treating the French war as something of secondary importance, and keeping the pick of their armies in the east, in connexion with a further partition of unhappy Poland. But in the new year of 1793 their losses in the first campaign made them deal more seriously with the war in western Europe.

On the 6th November 1792 (the day of Jemappes) the deposed King had been for the first time arraigned at the bar of the Convention, and accused of treason against the nation. After further sessions in which the Convention acted as the Supreme Court of France, despite protests that the whole question should be referred to the people, or to some more regular tribunal, the end came in the first month of the New Year. A vote by a narrow majority condemned Louis to death, a second vote decided there must be no appeal to the people, no delay. On Tuesday, the 21st January, he met his death courageously under the axe of the guillotine erected in front of the Tuileries, where not a few victims had already died and hundreds more were to be sacrificed. His execution sent a thrill of horror through Europe, and soon inspired revolt in France itself. Despite the decree of the Convention the tragedy was the work not of the French people, but of a triumphant faction.

England had so far been neutral. Pitt had clung as long as possible to his policy of peace, declaring that what was passing in France was a matter of internal French politics. The September massacre had called forth in England a movement for intervention. The aggressive policy proclaimed by the Convention was denounced as the proclamation of hostility to all

established governments and the execution of the King gave a new impulse to the public feeling against the revolutionary government. But it was the menace to Holland and the re-opening of the Scheldt to general commerce in violation of treaties that supplied the actual *casus belli*, and led to the English preparations to send a British army to Ostend, under the Duke of York, a son of King George. The Convention, knowing this intervention was imminent, formally declared war against both Holland and England. An early result was the appearance of blockading squadrons off the French ports. In the first years of his reign Louis XVI had done much to increase the efficiency of the French navy. But it had been neglected and disorganized by the Revolution. The dockyards were almost idle, and the fleet lost large numbers of its officers, sons of Breton and Norman families, with a long tradition of service on the sea, whose personal loyalty to the King and the old Faith of France led to their resigning their commissions.

The campaign of 1793 opened with a series of French defeats. In February Dumouriez had invaded Holland, leaving one of his corps to besiege Maestricht. Two Austrian armies crossed the frontier. While one of them under Beaulieu advanced towards Namur the main army under the Duke of Coburg raised the siege of Maestricht and marched on Louvain. Dumouriez fell back to Brussels. At Neerwinden on the 18th March he was badly beaten by Coburg and retreated to the French frontier, abandoning all the gains of the year before. Regarding the position as hopeless, and angered at the disorders in Paris and above all the execution of the King, he made a secret offer to Coburg to join forces with him and 'restore order' in France. His loyalty was already suspected, and in any case he had committed the crime of failure that sent unlucky generals to the guillotine. The Minister of War, Beurnonville, with three delegates from the Convention, arrived in his camp to arrest him. He handed them over to the Austrian outposts and then, finding that his army would not follow him, rode off himself to Coburg's head-quarters with some of his officers and an escort of German hussars.

On the Rhine Custine was driven back to the border, leaving a detachment besieged in Mainz, which held out heroically till it was starved into surrender in the summer. Custine went to the guillotine, by sentence of the Revolutionary Tribunal established in Paris, where the direction of affairs was now in the hands of a 'Committee of Public Safety' organized by Danton as 'Minister of Justice'.

Five armies were now invading France. La Vendée was ablaze with successful rebellion, western Normandy was stirring with revolt, and several cities of the south, notably Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon, were arming against the 'bloodthirsty tyranny' of the Paris factions. In Paris itself the Commune and the Jacobin Club denounced the moderates of the Gironde party as responsible for the country's misfortunes. On the 28th May there was a menacing demonstration against them, and on the 2nd June armed insurrection. The tocsin called the National Guards to arms, and the Tuileries were surrounded by armed forces, blockading the Convention. General Henriot replied to their protests that they were 'surrounded only by their friends' but there must be an end of weakness, and the twenty-two most prominent men of the Girondists must be expelled and arrested. The only concession that was made was that for the present they would be under guarded arrest in their own homes. They soon went to prison and finally to the guillotine.

The Convention, now dominated by the extremists, declared the anniversary of its surrender to be henceforth a national festival, as if it were a triumph of freedom, not a capitulation to armed force. Civil war was spreading through several districts. In June the rising was crushed out in Normandy, but a girl of Caen went to Paris and stabbed Marat, the inspirer of violence and terrorism since the massacres of September. She went to the guillotine exulting in her deed. While new armies were levied by conscription to meet the allies on the frontiers, others marched against the revolted cities of the south. Marseilles was captured on the 25th August. Lyons was starved into surrender on the 9th October after a ten weeks' siege. The Convention decreed that it should be razed to the ground, and there were

some demolitions of the houses of wealthy citizens. There were wholesale executions, some of them organized massacres, when as many as a hundred victims were drawn up in a long line, shot down with volleys of musketry, and the wounded finished with the bayonet. At Toulon the insurgents had seized the warships in the dockyard and the forts on the adjacent heights and at the harbour mouth; Admiral Hood, with a British squadron, had come to their help and landed troops—British and Spanish. Week after week Toulon held out, while the plans of the Paris officials were followed, and the land front of the place was attacked. In December it was taken by the new plan of attacking and capturing the great fort that protected the harbour entrance, and turning heavy batteries on the British warships that crowded the harbour, forcing them to put to sea, and cutting off all sea-borne supplies. The attack was planned and carried out by a young Corsican artillery officer, Commandant Bonaparte. It was the first step in his rise to influence, high command, and empire.

The fall of Toulon ended the rising of the south. In the west the Vendean insurrection was being trampled out. Carrier, the delegate of the Committee of Public Safety at Nantes, was engaged in a horrible assize of vengeance. The guillotine was at work, but worked too slowly for his ideas, and he invented a system of wholesale executions by crowding his prisoners (amongst them numbers of priests) into coasting craft and sending them down the river to be scuttled and sunk, drowning his victims in the sea.

In Paris, with the extremists in control, and Robespierre all but a dictator, terror and vengeance were the order of the day. The prisons were crowded with suspects, ex-Royalists, and Republicans of doubtful zeal. The churches were closed and plundered, and priesthood was under a ban. Each morning saw the Revolutionary Tribunal passing sentence on the victims of the day and in the afternoon a convoy of open carts conveyed them to the guillotine. All were tried by jury, but the juries were chosen for their readiness to condemn and there were few acquittals. Amongst the victims of the year were the Queen

(described in her indictment as the 'widow of Louis Capet'), the twenty-two Girondists who had been expelled from the Convention in June, with not a few leaders of the Revolution in its earlier phase, such as the Duke of Orleans and Bailly, the first Liberal Mayor of Paris. But terrorism alone could not have saved the Revolutionary Government. It did its work of crushing out all opposition, but side by side with it there was a new organization of the National Defence, and it was not the Terror alone that secured a marvellous response to the call for new armies to deal with both the internal enemies of the new régime and its foreign foes. There was the power to enforce enlistment, but there was also a marvellous readiness to volunteer. For besides patriotic zeal to meet the foreign invaders, there was among peasants and townsmen alike a dread that the victory of the Allies would mean a return to the old régime, and wholesale confiscations and reprisals—a White substituted for a Red Terror.

The Revolutionary Government had the good fortune to secure expert help to organize the new armies and make effective use of them. Carnot, an officer of engineers in the old Royal army, was the most useful of these. Though he claimed no military rank, as Citizen Carnot he became 'the organizer of victory'. It was his good fortune that after the Allied successes in the first months of 1793 Coburg, the Allied commander-in-chief, instead of concentrating his victorious armies for a bold push to Paris, lost time and opportunity in following the traditional plan of deferring any advance until he had reduced the frontier fortresses. He divided his forces to besiege the towns of the old Netherlands barrier, while, under orders from London, the Duke of York began a siege of the east front of Dunkirk, though the coast swamps made it impossible to cut off supplies from the place on its west front. Carnot reinforced the war-hardened remnant of the French forces on the frontier with his new levies and concentrating for a stroke, now here, now there, raised first the siege of Dunkirk in September and next month defeated Coburg at Wattignies and drove the Austrians across the Sambre. In Alsace Hoche forced the Austrians to raise the

siege of Landau, and drove them back to the frontier, storming the entrenched lines of Wissemburg in the last week of the year.

The tide of the Allied success was now on the ebb, and 1794 brought still greater successes for the Republican armies. In the spring numbers were on their side, some 180,000 men against about 150,000 of the Allies. Coburg hoped to advance on Paris in the summer, but he was still chiefly anxious, as a preliminary precaution, to capture the French frontier fortresses. In the spring he besieged Landrecies and concentrated an army for the hoped-for invasion of France by way of Lille. In April Pichegru, with the army of the north, advanced into west Flanders, menacing Coburg's line of supply, and with the occupation of Brussels as his objective. Landrecies surrendered to Coburg on the 24th April, but two days before he had alarming news. The French armies were over-running the Flanders flats, Pichegru was concentrating a strong force between Courtrai and Lille while his lieutenant Moreau was pushing towards Ypres. In the east another French army was over the Sambre and had badly beaten the Austrians under Kaunitz.

Coburg turned to deal with the western danger, but a first success was followed, on the 18th May, by a crushing defeat, in the battle of Tourcoing, north of Lille. An ill-combined attack of several columns ended in their being beaten in detail. York's British, Hanoverian, and Dutch force suffered severe loss, and the royal Duke himself owed his safety to the speed of his horse.

Coburg rallied his armies about Tournai, while the French captured Ypres and the Yser line in June. In the east of Belgium the French advance was reinforced by Carnot calling up Jourdan, with 40,000 veterans of the army of the Meuse, to reinforce the attack across the Sambre. The Allied communications with Germany were in deadly peril. Coburg concentrated all his available forces about Brussels. On the 26th June he was thoroughly defeated with heavy loss at Fleurus, some twenty-five miles south of Brussels, in the greatest battle of these campaigns of the Netherlands. The Belgian capital was abandoned and occupied by the French. A general retreat of the Allies

began, the main body eastward by Maestricht to the Rhineland and the British, Hanoverians, and Dutch into Holland.

Through the first six months of the year the Reign of Terror still held sway in Paris, and Robespierre seemed to be its permanent autocrat. He struck down all opponents. Hébert, with his colleagues who were proclaiming atheism and had organized the worship of the Goddess of Reason in Notre Dame, was sent to the guillotine, and Danton, accused of lack of zeal for the cause of liberty, soon shared the same fate. Robespierre seemed to be secure in his power when in June 1794 he announced the establishment of a deistic national religion, the worship of the 'Supreme Being', and headed the procession of the Convention to the Tuileries gardens for its solemn inauguration.

But the next month brought his downfall. The revolt against him in the Convention seemed to come with the suddenness of a summer thunderstorm. It was secretly organized in advance by men who felt that no life was safe under the autocratic terror of Robespierre. In the preceding seven weeks there had been 1,376 executions, and the Revolutionary Tribunal had been divided into four courts sitting simultaneously to accelerate this organized massacre. On the 10th June a decree had been issued that if the juries were satisfied with the case for the prosecution neither counsel nor witnesses were to be called for the defence. In July some 12,000 prisoners crowded the old and new prisons of Paris. No wonder men were ready to risk all things for an escape from this Reign of Terror.

At the meeting of the Convention on the 26th July Robespierre, for the first time, was heard in stony silence. At the next sitting, on the 27th, he was howled down, denounced as a tyrant and the enemy of the people and ordered under arrest with several of his colleagues. Some wild hours followed. Commandant Henriot, who the summer before had besieged the Tuileries and reduced the Convention to abject surrender, hoped to repeat the exploit, but only a mere fraction of the National Guard answered his call to arms. Robespierre and his friends were saved from arrest and took refuge at the Hôtel de Ville, under the protection of the Commune. The Convention

sat all through the night. It had put in command of the National Guards that rallied to its help Citizen Barras (once the Comte de Barras), a wealthy aristocrat who had thrown in his lot with the Revolution. He had served in old wars in India, and had acted as the Civil Delegate with the armies in defence of the Republic. He had got together a force sufficient to embolden the Convention to declare Robespierre and his supporters *hors de la loi*—outlaws doomed to death; and it ordered Barras to march on the Hôtel de Ville and arrest them. In the dawn of next day Henriot's levies, summoned by Barras to surrender, abandoned the defence of the Hôtel de Ville, and Robespierre and his friends and the members of the Commune were all made prisoners. That afternoon (28 July 1794, or according to the new Calendar of the Revolution, the 10th day of the month of Thermidor, Year II of Liberty)¹ Robespierre, with his brother and twenty others of his faction, were beheaded in front of the Tuileries, while the crowd cried out 'Down with the Tyrant! Long Live the Republic!'

The Revolution of Thermidor was followed by a reactionary Terror. Some seventy members of the Commune of Paris went to the guillotine on the 29th July, and twelve more next day. Terrorists were brought from the provinces to trial in Paris. Carrier went to the guillotine in December, after pleading in

¹ The introduction of the Republican Calendar was part of the policy of changing everything in France, even if it were only by giving things new names. It came into legal use on the 5th October 1793, starting its system with a new era, that of the 21st October 1792, the date of the proclamation of the Republic. From this its years were reckoned, 'Year 1' having nearly elapsed when it came into use. Its object was to abolish the week, the Sunday rest, and all the festivals of the Christian calendar. The year was divided into twelve months each of thirty days, the remaining five days of the year becoming Republican festivals. Each month was divided in three decades of ten days, each tenth day (the *decadi*) being a day of rest. The months were given new poetic names, taken from the weather and the life of the country-side, the system having the drawback that it was based on conditions only in the latitude of Paris and Central France. In Paris Brumaire (foggy month) and Nivôse (snowy month) might be correct enough in an autumn and winter month, but fogs in the former and snow in the latter would hardly occur in Marseilles and along the French Riviera. The calendar was in official use until in 1805 Napoleon published a decree abolishing it as 'a continual source of trouble and confusion', and ordered the Gregorian Calendar to come again into use on the New Year Day of 1806.

vain that his wholesale drownings at Nantes were carried out under orders from the then established government in Paris. The Convention was reinforced by moderates—the few Girondists who had escaped death the year before. It was busy reorganizing the Republic and preparing one more new Constitution for France. Paris presented strange contrasts of the poverty of the many and the extravagance of a new rich class. So long as the Committee of Public Safety had been in power the force of terror had been sufficient to compel people to accept the assignats. But now prices began to rise with great rapidity. As a result, the peasants refused to sell their food to the towns unless they chanced immediately to need goods in exchange for them. Bread in Paris was scarce, a system of rationing had to be introduced, and there were bread queues at the bakers' shops. But there was the rise of a new rich class, speculators and politicians who had gained wealth from the confiscations of church property and the forfeited estates of royalist emigrants and victims of the guillotine, and a new array also of well-paid officials and generals and army contractors who had prospered by successful campaigning. The winter of 1794–5 saw a reign of extravagance among the new rich and all who had money to spend, a mania for dances and banquets and a rage for the display of new fashions.

Order was restored in Paris, for the rival government of the Hôtel de Ville was gone, the Jacobin Club had been summarily suppressed, and the Convention found it an easy matter to stamp out a couple of minor disturbances. The victories on the frontiers had made it possible once more to station regular troops in the capital, and it was the army not the National Guard that dominated the situation. Young Bonaparte, now a general, was at the War Office assisting Carnot with plans of campaign. In the second half of 1794 there was unbroken success for the armies in the field. The Allies had abandoned Belgium. Holland was invaded. York's army of Hanoverians and British had retreated into Germany. The Republican armies were forcing the Austrians and Prussians across the Rhine. In the south the French had crossed the Pyrenees and were masters of

a great part of northern Spain. The year had brought only one defeat to the Republic, and that was on the sea. In the first important sea fight of the war, an ocean battle 400 miles out in the Atlantic west of Ushant on the 1st of June, Howe had defeated the French fleet, capturing six battleships and sinking a seventh. The battle secured England's command of the sea, resulting in the loss of many French colonies and a partial blockade of the coasts. But despite the blockade daring French privateers made not a few captures of British merchant craft.

In Holland the winter was a severe one, with not much snow, but weeks of hard frost that made the water defence of the country impossible, and turned every canal into a good roadway. In January 1795 Pichegru occupied Amsterdam, and proclaimed the new 'Batavian Republic' under the protection of France. His cavalry under Moreau marched across the frozen sea and secured the surrender of a fine Dutch squadron, helplessly ice-bound at the Texel. When the summer campaign of 1795 opened, the French front, now reinforced from the Netherlands, mustered nearly 200,000 men under Jourdan, Kléber, Marceau, and Pichegru, and on the lower Moselle and along the Rhine from Düsseldorf to Strasbourg the armies were operating on a front of some 200 miles.

Prussia was now more interested in Polish affairs than in her unsuccessful conflict with France. In the spring of 1795 peace negotiations were opened at Basel, and in May the treaties of Basel and The Hague restored peace between the Prussian King and the French Government, with the stipulation that northern Germany should not be made the scene of any further operations of the Republican armies. At the same time by further treaties Sweden, Spain, Portugal, and Naples followed Prussia's example and withdrew from the Coalition. England, Austria, and Piedmont were now the only Powers that continued the war. All western Germany and the Netherlands were dominated by the Republican armies, and on the 1st October 1795 the Convention declared that these conquests were to be '*part of France for evermore*'.

Under the new constitution that was to come into force at the

end of October, there was to be a Directory or governing committee with a legislature composed of an upper chamber of 'Elders' and a legislative assembly. When the first results showed that free elections to the legislative assembly would almost certainly return a sweeping royalist majority, the Convention hastily decreed that two-thirds of its own members should be appointed to the new assembly and only the remaining third elected. This virtual prolongation of its authority was one of the reasons put forward for the agitation in Paris that resulted in the last rising of the National Guard on the 5th October. Barras had once more been called upon by the Convention to provide for its safety and freedom. He named as his second-in-command General Bonaparte and left all the direction of the defence to him. The young soldier broke up the columns of the National Guard by sweeping the streets with salvoes of artillery and storming the rebel stronghold at the Church of St. Roch. It was an easy victory, the second great step in his rise to the mastery of France. Order having been thus reasserted in the capital, the National Convention, on the 26th October, declared that its mission was accomplished and closed its last session, some hundreds of its members at once becoming representatives of the people in the new legislature of the Directory.

39. EASTERN EUROPE

(UP TO 1796)

The first partition of Poland had left in existence a Polish State comprising a vast area with a population of 15 millions. Catherine II had decided to let the arrangement stand and Joseph II agreed, but Prussia wanted to lay hands on Danzig and Thorn which she had missed at the time of the 1772 partition. This question of Danzig and Thorn was the predominating influence in the eastern policy of Europe during the most critical period of the French Revolution. The first partition had finally enlightened many Poles who succeeded in bringing in several useful reforms.

There was a political revival which encouraged the Poles to

some hope of shaking off the yoke of Russia, which was at war with Turkey and Sweden and in strained relations with Prussia and England. Renascent Poland was faced with the question of an alliance: was it to be with Russia or Prussia? The Prussian party gained the day and, in March 1790, the Diet decided to conclude with Prussia an alliance which was to be one of mutual friendship, protection, and guarantees; each was to be ready with diplomatic assistance and, if necessary, with armed force to resist any foreign Power that might aim at interfering with the internal affairs of Poland. This, of course, meant Russia.

At the same time Poland elaborated a constitution which proclaimed Catholicism as the State religion but tolerated all other Christian faiths; it declared the throne to be hereditary, abolished that standing source of anarchy—the *liberum veto*, and divided power between the King, the Senate, and the Chamber. This wise constitution was promulgated on the 3rd May 1791, and accepted enthusiastically. Had it been passed two years earlier it might have saved the kingdom, but Catherine II was now on the point of concentrating all her forces against Poland. Prussia and Austria were becoming more and more involved in the affairs of France, so the Tsarina had a free hand in Poland, against which she had numerous grievances. Moreover, Frederick William II had no intention of saving his ally, for he was quite prepared—provided he obtained some advantage—to sacrifice Poland to Russia.

With all her problems solved by the peace of Jassy (9 January 1792), Catherine II once more employed the tactics which had succeeded twenty years before: a manifesto, on the 2nd February 1792, denounced the pernicious principles 'which had ruined France and would soon ruin Poland'. On the 14th May a manifesto drawn up at St. Petersburg denounced the new Polish Constitution, on the 19th an army of 100,000 Russians invaded Lithuania to guarantee the 'generous intentions' of the Empress and restore 'freedom and law' to the Republic. On the 31st May King Stanislaus Augustus invoked the assistance of the treaty which bound Poland and Prussia. Frederick William II replied that, from the moment the Tsarina formally opposed the

Constitution of the 3rd May the conditions provided for by the alliance had 'entirely changed'. In a word, the treaty no longer held good.

This Prussian treachery left Poland no alternative but war, and this with an army of barely 40,000 men, which was incapable of preventing the Russian armies from occupying Warsaw at the moment when the Prussian army invaded Greater Poland. On the 23rd January 1793 a Russo-Prussian treaty negotiated the Second Partition of Poland. Prussia took over all her objectives: Danzig, Thorn, Posen, Gnesen, about 2,000 square leagues; Russia's share was Lithuania, about 3,000 square leagues; Austria had no share in this partition. It only remained to make Poland herself ratify these iniquitous proceedings (22 July and 25 September). On the 16th October a treaty was concluded between Russia and what was left of Poland; on the 23rd November the Diet accepted a ready-made constitution issued from St. Petersburg. Nothing remained of the work accomplished on the 3rd May 1791.

In this disastrous situation a network of secret societies spread through the whole of what had formerly been Poland, and the revolt of the nation began at Cracow under the leadership of Kosciuszko, who scored some marked successes and forced the Russian Governor to take flight. A national government was set up in Warsaw, the revolt spread throughout the kingdom, and the struggle extended to the Prussian as well as Russian fronts (1794). After a few successes Poland, now opposed by Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, met defeat on the battlefield of Maciejowice (10 October 1794) where Kosciuszko was seriously wounded.¹ The storming of Praga (4 November) and the surrender of Warsaw (9 November) rendered further defence useless and impossible. On the 3rd January 1795 Russia and Austria agreed to the Second Partition as a preliminary to a Third. On the 24th October two treaties were signed between Russia and Prussia and between Russia and Austria. This time

¹ One of the legends of history is the often repeated story that as Kosciuszko fell he exclaimed, *Finis Poloniae!* He lived to deny this, protesting that it would have been a blasphemy to describe any defeat as the end of Poland, and declaring his firm belief that sooner or later her independence would be won.

Prussia annexed Warsaw, Russia seized all the rest of Lithuania and the Russian countries up to the Niemen and Bug; she also took Courland.

Before the French Revolution Catherine II had encouraged and protected the 'philosophers' and she was surprised at the results of their propaganda. So she now began to hunt down and mishandle every one connected with the Revolution, from the *Monarchistes* to the *Terroristes*. She did not stop there. In 1792 she drew up a Memoir on the means whereby the Royal power, feudal privileges, and the old parliaments could be re-established in France. After the Paris revolt of the 10th August 1792 the Tsarina broke off diplomatic relations with France. After the King's execution on the 21st January 1793 she had something of a nervous fit, but she never had any intention of sending a Russian army to help the Allies; Prussia, Austria, and Sweden should suffice for the arduous task of making France see reason. Brunswick's defeat at Valmy and the assassination of Gustavus III of Sweden merely put Catherine in an ill humour. She entertained and made much of the *émigrés*, presented the Comte d'Artois with a sword (there was a certain irony in this), and was annoyed to see that Prussia and Austria were taking too much interest in her Polish tactics. The end of the Polish conflict reassured her; she found it more profitable to oppose the 'Jacobins' anywhere rather than in Paris; she made ready for a war with Persia, whither she sent an army. Far from helping the coalition, she interfered with it and thwarted it in every possible way. On the 17th November 1796 Catherine II died suddenly.

40. THE DIRECTORY (1795-9)

The Constituent Assembly had prohibited the re-election of its members; the Convention ignored this precedent and insisted on the re-election of two-thirds of its members in the new Assembly. Out of 750 deputies in the two councils there were, therefore, 500 Conventionals and 250 newly elected members, of whom many were Royalists or Constitutional Monarchists. On the 30th October 1795 the Executive Directory was formed

consisting of five members, all Republicans but hostile to Jacobinism. The Government composed of these 'Directors' and their ministers was not strong enough to secure general respect and influence. The most praiseworthy achievement of the time was really not its work. This was the pacification of La Vendée, which was greatly to the credit of General Hoche, for he succeeded in persuading the peasants to lay aside their arms and return to the peaceful work of the country. The last two leaders who were taken in arms, Stofflet and Charette, were shot (25 February and 29 March 1796). In Brittany, *chouannerie*, a minor guerrilla warfare organized by the Comte de Frotte, lasted another three years.

Owing to the gaps made by the Terror in the ranks of all parties and still more amongst their chiefs, there did not seem to be a man left capable of leading the country. The moral impoverishment of France was as great as its material ruin, and a universal feeling of weariness had created a longing for the end of the era of organized violence for which the Terrorists were held responsible, the Royalist outbreaks being considered as mere isolated incidents. Some alarm was caused by two conspiracies—that of Babeuf, the nucleus of which was composed of Communists, and a Royalist conspiracy; but both failed (1797). However, the Royalist cause continued to make progress and the renewal of one-third of the Legislative Body at the close of the first year made this quite clear (20 May 1797). Paris elected Royalists or extreme Moderates; in the departments the enemies of the Directory won an easy victory. The Directory itself replaced one of its members by Barthélemy, a Monarchist who had negotiated the Treaty of Basel and who was the candidate of the Royalist club in the rue de Clichy.

Thereupon the Legislative Body attacked the Directory, which was split into two groups: Carnot and Barthélemy, who did not believe in the Royalist danger, and Barras, La Revelière, and Rewbell, who were preparing to attempt a *coup d'état* against the Royalists and Moderates, who were suspected of planning another *Thermidor*. On the 3rd September 1797 the leaders of the majority in the Council of Five Hundred decided

to vote on the following day for the indictment of Barras, La Revellière, and Rewbell. Bonaparte, who was then in Italy, reaping the results of his victorious campaigns against Austria, had shortly before been informed by Barras that a perilous situation was developing in Paris, and he had sent General Augereau to the capital to secure for his friends in the Directory the decisive support of the army. When Barras and his two colleagues learned of their danger, and met on the evening of the 3rd September to arrange a counter-stroke, they could depend on this armed help. Augereau took his orders from them, and the police took their orders from the army. The improvised Triumvirate signed warrants for the arrest of their colleagues Barthélemy and Carnot. The former went to prison that evening,¹ but warned in time Carnot escaped to Switzerland. A list of the members of the Legislature who were to be arrested that night was drawn up. The barriers at the old gates on every road out of Paris were closed and held by troops, and Augereau sent armed parties to occupy the halls in which the Councils of the Elders and of the Five Hundred usually met.

On the next day (4 September) the deputies who had not been arrested met and voted everything that the Directory required; they condemned sixty-five of their colleagues to deportation, decreed the penalty of death for *émigrés* who had returned to France and of deportation for priests; the newspapers were put under police supervision; many were suppressed and their editors deported. The elections of more than forty Departments in France were annulled. Military Commissions set up in thirty-two towns condemned about 160 people to death. This *coup d'état* (remembered in France as that of 'the 18th of Fructidor') gave one more proof that the liberty proclaimed by the Republic was now limited by the power of the sword.

The armies of the Directory were no longer animated by the same spirit as the armies of the Convention. Volunteers and conscripts had become professional soldiers, for whom the camp

¹ Barthélemy was deported to French Guiana, but escaped from this convict settlement and returned to France under the Consulate of Bonaparte. Carnot returned from exile at the same time.

had taken the place of the homestead. Enthusiasm, endurance, heroism were as great as at the beginning of the Revolution. The armies of the Rhine, commanded by Moreau, were better disciplined, more captivated by the idea of a Republic; the army of Italy, equally courageous, was beginning to idolize its gifted commander, who was leading it to the 'most fertile plains in the world', whence it was to return covered with glory and laden with riches. The earlier years of the war saw famous leaders whose names—Hoche, Marceau, Joubert, Dugommier, Championnet—are still part of the French tradition of military fame to-day. They are remembered as champions of freedom. Then there arose a generation whose names ring out like the clash of arms: Ney, Lannes, Desaix, Masséna, Augereau, Murat, Lasalle—but their fame is eclipsed by that of the great soldier Napoleon Bonaparte.

On the 11th March 1796 Bonaparte left Paris to take over the command of the army of Italy, for the situation on the frontiers had become difficult. Pichegru's treachery had prevented Jourdan from crushing two Austrian armies and compelled him to recross the Rhine. Moreau received the command of the army of the Rhine, and in April the war began again, first in Italy, then in Germany. The latter campaign revealed the only great military leader that Austria has produced in modern times—the Archduke Charles, brother of Francis II, aged twenty-six, one of the very few opponents of Napoleon who was in the same class as himself. The Archduke succeeded in driving Moreau and Jourdan out of Germany.

Henceforward Napoleon's star shone alone. From the first he asserted himself as the master obeyed by all. His studies of military history, inspired by his genius, had taught him the right tactics for Italy. He threw himself between the Austrian and Piedmontese armies, separated them, crushed the Piedmontese, turned against the Austrians, and pushed on from the Adda to the Adige, beating in succession four Austrian generals: Beaulieu, Wurmser, Alvinzi, the Archduke Charles, thereby becoming master of the whole of Northern Italy in three months. There had been a rapid succession of victories, Montenotte,

Millesimo, Mondovi, Lodi, Borghetto, Brescia, Peschiera, Verona, Legnano, before he reached the Adige and besieged Mantua. Between the 12th April and the 15th June one Austrian army was melting away; another appeared 70,000 strong. The French withdrew, Bonaparte struck in between the two Austrian forces and then came Lonato, Salo, Brescia, Castiglione, and the renewal of the siege of Mantua; Wurmser undertook a counter-offensive. This led to new victories for France—Roveredo, Calliano, Bassano, and after losing 27,000 men Wurmser took refuge in Mantua. D'Alvinzi's turn came next, with a force of 50,000 men against 38,000 French who retired from Verona, recrossed the Adige, and in three days (15-17 November) won Arcola and re-entered Verona by the Porta Venezia in triumph. And then, among the snow-covered spurs of the Alps, came the victory of Rivoli against 75,000 Austrians (14 January 1797). The Archduke Charles arrived, but Bonaparte was now advancing. He crossed the Piave, the Tagliamento, the Isonzo, and only stopped at Leoben, forty leagues from Vienna, where he granted an armistice (7 April 1797).

Bonaparte held Italy to ransom; the Directory merely regarded war as an opportunity to increase their wealth; gold, silver, jewels, works of art, manuscripts, passed from the hands of the conquered into those of the conqueror, whose glory was equalled by his cupidity. New states were created, republics were made, and as often re-made. The Italian princelings were treated without mercy. Bonaparte imposed his own will, taking the place of the Directory, to whom he sent millions and who no longer dared to contradict him. The treaties of Tolentino (19 February 1797) and of Campo-Formio (17 October 1797) consolidated the triumph of the French arms and Austria agreed to recognize the natural frontiers outlined by the Treaty of Basel. When he returned to Paris he might well imagine that he need set no bounds to his ambition.

Pitt had made an effort for peace in 1796, but the Directory showed no real willingness to negotiate, and a mission of Lord Malmesbury to Paris gave no result. The Directory was busy with plans for an expedition to Ireland and on Bonaparte's

return from Italy named him commander of a yet non-existent army for an invasion of England. An alliance had been formed with Spain, and there were hopes that the combined action of the French, Spanish, and Dutch Republican fleet would secure the command of the sea.

A French fleet had been fitted out at Brest in 1796, and Hoche was given the command of the 'High Seas Army' for an expedition against the English in Ireland; it left Brest on the 15th December 1796, escaped the English cruisers only to meet with a gale which scattered it and drove it back to Brest and La Rochelle. The Spanish fleet was beaten with heavy loss off Cape St. Vincent (14 February 1797) by Jervis, in a battle that made the name of Nelson famous.¹

In the summer a great fleet was fitted out in the Texel; but when this Dutch fleet sailed it met the English fleet off Camperdown and was completely defeated (11 October 1797). After these three unsuccessful attempts the Directory, on the news of the rising of 1798, sent General Humbert with a small force to Ireland. He landed on the 22nd August at Killala in the north-west, on the very day after the final defeat of the insurgents in the south. After a first success he had to surrender in an encounter with superior forces on the 8th September. A second expedition left Brest on the 20th September, but on the 10th October was intercepted by a British fleet off Lough Swilly. The two frigates escorting it were captured after a hard fight. Wolfe Tone, who for years had been the chief organizer of the Irish resistance, was among the prisoners. The idea of a fresh expedition to Ireland was given up, and Bonaparte took

¹ Jervis had put Nelson, with the temporary rank of Commodore, in command of the rear of his battle-line. After the British fleet had broken the enemy's line, Nelson, under the impression that the Spanish admiral was attempting to close the gap, attacked the enemy's leading ships, on his own initiative and against the strict letter of his orders. He was for awhile supported by only one or two ships of his division, and his own ship, the *Captain*, suffered serious damage and loss of life. But he succeeded in running her alongside of the Spanish *San Nicolas*, and himself led the boarders who captured her. The Spanish admiral, in his flagship the *San Josef*, coming to the help of his consort, was in collision with the *San Nicolas*, and lay alongside of her. Nelson, leading his men across the decks of the *San Nicolas*, boarded and captured the *San Josef*. He was rewarded with the Cross of the Bath, and almost immediate promotion to the rank of Rear-Admiral.

command of that ostentatious Egyptian expedition which was, it was alleged, to be a first stage to a further expedition to intervene in India on the side of Tippoo Sahib against the British. It had the advantage of taking Bonaparte far from Paris, where his presence was dreaded by the Directory.

The expedition consisted of 500 vessels, 10,000 sailors, 35,000 soldiers, and a staff of scientists; it sailed on the 19th May 1798 and, after evading Nelson's cruisers, secured the surrender of Malta and then steered for Alexandria (30 June), where a landing was effected. The army marched on Cairo through the fertile delta, being revictualled by a flotilla which went up the Nile. Near Cairo the Mamelukes were defeated in the battle of the Pyramids (21 July).

But on the 1st August Nelson destroyed the French fleet in Aboukir Bay, in the engagement known in England as the 'Battle of the Nile'. The fleet of Admiral Brueys numbered thirteen battleships and four frigates. His flagship was burned and blown up, eight other ships of the line were captured, and two of the frigates. Only two battleships and two frigates escaped by running out to sea in the darkness towards the close of the fight. This complete victory isolated Bonaparte's army in Egypt, gave England command of the Mediterranean, and encouraged Austria to join in a new alliance against France.

Bonaparte now marched into Syria, and despite local successes against Turkish forces at Tiberias, Nazareth, and Mount Tabor, failed in an attempt to capture Acre. Plague broke out in the army during its retreat to Egypt. It was exhausted with fatigue and had lost by battle casualties and disease large numbers of officers and men, but it defeated an attempted landing of a Turkish army at Aboukir (25 July 1799). Bonaparte now received from Admiral Sir Sydney Smith a bundle of French newspapers which told him of the pitiable state to which the Directory had reduced France, and the defeats incurred by her armies in the new war with Austria. He handed over the command of his army to Kléber, and embarking in a small merchant ship with a few friends on the 22nd August ran the English blockade and sailed for France, bringing the news of the

victory of Aboukir and the Turkish standards captured in the fight. The army in Egypt was doomed, but he was able to pose as a conqueror.

The Directory had become hopelessly unpopular. It was regarded as a new Committee of Public Safety, with finances in disorder, forced loans added to taxation, days of disorder in Paris, insurrections, and executions. Above all France was now anxious for peace and the Directory had failed to give her peace. On the 13th October 1799 it was learned in Paris that Bonaparte had returned from Egypt, and landed near Fréjus; the whole of France was frenzied with joy; the last few months had been tragic and Bonaparte seemed to come as a deliverer.

On the death of Catherine II Russia had passed into the hands of Paul I, an eccentric on the verge of madness, who hated the Revolution and joined the second coalition with Turkey, England, Austria, and Naples (December 1798). There were ample grounds: the Directory had just invaded Switzerland and proclaimed the Helvetic Republic (April 1798), and shortly after that the Roman Republic; then followed the proclamation of the union of Geneva, Mulhouse, and Montbéliard to France, and lastly the annexation of Piedmont, which was split up into French Departments (December). In January 1799 the Parthenopean Republic was proclaimed in Naples. This made the sixth 'Sister Republic' formed by the Directory. An Austro-Russian army was sent into Italy under the command of Suvaroff and this time France was to be obliged to defend her own territory and that of her sister republics. The army was reorganized, but Carnot's place could only be taken by Barras; Moreau and Masséna were in command on the Danube and in the Alps. The war opened with reverses at Stockach and Magnano (March–April 1799), and when Suvaroff arrived with 18,000 Russians and was victorious at Cassano and on the Trebbia (April–June), Milan acclaimed him, Piedmont revolted, the Maltese, with the aid of the English fleet, forced the surrender of the French garrison; finally Joubert was defeated and killed at Novi (15 August) and his heroic army retired towards Genoa. The Austro-Russian army separated into two

groups and Suvaroff, who already hoped to reach Franche-Comté on the road to Paris, entered Switzerland, where Masséna fought one engagement after another and finally the three battles of Zurich (25-6 September), defeating the Russians under Suvaroff and Korsakov.

Arrived in Paris, Bonaparte was watching matters closely, and coming to an agreement with Sieyès, now one of the Directors who was drafting a new Constitution, for none of those which had been tried during the last ten years had survived. They planned a military *coup d'état* against the Directory and the Legislative Body. The latter was summoned to meet at Saint-Cloud at eight o'clock in the morning. Lucien Bonaparte presided over a stormy meeting. On the 9th November Bonaparte entered the session hall and, after being accused and threatened, he left amid cries of '*Hors de la loi*' ('Outlaw'). Sieyès said to him: 'Drive them from the hall!' The grenadiers came in and surrounded their general. The deputies left by the doors and windows. That was the end of Councils, Government, and Directory; their place was taken by three provisional Consuls who took charge of the State, while the grenadiers returned to Paris singing the '*Ça ira*!' Bonaparte became First Consul and master of France.

41. ENGLAND AND IRELAND (1784-99)

William Pitt, Prime Minister at twenty-five (1784), made peace abroad and prosperity at home the objects of his policy. His highest qualification was financial acumen, and he had need of it after the American war. The national debt had been doubled and amounted to 8 millions sterling; the floating debt had reached 33 millions; the three per cents. had fallen to 56; there were gross abuses and there was a deficit requiring 10 millions sterling in order to meet the expenses of the public services and of the army. Pitt attacked abuses, unjustifiable salaries, sinecures, and the prevalent smuggling of all kinds. He arranged a loan and the consolidation of the floating debt. In two years expenditure was reduced from 18 to 14½ millions, and the revenue had risen from 12 to 15½ millions. These

successes did not save Pitt from a serious reverse when he proposed parliamentary reform based on the suppression of the 'pocket boroughs'. But he always made the commerce of the country the main object of his policy, and this at a time when there were the beginnings of a marvellous industrial development in England. Imbued with the principles of Adam Smith, Pitt concluded the commercial treaty of 1786-7 with France, justifying this step by arguing that while England was opening to France a market of eight millions of inhabitants, she received in return access to a market of twenty-four millions. France had the advantage of a fertile soil, a favourable climate, and a rich variety of natural produce. England was not so favoured by nature, but by God's blessing, with her beneficent constitution and laws, she was gifted with energy, enterprising courage, and industry that made the fullest compensation for all else. Instead of being made by nature for continual enmity, the two nations were made for mutual friendship, and they had been sacrificing their real interests to political jealousies.

The war which had resulted in the independence of America had taught England an unforgettable lesson which Fox summed up by saying: 'The only way to keep distant colonies with advantage is to make them fit to govern themselves.' Canada was reorganized in two politically free provinces, Lower Canada (or Quebec), the home of the French colonists, and the new province of Upper Canada or Ontario, a settlement for some 40,000 'Loyalists' who had abandoned their old homes in what were now the United States. The first step towards settlements in Australia was taken in 1788, when a convict station was established at Port Jackson, the future site of Sydney.

It was at this time that the campaign for the abolition of colonial slavery and the slave-trade began, which was only to end successfully nearly fifty years later.

When the French Revolution broke out, English opinion was divided. Class traditions made numbers of the Tories sympathizers with the French Royalists. The Whigs watched with all but friendly interest this new experiment of Constitutionalism. In some of the new industrial centres there was open sympathy

with French Liberalism. But many in all classes regarded the high-flown oratory, the abstract theories and theatrical poses of the French extremists as hardly indicating a serious movement. Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790) raised a cry of alarm, and denounced the changes in France, with the methods by which they were effected, as a menace to all lawful authority and a peril to Europe. He thus broke with Fox and the Whig party, but Pitt treated his warning as representing an ill-judged alarmist view of the situation and held firmly to his policy of peace and non-intervention until 1793. But Burke's book produced a serious impression and he was regarded as no mere pessimist but a wise prophet of the course of events when violence and bloodshed became normal methods of policy in France, and the leaders of the Revolution called on all the nations to follow their example. The Jacobin domination and the execution of Louis XVI created deep feeling in England, even among the Liberal party of the Whigs who counted the execution of an English king in the days of the Puritan Revolution as an act of justice, and regarded Cromwell as a national hero. War with France became a popular idea. Pitt had made peace a leading feature of his policy, but the French invasion of the Netherlands led him at last to join the coalition. He had himself early in his ministry tried to carry a reform bill, but now when one of his supporters proposed a reform of Parliament he opposed the idea, saying the times were too perilous to alter the constitution. Once England was at war any sympathy with French Liberalism was regarded as treason, and laws were enacted limiting the right of public meeting, and agitators for reform were prosecuted for sedition.

The state of war did not at the outset seriously affect the internal prosperity of the nation generally. The change of England from an agricultural to an industrial country had not only begun but, especially in the north, it had made considerable progress. The drift of the field workers to the growing manufacturing towns had begun, but there was as yet no lack of farm labourers. Their condition had indeed been depressed by the Enclosure Acts of the eighteenth century, which were breaking

up the last remnants of the old manorial system, enclosing large extents of common land, and depriving the cottagers of their former rights of pasturage, and of obtaining their fuel from the forests. The labourer thus became entirely dependent on the wages paid by the large farmers and landlords. But the comparatively small population of England and the Scottish lowlands was not yet dependent on imported food supplies except for tropical products—tea, coffee, sugar, and tobacco—and the British command of the sea secured a sufficient import of all these.

In other departments of industry there had been steady progress. The cloth, linen, and cotton trades were benefiting by the introduction of machinery, and power was now being supplied by steam instead of water. This brought increasing activity to the coal-mines, and the transport of the heavy fuel from the pits to the factories was being facilitated by the making of canals. This had begun about 1760 by the Earl of Bridgewater's construction of a canal carried through a hilly district by locks, tunnels, and aqueducts to link Manchester with the coal-fields. Liverpool was benefiting by the increasing import of cotton for the Lancashire factories, and had constructed the first dock in England. Wedgewood had introduced the art of making artistic pottery. His work in Staffordshire developed villages into busy towns, and he employed thousands of workers producing every kind of ware. For the advantage of his business he was the chief promoter of the canal which linked Lancashire with the west and centre of England, providing a waterway from the Mersey to the Severn and the Trent. In the last years of the century the production of iron and steel was more than doubled, developing chiefly in the north, thanks to the use of coal, now that the wood-working foundries of the south had disappeared with the exhaustion of the supply of timber-fuel from the forests. The war gave a new impetus to the shipbuilding trade. Dockyards and arsenals were busy.

There was thus no lack of employment, but the lot of the workers was anything but a happy one. Wages were low. Any combination to raise the worker's pay or shorten his hours of

labour was treated by the law as conspiracy. In the new textile factories cheap labour was secured by the employment of women and children under wretched conditions. What was denounced by the reformers as a 'white slave trade' was the collecting of children from the workhouses for the factories. Any legislation for the protection of the workers, the safeguard of their health in factory and workshop and the securing of fair wages and limited hours, was still far in the future.

In England in the days of the Revolution, when the war with France began, it was an age of gold for many, but an age of iron for the workers in the industrial districts and the peasantry of the country. With one brief truce after the Treaty of Amiens (1802) and another after the Allied occupation of Paris in 1814, the war was to last for some twenty years, until Waterloo was fought and won in 1815. But Pitt counted on its being a short war. He believed that France disorganized and divided could not make a prolonged resistance to a great European Coalition. He relied on England's command of the sea, and did not mean to launch out upon military operations on any large scale on the Continent, but was ready to use the wealth of England to help her Continental Allies to keep their armies in the field, by subsidies which were not loans but gifts. Ireland was a source of some anxiety, but he hoped by concessions to the Irish people to avert or minimize any dangers on that side. When, after the execution of Louis XVI and the Republican invasion of the Netherlands, he reluctantly abandoned his policy of peace, he knew that the opposition in the House of Commons was helpless. On the very eve of the war Fox, its leader, on the 1st February 1793, had to content himself with a mere protest. He condemned the regicides, and expressed his horror at the acts of violence committed by the extremists in France, but reminded his hearers that the party of order and the armies of the Coalition had to answer for some wild deeds and wilder menaces of vengeance at the outset of the conflict. He regretted that in fighting against France England would be an ally of Spain, 'the country of the Inquisition'. 'Do you wish to re-establish despotism?' he said. 'Did not our own revolutions,

however justified, end in the overthrow of a dynasty? What right have we to impose one on France?' But he ended by granting that war was now inevitable, and urging that no opportunity should be neglected for the restoration of peace.

In 1794 Fox lost the more moderate wing of his followers, and Pitt was able to secure their support and reorganize his cabinet to find places in it for three of the leading Whigs. Fox, supported by what was left of his party, continued to plead for peace, and met the repressive measures of the government against all who showed the least sympathy by arguing that the best way to deal with any agitation in England was to introduce internal reforms. The defeats of the Allied armies in 1794, and especially the news of the Duke of York's British contingent being involved in the failures of the Coalition and forced to make a wretched winter retreat into Germany, made a disappointed impression on public opinion in England; prosecutions for sedition, under the new Acts for preserving order at home, made many realize that a prolonged state of war means much arbitrary interference with the liberty of the peaceful population at home. Year by year taxation was rising, with old taxes increased and new taxes imposed. The currency, so far as good gold and silver coin went, was being gradually restricted, in a minor degree by the growing practice of hoarding instead of banking money, but to a still greater extent by the subsidies sent in hard cash to assist the allies. When the reserve of the Bank of England fell to a little over a million sterling, an inconvertible paper currency was issued, at first as a temporary expedient for sixteen months, but it went on for more than twenty years.

After the first defeats of the Coalition on the Continent, there was considerable expenditure on home defence. There was a remarkable increase of the yeomanry, the local mounted force of the counties, officered by the great families, and made up of their tenants and dependants. Its numbers soon rose to 20,000, but this increase of a cavalry force that could be employed only at home had further purpose than that of defence in case of invasion. There was as yet no police force in the country. Each parish appointed a 'constable' and in London and other large

towns night watchmen were employed, usually elderly men, or army pensioners. In case of riot or other trouble the magistrates swore in temporary 'special constables'. The yeomanry were now counted upon as a kind of gendarmerie, useful if popular discontent resulted in turbulent meetings or riots—they would be reliable supporters of order and defenders of property.

The fall of Robespierre and the coming of the Directory encouraged the hope that the violent and aggressive period of the Revolution in France was near its end. There was a reaction against the repressive measures of the Government in England and juries were not so ready to convict prisoners accused of 'seditious practices', a term often strained to mean only suggestions for peace and reform. In the spring and summer of 1795 the Treaties of Basel withdrew Prussia and Spain from the Coalition, suggesting hopes for a general peace, and the disappointment that followed led to further agitation. When the King went to open Parliament in the autumn he was hooted by disorderly crowds on his way to Westminster.

Next year Pitt made an effort to negotiate with France and sent Lord Malmesbury to Paris but, as he was instructed to propose a French evacuation of Italy and the Netherlands, nothing came of his mission. Pitt sent four millions sterling to Vienna to keep the Austrian armies in the field. France had secured the alliance of Spain, but the British victory off Cape St. Vincent in 1797 ended the plan of the Spanish and French navies uniting to obtain command of the Channel, and enabled the fleet of the Dutch Republic to escort an army to Ireland. In those early months of 1797, mutinies in the Channel fleet at Spithead and the reserve fleet at the mouth of the Thames caused serious anxiety (February and April), but Earl Howe's influence with the seamen averted the danger.

On the news that Austria was arranging a peace with France, Pitt made one more attempt to negotiate, but it failed because he refused to abandon some of England's colonial conquests. In October the Dutch fleet was defeated off Camperdown. In 1798 the French failures to intervene in Ireland, and Nelson's victory of the Nile, which gave England the command of the

Mediterranean and secured once more the alliance of Austria, so encouraged the Government that any suggestion for negotiations made by Bonaparte on his return from Egypt was at once rejected. One of the reasons for this was that after the failure of the risings of the United Irishmen the year before there was no likelihood of France again venturing on attempts to profit by the troubles of Ireland.

After the peace with America the Irish Volunteer organization had been gradually broken up. A few companies kept together in Belfast, and there and in other places in the north old comrades formed social clubs, some of them—the ‘Whig Clubs’—with more or less avowed political objects. Catholics had, in the later years of the movement, served in the ranks of the Volunteers and established friendly relations with Protestant comrades, especially in the north, where the Presbyterians suffered from some of the same disabilities that they had to endure. For as Dissenters from the Established Church they had no votes, though even the smallest peasant farmers had to pay tithe on their land. When the poor man could not pay, the tithe proctor took his bond, charged interest on it, and when it fell due took payment in labour, making the debtor his slave. The rectors and vicars were mostly absentees, paying a trifle to a curate, who often had no congregation. Some few of the rich landowners lived among their tenants, but they were mostly absentees in Dublin or in England, and their agents exacted extravagant rents from the tenants. In Munster the tenantry were paying six pounds an acre for their little potato farms, and it was a common thing for the rent to be paid by labour, valued at sixpence a day, so that the small holder became the serf of an agent of the absent landlord.

Though Grattan and the Volunteers had secured a ‘free Parliament’ for Ireland, the executive was appointed from London, and could control the votes of at least a third of the members. For these held appointments and received pensions terminable at the will of the ministry, or were elected only by a handful of voters, who depended on the goodwill of the landowners. There were two so-called boroughs, where every

dwelling-house had long disappeared, and the landlord elected the member. There were boroughs with only five or ten voters, for only members of the official Church were electors. There was wholesale corruption. In 1790 it was alleged and not denied that in the House of Commons the Crown had 110 members in its pay, and that one-eighth of the revenue went to members of Parliament. Viceroy's from England gave their friends and relations pensions 'charged on the Irish revenue'. In this way even princes of the Royal family drew money from Ireland.

Long-standing trade restrictions pressed upon the seaport towns and on Irish industry generally. Customs dues in the English ports and navigation laws that diverted much of the trade of Ireland through English ports added to the impoverishment of the country. It is no wonder that against the oppressive tax-collectors, tithe proctors, rack-renting landlords and their agents there were local outbreaks of resistance, outrages, and reprisals, and savage laws for the restoration of order. 'Laws of coercion', said Grattan (in a protest against one more Act of this kind) 'have been tried. But the great engine of power has been neglected, that which overcomes men by good service—the engine of redress.'

The French Revolution excited Irish hopes of better days. At the outset those who took any part in active politics on the side of reform had no idea of any separation from England. They built their hopes on what seemed to them the dawn of a new age of freedom in all lands, and their objects were reform in Ireland itself with a free Parliament really representing all the Irish people. In 1790 a young Presbyterian lawyer, Theobald Wolfe Tone, making use of existing reform clubs as the recruiting ground for his new organization, founded the Society of the United Irishmen. This new movement for freedom began among the Presbyterians of the North. The oath that bound the members together was this:

I, in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in Parliament: and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establish-

ment of this chief good for Ireland, I will endeavour as much as lies in my ability to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights and a union of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which every reform in Parliament must be partial not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of the country.

Tone had issued a pamphlet advocating the union of the Catholics and the Protestants of the North for reform, and this brought him into touch with John Keogh, a silk merchant, who was an active member of the 'Catholic Committee' that had existed for some years in Dublin to promote Catholic liberation from the remnant of the penal laws. When Tone came to Dublin Keogh secured his appointment as Secretary of the Committee. It was with Catholic help that the first branch of the United Irishmen was formed in Dublin, with Napper Tandy, a member of the City Council, as its secretary and the brother of a Catholic peer as its chairman. Large numbers of Catholics now joined the ranks of the United Irishmen. The movement was still acting on peaceful constitutional lines, and the new alliance of Catholics and northern Protestants soon won its first success.

The Catholic Committee had appointed as its London agent Edmund Burke's son, Richard. He arranged for interviews with Pitt and other cabinet ministers when Keogh went to London in the autumn of 1791 armed with proof that in Belfast as well as Dublin Catholics and Protestants were drawing together. Pitt was ready to make some moderate concessions for the sake of peace in Ireland and it was settled that when the Dublin Parliament met in January 1792 the Government would introduce a Catholic Relief Act. It was not a very generous measure, but every annulment of the Penal Code, however limited, was a gain. It allowed Catholics to establish schools and colleges. It opened both branches of the legal profession to them, and allowed Catholic traders and craftsmen to employ any number of apprentices, and it repealed the laws that made marriage of a Protestant with a Catholic invalid. An attempt to obtain even a limited vote for Catholics failed. The partisans of Protestant

ascendancy were in a rage, but the hundred and more 'placemen' in the Commons had to obey official orders and vote reluctantly for the Bill, and with Grattan and the opposition supporting it the Relief Act was passed.

A year later England was on the verge of war with France and there were further concessions. At the New Year of 1793 five delegates of the Catholic Committee were in London. On the 2nd January they had an audience with George III, presented a petition for redress, and received from him and from the Ministers assurances that raised a hope of complete Catholic Emancipation. The Bill introduced in the Irish Parliament when it met later in the month gave a limited franchise to Catholic freeholders in the counties and a few cities and towns, and the vote for the election of local corporations, the right of serving on juries and of being appointed to a number of civil offices, and to regimental rank in the army. But in the same session Acts were passed giving the Government powers for suppressing 'unlawful assemblies' and to the magistrates unlimited rights to search for arms.

While the United Irishmen were striving for peace and union in Ireland, and the Catholic Committee was hopeful of further concessions, there was strife and disorder in many of the country districts. In Ulster the Orange lodges were organized, and many of the magistrates belonged to them. On the plea of searching for arms Irish houses were sacked—in many places the small farmers were driven out and told to go to Hell, for Connaught was too good for them. There were districts where there was an organized effort to get rid of the Catholic farmers and cottagers, and there were attacks in reprisal on Protestant homesteads in Catholic districts on the Ulster border. There was riotous resistance to the tithe proctors. The United Irishmen were increasing their numbers in Ulster and Leinster, though so far the movement had made hardly any progress in the west. Thanks to Tone, their policy was as yet one of peaceful agitation, and the continued effort to draw Irishmen together on the common basis of religion and reform of Parliament.

Success for their efforts seemed in sight when in 1794 the moderate Whigs in England rallied to Pitt. In the summer Grattan and some of his colleagues spent weeks in London, negotiating with Pitt's coalition cabinet for a change of official policy in Ireland. Pitt was at last persuaded that fair concessions would make coercion needless. He assured Grattan that though the Government would not introduce a Catholic Emancipation Bill, they would yield if he proposed it with sufficient support. The Whig Duke of Portland was appointed a Secretary of State with special authority on Irish affairs and his friend Lord Fitzwilliam was sent as Lord Lieutenant to Dublin, where he was welcomed with an outburst of popular enthusiasm (4 January 1795). Fitzwilliam began by insisting on changes among the officials associated with the policy of 'strong government' and refusal of all reform. Some of them only retired on agreements that their income should become a life pension. On the 12th February Grattan, by an arrangement with Fitzwilliam, introduced in the House of Commons a Bill for admitting Catholics to Parliament. There was an angry outcry from the old government party, but this did not alarm Fitzwilliam and the reformers. Then the unexpected happened. One of the dismissed officials, John Beresford, had been for years a dominant figure in the Irish administration, so influential, indeed, that he had been described as 'all but king of Ireland'. He had gone to England, and as a member of the English Privy Council claimed an interview with George III, and so alarmed him as to the possible results of the new policy of concession that the King wrote to Pitt that 'he had heard with astonishment of his total change of principles' and was surprised at the idea of admitting Roman Catholics to Parliament, a step to which he could never consent; and that there must be a change in the Irish administration. Instead of threatening his resignation Pitt weakly gave way, and on the 23rd February Fitzwilliam was officially informed that 'By the King's command he was authorized to resign'.

Fitzwilliam afterwards declared 'that he would never have taken office unless the Catholics were to be relieved from *every*

disqualification'. He could not be the tool of a group of officials who were misgoverning Ireland. He left Dublin on the 25th March amidst general expressions of regret. A few days later his successor, Lord Camden, arrived to take his place. On the day of his inauguration stones were flung at the state carriages, angry mobs paraded the streets, and the troops were called out to disperse them with musketry fire.

In the previous winter an Irishman named Jackson had arrived in Dublin. He had come from Paris through London, posing as a British refugee; he was accompanied by another man with whom he had made friends in London, and who was really a government spy. Jackson was a tactless, boastful adventurer, and when he presented himself to Wolfe Tone in Dublin, as a friend of members of the French Directory, he was at first regarded with suspicion. But he managed to overcome this, and declared that he could guarantee that France was ready to help Ireland, and he was anxious to return to Paris with a statement of the existing situation in the country with a view to further negotiations. Tone was unhappily thrown off his guard and wrote for him a general survey of recent events and the actual position of affairs. Dublin Castle was informed by the spy of all this, and Jackson was arrested, and in April he was put on trial on a charge of high treason. On the last day of the trial, when it was clear he would be found guilty, he fell down in the dock and died in agony. He had taken a strong dose of arsenic to save for his widow his property, which would have been forfeited had he been convicted. Tone, whose own life was now in danger, left Ireland for America, in order to make his way to France under the neutral flag of the United States. He had despaired of obtaining reform in Ireland by peaceful means, and had altered his whole outlook and policy. His one hope now was to obtain the help of the victorious Directory, secure its armed intervention in Ireland, and establish a Republic under French protection. His dream was that France would do for Ireland what a few years before she had done for the revolted American colonies.

The United Irishmen were declared to be an illegal and

sedition on the ground of alleged overtures to France through Jackson. So far they had acted openly. The Association was recognized by its bolder spirits as a secret society, with an organization that could be converted in case of armed action into a military force. Tone had assisted in outlining this new plan before he left Ireland. In Ulster the reorganization was completed in the summer of 1795 and it was extended through Leinster in 1796. In 1797 it had made some progress in Munster, but not much had been done in Connaught. The leaders claimed that they had over 250,000 men enrolled. Amongst the members of the central committee in Dublin was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a brother of the Duke of Leinster, who had served in the British army in America. Arms were secretly collected and pikeheads forged in scores of village and town smithies. In some of the fights of 1798 the long pike proved to be a formidable weapon against the bayonet. New acts for 'the preservation of the peace' were passed, and later martial law was proclaimed. The regulars, militia and yeomanry, were reinforced from England. In the yeomanry large numbers of the Orangemen enlisted. The military were let loose on the country. For the magistrates and many of the officers, to be a Catholic was enough to prove a man was a would-be rebel, and perhaps a 'United Irishman'. Flying columns swept the country, detached parties were posted in towns and villages to carry on what gradually developed into a reign of terror. Men were shot or hanged by summary proceedings. They were flogged and tortured to exact confessions of guilt or evidence against others. Women were horribly maltreated, whole families driven from their homes. Spies and informers did a profitable business. In Dublin a commission of inquiry sent men of good standing in the city to prison and fined them heavily when they refused to give evidence or even truly protested that they knew nothing of the conspiracies of the time.

When Parliament met in January 1796 it passed an Act of Indemnity securing from prosecution or any legal action 'magistrates, officers, and other persons' who had made arrests, sent persons out of the country, entered houses and seized arms, or

done 'other acts not justifiable by law'. But law had almost ceased to exist. Grattan declared that this savage campaign of repression was driving men into the ranks of United Irishmen. When Sir Ralph Abercromby was sent in 1798 to command in Ireland, he reported that the system of scattering the troops in small parties all over the land would wreck the discipline of the best army in any country, and that deeds had been done worthy only of 'Calmucks and Cossacks'.

The leaders of the United Irishmen did not intend to attempt a rising until French help was at hand. The first and most important effort at a landing in Ireland failed in the winter of 1796 when the French fleet was dispersed by bad weather, and a detachment of about 6,000 men under Grouchy, though it reached Bantry Bay and lay at anchor for some days hoping the rest of the fleet would join it, was driven out to sea by a gale, and returned to Brest. Next year saw the defeat of the Dutch Republican fleet at Camperdown and the project of a French invasion from Holland was abandoned. In 1798 there was promise of further attempts to send troops from France and the leaders decided on a rising in the last week of May, hoping that if they could keep the field for a short time their French allies would hurry to their assistance. There was also a feeling that further delay in face of the savage repression of the time would destroy their forces piecemeal, and would probably drive desperate men into ill-organized local revolts.

The Dublin government had a very efficient secret service, and when the leaders were completing their plans most of them were suddenly arrested (19 May). The best soldier among them, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, was badly wounded in a struggle with his captors and died in prison. But the rising blazed up now here, now there, near Dublin and in Kildare and Carlow on the 23rd, in Wicklow on the 25th, in Wexford on the 27th, and in Down and Antrim on the 7th June. It was only in Wexford that there was any prolonged fighting. In that county the organization of the United Irishmen had made very limited progress, for local conditions were exceptional, and many of the landlords were residents, who were in personal and friendly touch with their

tenantry. There had been some making of pikeheads, but the Committee of the movement in Dublin regarded the county as not yet organized for serious action. There was much excitement when news came of the risings round Dublin, and of rebel bands in the Wicklow Hills, and the militia and yeomanry began harrying the Wexford people in expectation of a local revolt. It began on the 27th May, when the spark that started the outbreak was the sacking and burning of a country chapel, a little thatched building, by a roving patrol of the yeomanry. A first success (when a party of militia, who were rounding up an unarmed crowd, found themselves suddenly attacked and routed by a body of pikemen) roused the whole county to insurrection, and the insurgents kept the field for nearly a month. Regular troops were poured into the district, and the main body of the insurgents was routed at Vinegar Hill on the 21st June. After this the remnants of the rising were trampled out, and in Wexford, as in all the other scenes of the rising, ferocious reprisals followed. A month later, on the 22nd August, Humbert's force landed at Killala in a district where there was no organization to support it and after the last efforts at resistance had failed. After a first victory he was forced to surrender. In October another French expedition ended in the defeat and dispersion of the fleet that conveyed it, off Lough Swilly. Wolfe Tone was among the prisoners. It was more than a century before there was another serious attempt at rebellion in Ireland.

Pitt now began his preparations for carrying into effect a project he had long contemplated, that of, as he hoped, solving the Irish question by a legislative union of Ireland with Great Britain, like that which had united Scotland with England a century earlier. More than a year was spent in preparing the way. Business men in Ireland were assured that the removal of customs barriers and the change in the navigation laws resulting from the Union would open out a new period of prosperity. The Catholics were promised complete Emancipation, and representation in the Westminster Parliament.

The first official hint that the Union was in contemplation

by the Government was given in the King's speech—the ministerial programme—when the Irish Parliament met in January 1799, and it called forth immediate opposition. A resolution that 'an independent legislature was the birthright of the people of Ireland' was carried by a narrow majority in the debate on the address. Nothing more was heard of the project during the rest of the session, which ended in June, but steps were taken to secure a majority in the following year. The majority that had carried the adverse vote on the address was not entirely made up of members who voted on nationalist and patriotic grounds. Not a few had vested interests at stake; several were the nominees of great landlords whose income from Irish seats in Parliament would be swept away by the Union. Lord Castlereagh, who had been a member of the House since he came of age in 1790 and a Secretary of State since 1795, was the chief agent in the transactions that secured a majority for the Union. New titles in the peerage were part of the currency that paid for support for the Government, but hard cash was also freely spent. The number of Irish members sent to England on the Union would be only about a hundred. Among the Irish constituencies that would be abolished there were eighty-five pocket boroughs, mostly the property of Irish peers. It was agreed that the proprietors of these seats should receive compensation to the amount of £15,000 for each of them. On the principle of 'a reduction on taking a quantity', some of the noble owners of several boroughs did not exact the full amount. Thus, for instance, Lord Downshire, who held seven of them, sold them at half-price (£52,500 instead of £105,000). Others seem to have obtained higher prices, for in all £1,260,000 were expended, and the amount was added to the National Debt of Ireland by an exchequer loan.

Other smaller sums were spent in bribery. Titles, bishoprics, army and civil promotions, and employments for friends and relations were distributed with a lavish hand. There were twenty-eight new peerages on the list of awards.

A safe majority for the measure having been thus secured, the Bill for the Union with Great Britain was introduced in the

Irish House of Commons by Castlereagh on the 21st May 1800. Grattan had retired from the House in 1797. He returned to make a last hopeless fight against the Bill.¹ The first reading was carried by 160 votes against 100. The opposition withdrew when the vote on the report stage was carried by 153 against 88. The Bill became law on the 1st August 1800.

After his experience six years before, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Fitzwilliam, Pitt might have known that it was at least very doubtful that he would be able to fulfil his pledge to obtain representation in Parliament for the Catholics. George III was persistently opposed to it, holding that to consent to it would be a violation of his coronation oath. When in 1801 Pitt resigned the Premiership he stated as his chief reason that he had found it impossible to fulfil the promises he had made to the Irish Catholics.

42. THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE (1789-99)

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the political group known as the Holy Roman Empire had become completely disaggregated, and the practically independent status of its princes was the result of the weakness of the Emperor. National sentiment seemed to have disappeared for ever. To political confusion was added an economic decline hastened by the rivalries of the German princelings. The farmer class was sacrificed and burdened with troublesome feudal obligations; there was much talk of improving existing conditions and of providing schools for rural districts, but nothing was done.

¹ Grattan had retired from Parliament in despair of effecting anything under existing conditions. In order to obtain a seat in the Commons in 1800 he had to pay £2,400 to the 'patron' of a southern constituency. He was a member of the House of Commons in England from 1805 to his death in 1820, first for a Yorkshire constituency and then for Dublin. He devoted himself chiefly to supporting the Catholic claims. After one of the defeats of Catholic Emancipation he said: 'A great majority cannot finally overcome a great principle. God will guard His own cause even against rank majorities.' He was in Dublin, broken with illness, when in May 1820 he set out for London to support one more effort for the good cause. He was so ill that he could not endure the strain of a carriage journey, so he travelled from Liverpool to London by canal. He was too exhausted to speak again in the Commons, and on the 4th June he died.

Joseph II, under the pretext of reform, seemed eager only to overthrow institutions and discredit ideals hallowed by time. Even if his reforms had been more wisely planned they would have clashed with the ill will of Prussia, now ambitious to obtain the Imperial Crown.

Frederick the Great's successor was unable to gratify this ambition for himself. For Frederick William II was a ruler of only mediocre capacity and more given to amusement than work, in whose reign the training of the army degenerated rapidly into mere routine; the civil administration also deteriorated and religious matters were wretchedly mishandled. An edict of the 9th July 1788 left to a few officials the responsibility of regulating the religion of a whole nation. It stirred up angry opposition and its enforcement led to all kinds of petty persecution. The irritation excited by these so-called religious reforms was aggravated by the notorious scandals of the King's life of reckless immorality.

The minor German States dreaded above all things any centralized unity of the Empire and were prepared to appeal to the foreign powers that had guaranteed the Treaties of Westphalia. It was now a generally received view that the political division of Germany was a source of security for the peace of Europe.

The French Revolution made a deep impression on Germany. The youth went wild with enthusiasm for liberty and celebrated it in prose and verse. The German courts gave it a very different reception; they felt that their rights were attacked and threatened, and they even thought themselves wronged by the decrees passed on the night of the 4th August 1789, and appealed for the re-establishment of the suppressed feudal rights. At first, Prussia was rather pleased at what she regarded as a ferment of disorder in France, but she changed her view and was inclined to support the counter-revolution, all the more enthusiastically because she thought revolutionary France incapable of defending herself. The arrival of the *émigrés* with their proclamations, their quarrels, and their unpaid debts reacted on public opinion and led to many of the people in the

valley of the Rhine taking a more friendly attitude towards the ideals of the Revolution.

The accession of the Emperor Leopold II (February 1790) ushered in a new policy, and first of all he had to clear up the difficult situation which he inherited, thanks to his brother Joseph's unwise innovations. Influenced by the Liberal theories of the time he was inclined to the idea that he was sovereign by the will of the people; he was not very favourable to absolutism but rather disposed to give back their privileges to the local authorities and unite by common consent the interests of his peoples with his own. The French Revolution was a source of some anxiety to Leopold II, but he was deaf to the pleas of the *émigrés* and showed very little inclination for an alliance with Frederick William II, who for his part was thinking of a possible dismemberment of France. Holding aloof from interfering in the affairs of France the Emperor succeeded in pacifying the malcontents in Hungary, annulling the ill-judged measures of Joseph and accomplishing much of permanent value in the short duration of his reign, which was a time of general progress. He died suddenly and his son, Francis II, succeeded but could not fill his place. For the new Emperor understood very little about the French Revolution, believed firmly in the destiny of the Empire, and adopted such a threatening attitude towards France that Louis XVI was unable to oppose the Assembly's declaration of war against Austria—a war that brought nothing but disaster to the Empire.

The Rhineland appeared at first to be inclined to welcome the Revolution. But the coming of the victorious French armies with requisitions, seizures of church property, and other sweeping innovations at Worms caused a panic in the Rhenish provinces. The greatest difficulty of the French was not the opposition of the people but their lack of any enthusiasm for their liberators. The new administration of the Rhineland was a series of experiments and difficulties that ended in the proclamation of a 'Cis-Rhenish Republic' which was only a step towards a definite annexation to France.

The disaggregation of the Empire continued, and the French

victories made Germany, where the spirit of nationality as yet hardly existed, demand peace at any price. The policy of France had been to isolate Austria by concluding a separate peace with Prussia and the minor German States. In their own interests they broke away from the policy of Thugut (who had followed Kaunitz as Chancellor of the Empire in 1794). Francis II was unable to restore the Empire's former cohesion, all the more because there was a revival of the rivalry between Prussia and Austria. Their disagreement could only aggravate the disturbed state of Germany and the Peace of Basel made clear the weakness of the Empire and gave a general impression that the old order was doomed.

Prussia's position was similar to that of Austria; her prestige on the Rhine had diminished and her expansion in Poland was the result of a policy the lawless violence of which was to become more and more apparent. Frederick William II's administration was very defective. The bad moral example set by the ruler spread to the upper classes and officials, embezzlement and depravity went hand in hand, poverty increased, scholastic and religious education were monopolized by the State; the only useful reform had been a reorganization of the War Office entrusted to the Duke of Brunswick and Marshal Moellendorf.

Frederick William III succeeded his father on the 16th November 1797. He was a man of no marked mental capacity but of blameless moral character and straightforward decision; his reform of court life and of the government administration showed a wise beginning for his reign, but his reforms left many old abuses still in existence.

A transformation in public feeling was taking place in Germany, where one result of the French Revolution was to awaken a German spirit of nationality. A century before, Leibnitz found no echo to his patriotism; from 1789 theories regarding mankind and nationality found interpreters who directed intellectual freedom towards political action and ideals of national independence.

43. SPAIN AND PORTUGAL (1789-99)

Charles III had left Spain respected and prosperous, his son, Charles IV, led it to destruction; he was not so much a King as an automaton who seemed incapable of doing good or avoiding evil. He had married Maria-Louisa of Parma whose reckless immorality might have justified doubts as to her sanity. At the beginning of the reign Count de Florida-Blanca was in power and his only idea was that of saving Spain from revolutionary contagion by a still stronger exercise of despotic authority. Even the *émigrés* fell under his suspicion and a royal edict obliged the 13,000 French subjects scattered throughout Spain to take an oath of allegiance to the King of Spain and to the Catholic Faith. This would probably have been the prelude to their early expulsion had not the Minister denounced to the King the guilty relations of the Queen with Manuel Godoy. After heaping insults on the Queen, Charles IV dismissed the Minister, whom he replaced by Count d'Aranda. But Aranda was before long succeeded by Godoy, who soon secured absolute personal control of the government of Spain. He had neither honour nor courage; his only anxiety was to maintain himself in power; and he used his authority to the disgrace and misfortune of his country. After an unsuccessful effort to save the life of Louis XVI, he had to declare war against France to satisfy public opinion inflamed with the thought of a crusade against the regicides. Patriotic contributions for the war were made to the amount of 73 million sterling. There were popular riots against the French in Spain. But the Republican armies held the Pyrenees, though the Spanish army showed abundant courage. Godoy had begun the war reluctantly and lost no opportunity of promoting peace. Charles IV was at first stubbornly opposed to this, but at last, under the influence of the Queen, the King yielded and sent a plenipotentiary to Basel, where peace was signed on the 22nd July 1795. Spain did not lose an inch of ground in Europe, but gave up her share of Santo Domingo in the West Indies to France.

Godoy, who had reached the zenith of his political fame, braved public opinion and made an alliance with France. This

was regarded as a crime; the Queen herself gave him up, but later allowed herself to be won back by her favourite. Godoy had been wrong in thinking that an alliance between France and Spain would be possible without involving war with England. After the signature of the Treaty of St. Ildefonso (27 June 1796) the naval defeat at Cape St. Vincent inclined Godoy to draw nearer to England, but the blunders of the Minister and the zealous efforts of the Directory succeeded in obtaining his dismissal by the King (March 1798); yet strange to say he retained the friendship of Charles IV and returned to power in December 1800.

If Spain was apathetic, Portugal was sunk in lethargy. After Pombal's term of office there was a reaction, and the Queen, Doña Maria, opposed all reforms. The French Revolution was regarded with horror, and as a menace to public order. When the Queen became insane her place was taken by an imbecile regent and the hostility against French Jacobinism continued. But the pressure exerted by England allowed no other course. In 1797 the Regent was obliged to come to an agreement with the Directory, but England prevented the ratification of the treaty. The Directory imprisoned the Portuguese envoy Araujo in the tower of the Temple; Portugal called 36,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry to arms and enrolled a local militia. But this went no farther than an armed demonstration. Negotiations were resumed and were still in progress when the Directory was overthrown.

44. ITALY (1789-99)

The French Revolution was followed with deep interest throughout Italy; it put an end to indifference in public affairs, and it was the prelude to a dawn of a national consciousness. From Piedmont to Sicily the Italian States had rulers hostile to a movement which they were not likely to understand. Nor had their people made much progress in the ways of freedom, to which they were, on the whole, indifferent. Only the middle class in the cities had given some thought to public affairs and was considering the possibility and advantages of a new order

of things; two parties could be distinguished, the advanced and the moderate; the former might be capable of starting the revolution; it was the latter who might be able to obtain a lasting result from it.

It appears that, in 1791, Pope Pius VI, alarmed at the annexation of Avignon and the Venaissin, and at the enactment of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, had planned a league of all the Italian States. He was warned from Piedmont that the emigrants on the one hand, and the Revolutionists on the other, had roused Victor Amadeus III from his lethargy, and that he had contemplated a league of all the States of the Peninsula, but that they all refused to join it. Piedmont, thus left without allies, was ready to follow her traditional policy of selling her support to the highest bidder. She rejected France and allied herself to Austria and this resulted in defeat and the loss of Savoy and the province of Nice (27 November 1792).

The death of Louis XVI brought the Italian States into the coalition with England and Austria against France (25 April 1793). The result was a series of reverses which decided the Princes to take back their word, with the exception of Victor Amadeus, whose infatuation knew no bounds. Meanwhile revolutionary doctrines were spreading and their disquieting effect was being felt in Turin, Milan, Bologna, and Naples, where there was an idea that they would be suppressed by executions. In Naples alone, there were 51 death sentences between 1792 and 1794, and these extreme severities only showed how ineffectual they were. The revolutionary party recruited daring men for its leaders and able men for its organizers. This was the situation when Bonaparte took command of the Army of Italy.

The story of his campaign has already been told; its results can thus be summarized as regards Italy:

First period (March–April 1796). Bonaparte occupies the territories in the north, driving out the Austrians, levying contributions on the occupied districts to supply his army and confining himself to holding out vague hopes to the Italian patriots.

Second period (August 1796–April 1797). Bonaparte establishes provisional governments in the invaded countries.

Third period (April–October 1797). To complete the defeat of Austria Bonaparte advances through the Venetian territories into Styria and dictates peace at Leoben. The old Republic of Genoa becomes the Ligurian Republic, a new Republic (the Cisalpine) is formed out of Lombardy and some adjacent territories, and Venice is handed over to Austria, its aristocratic Republic coming to an end.

Hope had been followed by disillusion and, by the Treaty of Campo-Formio, Bonaparte had handed over to slavery those whom he pretended to call to liberty. This bitter disappointment inspired not a few with the firm conviction that Italy's only way to freedom lay in closing her ears to all foreigners whoever they might be, and in her people setting up their own independent constitution.

In less than two years, after the Treaty of Campo-Formio, Italy had undergone a fresh transformation. Between Bonaparte's departure and the Russo-Austrian intervention there came the complete subjection of the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics to French control and the creation of similar tributary republics throughout the peninsula. The Directory, by its policy, seemed to make a point of alienating from France the moderates who were ready to lend her their assistance. On the 31st January 1798 Talleyrand forced a treaty of alliance on the Cisalpine Republic which was an admission of subjection as humiliating as it was burdensome. The treaty was accepted, but France had alienated one more of her best friends. A series of *coups d'état* encouraged by the Directory and the persistent military occupation finally rendered French rule hateful. Business interests were affected, and discontent spread to the masses after having already pervaded the upper class. The wish became general to free the Cisalpine lands from the French yoke as well as from the Austrian, and to set up one united Italian Republic. This trend of opinion was widespread, and when the Austro-Russian invasion wiped out the Cisalpine Republic its three years of existence might be said to have been a political education which prepared its people for future responsibilities.

During 1797 Piedmont was the scene of disturbances which were ruthlessly suppressed, with the result that the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics had an idea of enlarging their territory by a partition of the kingdom. The Directory intervened, and on the 3rd July 1798 Turin was occupied by French troops; in December Victor Amadeus abdicated; in February 1799 the annexation of Piedmont to the French Republic was proclaimed with hardly any local opposition.

During 1798 the Directory invaded the centre and south of Italy, where it founded two new and short-lived Republics at Rome and Naples. In Rome, where public opinion was anything but ready for it, a Republic seemed contrary to all common sense. After a series of ceremonial displays in honour of the event the work of establishing Republican institutions was taken in hand.

No better suggestion seems to have been forthcoming than to set up the now obsolete French 'Constitution of the Year III' with some changes in the titles of officials. This archaeological experiment ended in a revolt attended with much bloodshed, and the end came in July 1799.

Naples saw a 'Parthenopean Republic' whose existence was shorter still, but it survived the French military occupation and, for a time, kept up the struggle against the adherents of the Bourbons. At first Republican ardour reached almost frenzied heights, but it did not last, and there followed hostile risings instigated in the provinces by the nobility and clergy; in a short time the rule of the Republic did not reach beyond the suburbs of Naples, and General Macdonald finally evacuated the city (5 March 1799), withdrawing to Caserta and then to Rome. On the 13th June Cardinal Ruffo appeared before Naples at the head of 20,000 men, and occupied it after a six days' battle. Then came the official retaliations. During this month of June 30,000 persons were imprisoned, 7,000 banished, 9,000 put to death. Almost at the same time similar scenes were occurring in Tuscany, where a mid-Italian Republic collapsed. Thus the Republics set up by the Directory disappeared.

45. SWITZERLAND (1789-99)

The eighteenth century had been a prosperous period for Switzerland, from the point of view of industry and commerce no less than from that of the liberal arts. A national awakening coincided with this revival, political emancipation was first spoken of, and, before 1789, some parts of the country were disturbed by revolutionary movements. There was much intercourse between France and Switzerland, and by this time numerous refugees and revolutionaries exercised rival influences on the Cantons, but for a period of six years, from 1792 to 1798, the conflict was postponed, thanks to the efforts of the diplomatist Barthélemy, who served under each succeeding government in France from the constitutional monarchy to the Directory. His purpose was ceaselessly to uphold the principle of Swiss neutrality, despite ever-recurring difficulties. It required first-rate abilities to be able in the first phase of the Revolution to preserve relations of unbroken cordiality with a Government some thousands of whose people were still serving in the royal army of France. Then there came grave incidents and tragic events like the massacre of the Swiss on the 10th August and the slaughter of the 2nd September. This led to the breaking off of official relations between Switzerland and France, but Barthélemy remained.

The Treaty of Basel, in the drawing up of which he took part, improved the relations of the two States and, besides, the Swiss Confederation loyally maintained its neutrality. Barthélemy's election as a member of the Directory enabled him to continue his friendly policy; but, after the *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor (4 September 1797) he was arrested and deported to Cayenne, and there was an end of the influence he had exerted in favour of Switzerland.

The French Government now adopted an aggressive policy encouraged by the Helvetic Club in Paris, and especially by its most prominent member, the Swiss scholar, Frédéric César de la Harpe, who had been in Russia as a tutor of the Grand Duke Alexander (afterwards the Tsar) and had imbued him with his own enthusiasm for the ideals of Rousseau.

Extravagant claims were made, couched in the harshest and most abrupt terms. The Directory was seeking an opportunity for intervention in Swiss affairs, and it was easy to create it. Soon there came the day when the Directory, at the instigation of Barras, Rewbell, and Bonaparte, issued a decree which involved the military occupation of the country (28 December 1797).

Berne was stormed, and the forces of the Forest Cantons defeated. The Government at Berne was forced to empty its treasury to enrich Brune, Garnier, and Rapinat, the representatives of the Directory.

The Canton of Vaud was detached from Switzerland, as well as Rottweil and Mulhouse. Geneva was occupied and the Constitution of a 'Helvetian Republic' proclaimed (April 1798). On the 19th August this new Revolutionary government signed a treaty of alliance with the French Republic. La Harpe became a sort of dictator, whose sole support was the Directory in Paris, but he was unable to assert himself or to put his schemes of reform into effect. In several of the Cantons there were outbreaks of resistance. A new coalition was being formed against France, and in Switzerland, instead of the 18,000 soldiers which the Government had promised, only 6,000 could be mustered; the insurrection was now general. The Austro-Russian armies found supporters in most of the Cantons. Masséna succeeded in penetrating as far as the Grisons, but was obliged to fall back on Zurich, whence he was driven out by the Archduke Charles (June 1799). The new Swiss army scattered in a moment; La Harpe fled to Berne, but Masséna's victory in a second battle of Zurich (September 1799) saved not only France but also the Helvetian directorate. La Harpe hoped to take advantage of this respite to regain his former power, but his downfall came in the beginning of 1800.

46. AMERICA (1781-99)

The seven years (1781-8) which followed the War of Independence were a time of political controversies, discord, and economic hardships, and are remembered as the 'critical period';

this came to an end with the adoption of the federal constitution. In 1776 Congress had stipulated for the drawing up of a scheme of confederation, the text of which was finally settled on in November 1778. The process of obtaining the assent of the thirteen States occupied the years 1779, 1780, and 1781. At that moment the American cause seemed to hold out, thanks to the inertia of England; the surrender of Yorktown arrived in the nick of time.

This first American Constitution was a very short document, which established a military and diplomatic union between States that considered themselves independent and wished to remain so. The dominant ideal was to deprive each and every State of as few as possible of its sovereign attributes, and only to entrust Congress with those powers which were strictly indispensable for the conduct of the war and of relations with Europe. The most pressing need of Congress was a fixed regular income with which to pay the interest on the debt and to defray general expenses. By adopting a plan, that was to recur again in later years, money was for the time being saved at the expense of the army. Its pay was already irregular; Congress went farther and gave the soldiers three months' pay not in cash but in bonds, payable in six months with 6 per cent. interest. On the 19th April 1783 the cessation of hostilities was proclaimed; on the 2nd June the troops were disbanded.

Hamilton and Madison started a movement in Congress for the revision of the federal pact. They represented the first Constitution as absurd, the former demanding its abolition, the latter its revision; but their efforts failed, for tendencies towards centralization were weakening in Congress. Richard Henry Lee, the most determined adversary of any modification in the Articles of Confederation, was elected President of Congress for the session of 1785. Next year, under David Ramsay's presidency, Charles Pinckney proposed various amendments of the Articles (July–August 1786), but without result. The powerlessness of Congress was becoming evident, and in 1786 opinions were more favourable to the convocation of a constituent assembly. The State of Maryland invited the other States to send

commissioners to Annapolis for a conference to be held on the 11th November with the object of drawing up a scheme for the regulation of commerce applicable to the whole Union. On the appointed day five States were represented at the conference: New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. They recognized the necessity of a general remodelling of the Constitution and agreed that it would be well to arrange for the meeting of a constituent assembly with unlimited powers.

Hamilton summed up these views in a report which was unanimously adopted on the 14th September; the States were invited to agree on the choice of delegates to attend a general Convention which would meet in Philadelphia on the second Monday in May 1787 'to consider the situation of the United States, to deliberate on the means for rendering the Constitution of the Federal Government capable of satisfying the requirements of the Union, and to present to Congress resolutions of such a nature, that with the approbation of that assembly and the assent of the legislatures of all the States, the desired result might at last be attained'. The report was sent to Congress and to the legislatures of the various States. This time the appeal was heard.

Before giving some account of the Convention of Philadelphia, it will be well to say something of the general situation—the extent of territory, the chief centres and means of communication of the United States at this time.

The treaty of 1783 had limited the United States to the country between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi. On the north the great Lakes and an ill-defined line separated them from Canada; on the south, the Floridas again belonged to Spain by the treaty of 1783. Between the years 1775 and 1790 the population had increased to 1,200,000 inhabitants. In 1790 Virginia had a population of 748,000, Pennsylvania of 434,000, North Carolina of 394,000, Massachusetts of 379,000, New York of 340,000, Maryland of 320,000. Two States, South Carolina and Connecticut, contained over 200,000 inhabitants, two more had over 100,000, and three less than 100,000. Maine, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee numbered altogether 290,000.

On the Atlantic coast, from Maine to Georgia, there were many towns and villages; inland, Albany and Schenectady were frontier towns. There were no manufacturing towns, but a few scattered industries—mills, foundries, hat factories; there was as yet not much growth of cotton. Boston, on its three hills, was recovering slowly from the war; New York retained many Dutch features, as did Albany on the Hudson. Hundreds of ox-wagons set out from here to the new settlements on the Mohawk River. Philadelphia, with its 30,000 inhabitants, was a clean, cheerful, fashionable, luxurious city; Baltimore was the only place that could boast of a theatre. South of the Potomac, the cultivation of tobacco, rice, and sugar-cane had begun.

Benjamin Franklin organized a postal service which linked up all the coast towns from Falmouth to Savannah.

There were three mails a week between Boston and Philadelphia and fifty between the latter centre and New York, but for a long time one mail-bag was enough. In 1756 a service of stage coaches had been organized between New York and Philadelphia. In the time of Washington's presidency, communications between New York and Boston were provided by two coaches and twelve horses. Newspapers were not accepted by the post office, but the stage coaches handled them as a favour with the mail-bags. These took twenty days from Boston to Charleston. In 1783 there were forty-three newspapers. Philadelphia's first daily paper (the pioneer of the daily press in the United States—*The Pennsylvania Packet and General Advertiser*) made its appearance in September 1784.¹

Harvard College survived the war and made great progress between 1781 and 1804; in 1783 a college of medicine was founded.

Intolerance and religious fanaticism had diminished. In Pennsylvania and in Delaware the Quakers had obtained religious freedom. In 1776 the Anglican Church was the legal and official religion in New York, Maryland, Virginia, and the

¹ Boston and Philadelphia had weekly papers as early as 1719—the *Boston Gazette* in the former place, and the *American Weekly Mercury* in the latter.

remaining Southern States. After the Declaration of Independence it lost its official position, but retained its property. The old restrictions against Catholics were abolished in all the States;¹ a Catholic Church was built in Boston in 1789. In 1786 John Carroll of Baltimore had been appointed Vicar Apostolic for the United States; he became Bishop of Baltimore and later its Archbishop and Primate of the Church in the United States. In 1784 the number of Catholics, both black and white, throughout the United States, was about 45,000, of whom 20,000 belonged to Maryland, 8,000 to Pennsylvania, 2,500 to the Southern States, 1,700 to New York, 1,200 to the Alleghenies and Mississippi.

On the 28th May 1787 the Convention of Philadelphia included fifty-five representatives of the twelve States which unanimously elected George Washington as President. Nearly all the members had taken part in the drawing up of the constitutions of the various States, and were prepared to work for the advantage of the common constitutional cause.

In a preliminary outline of its work the Convention briefly proposed the creation of a national government consisting of three departments, executive, legislative, and judicial; on the executive side, there was to be a President, appointed for seven years and not re-eligible; on the legislative, a Congress of two chambers (with representation of each State in proportion to its population); on the judicial, a Supreme Court, subordinate courts, and permanent judges. This plan did not entirely accord with the principle of the independent sovereignty and equality of each and all of the States. Some of the States would rather have sacrificed the Union than their right to equal voting power in the Federal Assembly. There was a reaction against theories of centralization, but after a short interruption of the discussion conciliatory ideas prevailed and a first compromise was adopted on the 16th July. The Convention decided to admit the principle of equality of voting power in one of the

¹ Some vestiges of former anti-Catholic legislation lingered for a while in the New England States. The State Constitution of Massachusetts adopted in 1780 excluded Catholics from public office or employment, and this disability was not abolished till 1821.

two Chambers which was to be a Senate composed of two Senators for each State, and each Senator voting individually. The federal character of the Constitution was saved, and the lovers of states rights were in some measure reassured, though Virginia, Rhode Island, and New York, in joining the Union, expressly asserted their right to secede from it, should they subsequently wish to do so. Lastly, the Convention gave up the idea of a seven years' Presidency, and it was limited to one of four years, the powers of election being vested in electors appointed in each State in accordance with local legislation.

The scheme as a whole did not completely satisfy any one, several delegates withdrew before its final adoption (17 September), and the official draft of it bore only thirty-nine signatures out of fifty-five delegates. After the publication of the Federal Constitution two great political parties came into being: the 'Federalists' or supporters of the Constitution, and the 'Anti-Federalists', their opponents. It remained to be seen what kind of welcome this Constitution would receive from the States; it was ratified with many reservations, and with amendments by ten States; after this the idea of assembling another Convention came to the fore, but on the 13th September 1788 Congress officially declared the Constitution ratified.

During the winter of 1788-9 the States proceeded with the choice of presidential electors and members of Congress. The presidential electors, appointed either by the legislatures or by the people, met in each State on the appointed day (February 1789). Washington was unanimously elected President. John Adams obtained the Vice-Presidency, but only by 34 votes out of 69. The city of New York was selected to be the provisional seat of the new government.

Washington's authority was unquestioned—he was above party, and this enabled him to appoint to the principal ministerial offices two men who stood for opposite tendencies: Hamilton and Jefferson. On their initiative, as well as on that of James Madison, Congress passed important measures destined to re-establish confidence and develop national prosperity. The first was a moderate scale of customs with a tendency towards pro-

tection, which ensured a regular revenue to the Exchequer; next came excise laws with regard to the making of alcoholic liquors, and finally a financial scheme for the full recognition and unification of all debts contracted by the Confederation. A United States Bank was organized in 1792, and was incorporated for twenty years. All these measures did so much to raise the federal credit that the securities of the public debt, almost worthless till now, rose to par. Almost immediately after its constitution the Union was in a position to borrow at five per cent. Public prosperity increased rapidly.

However, Jefferson did not approve of Hamilton's financial policy, and their points of view divided the ministry. The Anti-Federalists, who had been in the background since the adoption of the Constitution, reappeared as the Republican-Democratic Party, and were loud in their insistence on the fullest possible interpretation of the rights of the States, whereas the Federalists upheld an interpretation which favoured a strong central power.

In spite of the keenness of the struggle between the two rival parties Washington retained his prestige and was re-elected President in 1792.

Nothing less than his prudence could have solved certain difficulties of the time. When the acts of violence of revolutionary France reached their climax the Republican-Democratic Party put forward the idea of an alliance, and Washington was obliged to publish (22 April 1793) a proclamation of neutrality in order to prevent these sympathies from developing into a dangerous agitation. A more moderate attitude on the part of the new French Ambassador soon regained a better feeling towards France. Difficulties also arose between America and England who, in spite of agreements made, had been refusing for ten years to withdraw the British garrisons on the north-west frontier. Washington sent John Jay to London, where he concluded a treaty (19 November 1794) which roused some discontent in America and even partially undermined Washington's own position. He was offended at the abuse he received in a press campaign at the end of his second Presidency and refused to be nominated for a third term (1796).

As his successor John Adams was elected (1797-1801); his government had a quarrel with France which, though there was no formal outbreak of war, yet led to some unofficial naval hostilities. Adams, who from the very outset desired a settlement, opened negotiations which led to an agreement, ratified on the 19th December 1801; by this time Jefferson was President.

The Federal party kept losing ground while the Republican-Democratic party made continual progress by denouncing a policy which the public could not tolerate. Jefferson himself had directed the steps by which his party had gone from a vaguely negative to a positive policy, and he was assured of the sympathies of the majority. In the 1800 election, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, the candidates of the Republican-Democratic Party, were elected President and Vice-President by 73 votes against 65 given to Adams and 64 to Pinckney. This was the advent of Jeffersonian Democracy.¹

47. THE EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS IN AMERICA

(1763-99)

Canada. England's loyal fulfilment of the guarantees given to the French Canadians by the capitulation of Quebec in the Seven Years' War secured liberal treatment for the Catholics, and rallied them to the defence of Canada against the American invasion in the first period of the War of American Independence. General Carleton, who had governed the colony in this crisis and successfully conducted its defence, retired in 1778. His successor, General Haldimand, a Swiss officer in the British

¹ The change in the titles of the two great political parties in the U.S.A. should be explained. In his letter to Washington of the 13th May 1792 Jefferson claimed for his followers and himself the status of a political entity which he designated the Republican-Democratic Party—under which it militated until Jackson's election in 1828 when the term Republican was dropped, and it has since been known simply as the Democratic Party which accepted Jefferson's democracy. This was resented by some of the converted Federalists, who had been calling themselves National Republicans and to which adhered the elements opposed to Jefferson's democracy; the term National was dropped so that a party entitled simply Republican came into existence, since when the two great political parties have been known as the Democratic and the Republican.

service, had to deal with an agitation affecting only a minority of the French Canadians who sympathized with the Americans, and his repressive measures led to his being accused of unjustifiable severity. Carleton (now promoted to the peerage as Baron Dorchester) replaced him as Governor in 1786. He held an inquiry into the allegations against his predecessor and was able to satisfy even the malcontent minority. He was very popular with all classes of the colonists, and secured unbroken peace in Canada during the excitement caused in some quarters by the French Revolution. The American Government had refused any compensation to the 'Loyalists' who had taken refuge in Canada, even to those who had been forcibly driven from their homes in the revolted colonies. Carleton secured a grant from England of about four millions sterling to complete their new settlement in Canada. During his governorship the Constitutional Act of 1791 was adopted by England. He strongly objected to the division of the country into Upper and Lower Canada and some other provisions of the new Constitution and retired from the governorship in 1796.

Lower Canada, or the main valley of the St. Lawrence (Montreal and Quebec), then contained 140,000 French and 20,000 English. Upper Canada, or the Great Lakes country, had 40,000 inhabitants.

The Spanish-American Empire. It stretched along the Pacific coast from the Island of Chiloe in the far south to the Bay of San Francisco. Its Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres (or La Plata) added an immense territory extending from the Andes to the South Atlantic. The Viceroyalty of New Granada held the southern shores of the Caribbean Sea. Florida was an outlying possession on the North Atlantic, where the chief outposts in the West Indies were Cuba, the eastern half of Santo Domingo, and the island of Porto Rico.

From 1720 onwards a fleet of galleons left Cadiz every year for Spanish America with anything up to 27,000 tons of merchandise, and returned to Cadiz from Vera Cruz and Havana with precious metals and a few native commodities. Following the selfish policy of the time, from which no discovering nations

were exempt, the Spanish possessions were precluded from all trade with foreign countries or amongst themselves. Smuggling on a huge scale evaded these restrictions and Cadiz lost her monopoly in 1764. Spain's net annual revenue from America was anything up to 31 millions of livres, of which twelve came from Mexico. Industrial development did not exist except in the Province of Quito; agriculture was fairly prosperous. Towards 1780 its yield surpassed the output of the mines in importance. The lower clergy were very poor; on the other hand, the revenue of nine episcopal sees was more than 2,700,000 livres.

Mexico. This is generally, and it may be correctly, considered to have been the most civilized country in America when first discovered by Europeans. Yet a rival claim to this distinction might be made for Peru under the mild government of the Incas. They had ruled these southern lands for a much longer period than that of the Aztec empire in Mexico. The horrors of human sacrifices in the Aztec realm formed no part of the native religion in that of the Incas. There is striking evidence of the intelligent enterprise of these rulers of old Peru in the miles of hill-sides terraced for cultivation and the watercourses canalized and regulated for irrigation—works that could only have been carried out in long years of peace, that were planned and executed with a skill that has called forth the admiration of the engineers of our own day.

In the last twenty years of the eighteenth century Mexico ranked as the most productive of the Spanish colonies. Agriculture was well developed, and the wheat crop rose to a higher aggregate value even than that of the precious metals, though these, at the close of the century, were valued at a yearly yield of 110 millions of livres. Copper and other metals were also successfully mined, though these attracted less attention than the gold and silver.

Peru. The Viceroyalty of Peru was divided in 1718 into the Viceroyalty of Peru along the Pacific coast and in its hinterland and that of Alto Peru, which extended northwards towards the Carribean. The Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, extending from the Andes to the Atlantic, was detached from that of Peru in 1776.

Besides these viceroalties, but of lower rank, there were the Captaincies-General of Guatemala, Porto Rico, Caracas, Chile, and of Havana, including the Floridas. The countries of the Pacific made little progress; they were debarred from any close contacts with the outside world and exploited for the advantage of a few courtiers.

In the autumn of 1780 there was a formidable native rising in Peru led by a chief who took the name of the last of the Incas—Tupac Amaru—and claimed to be a descendant of the royal line. The rising spread widely in the hill country and was not trampled out until the following summer. This is sometimes described as the first incident of the revolt of the Spanish colonies, but it had no real connexion with the great movement of the opening years of the nineteenth century.

Santo Domingo. This island was partly Spanish and partly French.

In the French half the population rose, between 1763 and 1788, from 260,000 to over 500,000 souls, of whom 30,000 were white, 25,000 were emancipated blacks, and 450,000 were slaves. The French colony alone did more than three-quarters of the total trade of the West Indies, amounting to 100 millions of francs.

The Spanish part of the island had only 125,000 inhabitants, mostly negroes or mulattoes. In America the effects of the French Revolution were first felt in Santo Domingo. On the 28th March 1790 a decree of the National Assembly granted political rights to the mulattoes; this was closely followed by the revolt of the negroes, and on the 29th August 1793 they were declared free. Having thus become virtual masters of the island, they committed many atrocities. One of their leaders, Toussaint-Louverture, rescued General Levaux, who was besieged in Port-de-Paix by an Anglo-Spanish force, but he threw in his lot with the rebels and rose to the chief command. In 1795 he was in control of the French colony, and he then rapidly got possession of the Spanish part of the island, which the Spaniards had abandoned to the French. In 1800 Toussaint-Louverture had himself appointed 'Governor for Life'.

Jamaica and the British West Indies. Cromwell, during his

quarrel with Spain, sent in 1655 a fleet, under Admirals Penn and Venables, with orders to seize some large island in the West Indies. After failing at Santo Domingo, Jamaica was occupied, the Spanish settlers were expelled, and the island was annexed, and colonists sent out from Bristol. Some 2,000 of these were Irishmen and women prisoners collected from Ireland and indentured to reinforce the negro slave labour of the island imported from West Africa. In subsequent wars with Spain, and with France when Spain was allied with her against England, further conquests were made in the West Indies, from the Bahamas off the coasts of Florida, to Trinidad off those of Brazil. Until the liberation of the slaves in the early years of the nineteenth century, the prosperity of these possessions depended on black slave labour, and Jamaica was long a centre of the slave trade.

In the eighteenth century adventurers from Jamaica began an irregular settlement on the central American mainland, along the west shore of the Bay of Honduras. It had long been the resort of buccaneers and slavers. The new settlement developed a timber trade and in 1786 a British superintendent took charge of it at its chief port, Belize. This was the origin of the colony of British Honduras, which includes a territory about as large as Wales, with a small white population, and more than 35,000 negroes and Indians.

The Guianas. The Dutch appeared in these parts in 1598 and established their rule there. But in 1796 the English captured from them the two stations of Demerara and Essequibo, round which they formed the present British Guiana. The Dutch retained (and still retain) the neighbouring territory of Dutch Guiana. In 1604 the French had made their first settlement in Cayenne; but they had a long struggle to retain it. In 1664 the French West India Company succeeded in establishing itself there, and finally, in 1674, the colony became one of the royal possessions. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century its population consisted of 200 whites, 100 Indians, and from 8,000 to 9,000 negroes. In the latter years of the century it was a penal settlement.

Brazil. In 1762 Rio de Janeiro replaced Bahia as the capital of Brazil. Intelligent Viceroys encouraged colonization in the provinces of Minas, Rio, and San Paulo. There was some development of gold mining, and the cultivation of coffee was introduced. In 1780 Brazil had about two million inhabitants; this figure was more than doubled in the forty years that followed.

48. BONAPARTE AS CONSUL (1799-1804)

The *coup d'état* of the 18th and 19th Brumaire (9 and 10 November 1799) caused neither enthusiasm nor indignation; there had been so many critical days in the last ten years! The names of Bonaparte and Sieyès gave confidence to the middle class and to the great business interests; in one week the Government stock, which had been reduced in amount to one-third (*le tiers consolidé*), rose from 11 to 20 francs. The Directory was replaced by the Provisional Consulate (11 November-24 December 1799); its policy was unambitious and conciliatory, its tone pacific; Bonaparte exchanged his uniform for civilian dress. A Consular decree placed thirty-four notorious Jacobins under police supervision; several deputies who had been turned out on the 19th Brumaire decided to give their support to the Government; the rest kept quiet and submitted to it. The Royalists, who were incorrigible visionaries, imagined Bonaparte would be the restorer of the monarchy; they were soon disappointed. The Catholics greatly improved their position in comparison with that which they had under the Directory. Yet all their hopes were not fulfilled and troubled times were coming. This liberal and conciliatory policy may have been sincere at the outset but Bonaparte's easily aroused ambition soon changed its course.

The Constitution of the Year III had been violated so often that Sieyès—the deviser of so many constitutions—was expected to frame one more. He was in no hurry to produce it and surrounded it with some mystery. His leading idea might well be summarized in the formula: confidence from below must depend on power from above. After a certain amount of discussion

and revision Sieyès' scheme was set aside and preference was given to the one dictated by Bonaparte in his study. This came into force as the 'Constitution of the Year VIII' and its immediate consequence was the beginning of the period of personal power. The press under the Directory had misused its power in order to serve the purposes of unscrupulous financial speculators, and therefore, under the new constitution, Bonaparte refused to give any guarantees of its freedom. He recognized the 'Sovereignty of the nation' but took away its right to elect its representatives, and the chosen deputies had no right to regulate the budget of taxation and expenditure. There was a *Sénat Conservateur* (which one may describe as a 'Senate of Trustees') with 60 members chosen for life—a number that might be increased to 80. The legislative power was in the hands of the Government, who had the laws drawn up by a 'Council of State' and then submitted these to a 'Tribunate' of 100 members, which discussed them and voted for their adoption or rejection, and presented its decision to a 'Legislative Assembly' (*Corps Législatif*) which gave the final decision by a secret ballot without debate. The executive power was entrusted to three Consuls appointed for ten years, and capable of re-election at the end of this term by the Senate; but to begin with they were nominated in the Constitution itself. These three were Bonaparte, First Consul; Cambacérès, Second Consul; Le Brun, Third Consul. But all real power was in the hands of the First Consul. For in Article 41 of the Constitution it was set forth that 'he promulgates the laws, appoints and dismisses at will the members of the Council of State, Ministers, Ambassadors and other important foreign representatives, officers in the army and navy, members of local government boards, and government commissioners to the law courts. He appoints but cannot dismiss the judges of the criminal and civil courts, except local magistrates and the judges of the Court of Appeal.' The 42nd Article further explained that: 'The Second and Third Consuls have a consultative vote and can put their opinion on record, after which the First Consul's decision is final.' Under these conditions no legal barrier stood in the way of Bonaparte's will.

The Constitution of the Year VIII was 'offered for the acceptance of the French People', which was called upon to give openly and on signed voting-papers its decision as to a form of government which was actually in operation before the plebiscite had been completed throughout France. The vote was a foregone conclusion thanks to the tactful and pacific policy of the new government, whose attitude was as conciliatory towards England and Austria as it was towards La Vendée and the Catholics; even various classes of the *émigrés* were given the offer of an amnesty.

This policy gave at once some good results; there was, as it were, a general conciliation of public opinion. The official returns of the voting were 3,011,007 'Ayes' against only 1,562 'Noes'; but the three Consuls did not await this decision. They were already in office on the 4th Nivôse, Year VIII (25 December 1799) and from that day onwards Bonaparte's activity made itself felt and set the whole machine of State in motion. His reign may be said to date from that day, and Talleyrand, Berthier, Fouché, and Gaudin put themselves at his disposal. The Senate, the Legislative Assembly, and the Tribunate were composed of men of good standing, but the method of their nomination deprived them of the authority of a legislature elected by the nation, so that any opposition on their part was unlikely and ineffectual. The press might have influenced public opinion and formed an opposition; but it had been drastically dealt with; only thirteen newspapers were allowed to survive in Paris, and these lived under the peril of suppression if they happened to give offence. Nor was this all. On the 28th Pluviôse, Year VIII (7 February 1800) a bill was introduced to reorganize the administration with a view to unconditional centralization. With this object in view, and in order to limit the powers of locally elected authorities in city, town, and village, municipal life and government was restricted by extending the powers of the officials appointed from Paris to govern the Departments and their subdivisions—the 'arrondissements'. 'Prefects' were given control of the former, with 'sub-prefects' under them for the latter. With them were associated as local

advisory bodies 'Departmental Councils', and 'Arrondissement Councils'. At a moment's notice the Prefects could make generally known all over France the wishes of the Chief of State whose despotism was becoming more and more evident and effective. The Tribunate criticized, the Legislative Body voted, and the scheme, promptly and intelligently applied, gave automatic results.

Jacobinism and Sans-culottism had had their day; something more virile than the rather featureless methods and practices of the Directory was required; the Consular Court established in the Tuileries since the 30th Nivôse (20 January 1800) gave the lead, affecting some semblance of Republican simplicity, but at the same time former society customs reappeared and a few of the names of the former nobility might be noted amongst the honorary officials of the new régime.

The First Consul was Head of the State, but the Constitution of the Year VIII expressly forbade him to hold any military command. Yet France had still to deal with the Second Coalition. Though Paul I of Russia had withdrawn, it still included Austria, ready to fight on two fronts, England, and a few minor Princes who received British subsidies. The First Consul's offers of peace were not accepted, and war went on. In March 1800 200,000 conscripts and 30,000 veterans were called up for service. Berthier resigned the Ministry of War to Carnot, and took command of an army. Kray's Austrian army was holding the line of the Rhine from Strasbourg to Schaffhausen; in north Italy Mélas's army was to cross the Apennines and invade Provence through the Genoese territory. Bonaparte gave Moreau the task of driving Kray back into Bavaria, and Masséna that of holding up Mélas about Genoa; a third army, which he would himself lead, was to cross the Alps and reconquer Italy. In Germany, Moreau lived up to his reputation and won a series of victories which led to the armistice of Parsdorf (15 July 1800); Masséna distinguished himself by his stubborn defence of Genoa (21 April-4 June). Attacked on land by the Austrians, and blockaded by a British fleet, he only surrendered when he was on the verge of starvation. During these operations

Bonaparte had formed a so-called 'Reserve Army' at Dijon. It seemed of no serious importance to the Austrian spies, who thought that it was intended as a reinforcement for the Rhine army. But Bonaparte raised it to a force of 60,000 men, and taking command of it himself (in direct violation of the Constitution) advanced into Italy by the passes of the Great St. Bernard, Mont-Cénis, and the Saint-Gothard. Mélas had no expectation of anything serious in this direction. The French were in Milan and Lombardy was reconquered when, having taken Genoa, he marched against Bonaparte, but after a first defeat at Montebello (10 June) he met with disaster at Marengo (14 June 1800). This day had most important results. On its morrow the Austrians signed a five months' cessation of hostilities and evacuated Italy as far as the Mincio. The winter campaign was equally successful for Bonaparte and gave back the whole of Italy to France, and a decisive victory was won by Moreau on the Danube at Hohenlinden (3 December). The road to Vienna lay open to Moreau when he agreed to sign the armistice of Steyer. Austria undertook to enter into peace negotiations and break with England. The negotiations led to the Peace of Lunéville (9 February 1801). England was unassailable. Malta had to capitulate after a blockade of twenty-six months by the British fleet on the sea, and a Maltese insurrection on land, and was surrendered to the English, who retained possession of it. This conquest estranged Tsar Paul I from his old allies, with whom he abruptly severed his connexion, for he had declared himself protector of the Knights of St. John. He went farther and, with Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, formed a league of neutrals, an 'Armed Neutrality' to resist England's right of search for contraband of war and enemy goods on neutral ships. The English Government immediately proceeded to seize the ships of the League and captured 400 in a few weeks; in reprisal for this action a Danish army corps occupied Hamburg and closed the Elbe to English trade while Prussia invaded Hanover.

Taking advantage of the Tsar Paul I's attitude towards him, the First Consul negotiated an alliance against England, with

the object of depriving her of her Indian Empire; the assassination of the Tsar (in the night of 23-4 March 1801) put a sudden stop to these negotiations. By a bold stroke, England called upon Denmark to reopen her ports and acknowledge the right of search. A fleet under Hyde Parker, with Nelson as his second in command, passed the batteries of the Sound and a squadron under Nelson forced the defences of Copenhagen, silencing the shore batteries and the warships and floating batteries moored across the harbour entrances. Under a threat that he would bombard the city and burn the shipping, he compelled the Government to surrender. The British fleet entered the Baltic, and appeared before Cronstadt; but the new Tsar, Alexander, at once offered to negotiate and the Armed Neutrality came to an end.

All these events had occurred before the end of the expedition to Egypt. On leaving the country Bonaparte had left Kléber in command and he negotiated the agreement to evacuate El-Arish (28 January 1800); tricked by the English, attacked by the Mamelukes, he decided to fight and continue the occupation. He was victorious at Heliopolis (20 March), but he was assassinated by an Arab fanatic on the 14th June. Menou, who took his place, only displayed his incapacity; on the 21st March 1801 he attacked a British army which had landed at Aboukir, but he was defeated and then blockaded in Alexandria. The British commander, Abercromby, was killed in the battle. His successor, Hely Hutchinson, was joined by a Turkish army. He took Rosetta and marched on Cairo. Belliard, who commanded there, found himself compelled to surrender on the 30th May, and it was agreed that his force of some 13,000 men should be conveyed to France. On the 30th August Menou surrendered Alexandria, under the same conditions, and his 10,000 troops were sent back to France.

Negotiations between England and France began in the later weeks of the summer. Preliminaries of peace were signed in London on the 1st October, and on the 25th March the Treaty of Amiens ended the war.

England restored all her oversea conquests except Ceylon,

which had belonged to Holland, and Trinidad, which had belonged to Spain. Cape Town was declared a free port. Egypt was returned to the Ottoman Government. The Ionian Islands were to form a republic under the joint suzerainty of the Porte and Russia. England was to restore Malta and Gozo to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem under the condition that their possession of the two islands should be guaranteed by the great Powers of Europe.

England further undertook not to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of Germany and the Batavian, Helvetian, and Italian Republics. All this amounted to an agreement to take no further interest in the affairs of continental Europe. On the other hand, England had secured the command of the sea.

Marengo, Lunéville, and Amiens had earned for Napoleon the gratitude and admiration of France; his genius and power seemed to justify every hope and every enterprise; public opinion was in favour of entrusting everything to him. The attempt at his assassination with an 'infernal machine' (24 December 1800) led to increased measures of severity against the 'Jacobins', of whom several were deported and a few condemned to death. The Royalists, who were also suspected, were less harshly treated. Special tribunals were instituted in thirty-two Departments. On this dangerous slope leading towards despotism, the First Consul took other steps fraught with graver importance, when he took advantage of the opportunity offered by the renewal of the Tribunate and Legislative Body, to exclude the leaders of the opposition and replace them by others who would be more pliable.

An outstanding event of the Consular period was the official restoration of freedom for Catholic worship. The Revolution had wrecked religion and substituted religious anarchy. The 'recusant' clergy still controlled the conduct of the majority of the faithful, since the 'constitutional' clergy were unable to live down the discredit they had incurred; schism, lack of faith, indifference had plunged France into a chaos. Bonaparte realized the necessity of restoring religion, and he was intelligent enough to see clearly how impossible it was to hesitate between the

Catholic Church and a State Church. On the 5th June 1800 he said to the clergy at Metz:

No society can exist without morality, and there can be no sound morality without religion. Only religion can therefore give the State solid and durable support. A society without religion is like a ship without a compass. . . . France, wiser for her misfortunes, has at last opened her eyes; she has realized that the Catholic religion was like an anchor and could alone steady her in her disturbed condition.

This admission did not prevent his anxiety lest the Church should obtain too much freedom in matters he considered to be his business rather than that of the ecclesiastical power. His policy was to contract an alliance with her, based on the advantages of mutual support, but as the event showed with the hope of assuring a dominant part for his own power. Hence the policy of the Concordat and its negotiation, undertaken in 1801, revealed the First Consul in an attitude always courageous but not always correct.

Pius VII, elected in a conclave held at Venice on the 14th March 1800, was gifted with a conciliatory disposition, and inclined to make concessions. The Peace of Lunéville had just restored his States to him, with the exception of Romagna, when he received the proposal to send plenipotentiaries to France. At first the negotiators met with serious difficulties. The pretensions of the First Consul were unacceptable, and he was irritated by opposition and delays. His scheme really amounted to an act of seizure on the Church of France, whose dioceses were to be redistributed and some of them suppressed; the nomination of the Bishops was to be given to the Government, and amongst those chosen were to be several 'Constitutional' Bishops, who were to be given canonical institution by the Holy See; the alienation of Church property was to be recognized, and finally the police were to have an unlimited right of issuing regulations for public worship.

The scheme came back from Rome with important reservations; then Bonaparte resorted to intimidation, threatened a rupture, recalled his Minister from Rome, and authorized a 'national' council of the 'Constitutional' Bishops in Paris

(29 June 1801). Alarmed at these proceedings, Pius VII agreed to send to Paris his Secretary of State, Cardinal Consalvi, known for his rectitude, his firmness, and his conciliatory tendencies. A compromise was reached after a long debate. The Catholic religion was declared to be 'that of the great majority of the French people' and freedom for its worship was guaranteed. The Head of the Church agreed to the redistribution of the dioceses¹ and undertook to obtain the abdication of the legitimate Bishops while the 'Constitutional' Bishops were to hand in their resignation to the First Consul; furthermore, he agreed to recognize the actual holdings of confiscated ecclesiastical property. With regard to right of police supervision, Consalvi stipulated that it should only apply to the maintenance of public order.

On the 15th July the plenipotentiaries exchanged signatures; on the 10th September both sides ratified the agreement in Paris; inevitable delays prevented the promulgation of the Concordat until the 8th April 1802. As a contract (*conventio*), it was at once the law of Church and State; the preamble contained seventeen articles. Its historical importance is sufficient to justify a summary:

Art. 1 decrees that religion shall be 'freely practised in France' and public worship allowed in conformity with the police regulations which the Government shall deem necessary for public order. Art. 2. The Holy See, in agreement with the Government, will proceed with a new division of French dioceses. Pius VII undertakes to call for the resignation of former holders of office and, in cases of refusal, will override them. (Out of 81 surviving Bishops, 45 agreed, 36 were deposed, of whom 13 refused to submit.) The French Government proposes (*présente*) a candidate within three months of a See becoming vacant, and the Head of the Church makes the appointment (*institute*) in accordance with existing regulations (Arts. 4 and 5). Bishops and ecclesiastics of the lower rank were to take the oath of allegiance similar to the former pledge to the King of France

¹ There was to be only one Episcopal See in each of the new Departments into which France had been divided.

(Arts. 6 and 7). Art. 8 prescribes the use of the invocations *Domine, salvam fac Rempublicam* and *Domine, salvos fac consules*. Arts. 9 to 12 determine the powers of Bishops in their respective dioceses. Art. 13 confirms the situation arising out of the sale of ecclesiastical property, and in return the Government guarantees suitable emoluments to Bishops and parish priests, and takes measures to support endowments in favour of churches (Arts. 14 and 15). Art. 16. The Holy See recognizes that the First Consul enjoys the same rights and privileges as did the old Government (individual privileges). Art. 17 provides for the case where one of the First Consul's successors should not be a Catholic; the privileges in question would then be the subject of a new agreement.

The Concordat was promulgated at Notre-Dame de Paris, on the 18th April 1802, by the Legate Caprara. Thereafter the Pope openly resumed spiritual authority in France. The Concordat inaugurated a new era in the relations between Church and State; it was destined to serve as a model for several others. With regard to the so-called 'Organic Articles of the Catholic Faith', they were exclusively the work of the French Government seeking to evade, in a roundabout way, some of the concessions it had been obliged to grant to the Papal negotiators.

These events, which have been all too briefly summarized, had inclined public opinion towards complete confidence in the First Consul. The latter aimed at possessing a power which should have no time limit; after some opposition, negotiations led to the idea of a national plebiscite to decide whether the First Consul was to hold the Consulate for life. On the 2nd August 1802 the Senate declared the result of this inquiry as being 3,568,885 'Ayes' against 8,374 'Noes'; most of the negative votes came from the ranks of the army. The Constitution of the Year VIII was immediately revised (4 August 1802) by a *senatus-consultum* which Bonaparte dictated to his secretary and corrected with his own hand. The Council of State and the Senate adopted it almost without discussion. Henceforward, the Consul had the right to appoint his successor, and this thinly veiled heredity did away with the Republic in fact, while

protecting it in name. In the *senatus-consultum* it was no longer a question of 'Citizen Bonaparte' but of 'Napoleon Bonaparte'; hence came the use of that resonant *prenomén* destined to such world-wide fame. A circular of the Minister of the Interior made the 15th August 'Napoleon Day' and a holiday; a circular issued by the Minister of Finance established a civil list of six million francs; a court grew up in the Tuileries round the Consul and Madame Bonaparte, who henceforth had four ladies-in-waiting. Long boots, the sabre, and hair oil were replaced by silk stockings, the court sword, and hair powder. France welcomed her new master.

Of all the institutions of the Consulate, the most popular was that of the Legion of Honour, of which the First Consul was the Chief; it was to be a hierarchy of the best servants of the country, whether military or civil, who had been honoured by the State for 'their knowledge, their talents, their virtues', and who had 'helped to defend the principles of the Republic, and caused justice and government to be loved and respected'.

From 1802 to 1804 France lived under the personal rule of Bonaparte; the opposition was dissatisfied, but it remained silent, and the Government continued its work of reconstruction without taking any notice of the timid plots that were furtively organized. The Legislative Body and the Senate, now reduced to helpless nullity, took their share of the honours and grants of money assigned to them. But the Peace of Amiens was to be little more than a truce; war between England and France became imminent.¹ On the 8th March 1803 a message from George III to the House of Commons declared that England was threatened by France, and 1,200 French and Dutch vessels, worth more than 200 millions, were seized by an embargo. Bonaparte replied by forming a camp at Boulogne, in prepara-

¹ The actual *casus belli* was the continued presence of a British garrison at Malta, which had become a useful naval base for the Mediterranean fleet. France declared this a breach of the Treaty of Amiens, England replied that the guarantee of the Great Powers for the secure possession of Malta by the Knights of St. John had not been given, and it was essential to the contract. Napoleon provoked the rupture by an angry scene with Lord Whitworth, the British Ambassador at Paris.

tion for an invasion of England. During this time came the Cadoudal conspiracy of the Royalists, and the First Consul had the young Bourbon Duc d'Enghien kidnapped on German territory and shot at Vincennes (21 March 1804), an inexcusable crime which will sully his reputation for ever. But in France the discovery of Georges Cadoudal's conspiracy led to an outburst of enthusiasm which decided the Senate (27 March) to offer the 'Great Man' hereditary powers and the title which it was decided, on the 23rd April, to grant him, was suggested by a word that was already on every one's lips: The Empire. On the 18th May 1804 a *senatus-consultum* proclaimed the adoption of an Imperial Constitution and, on the very same day, Napoleon Bonaparte received and accepted the title of 'Emperor of the French'.

49. NAPOLEON—EMPEROR (1804-9)

The Empire was an essentially military régime; the army became its leading instrument of policy and power and, for a time, the nation seemed to be incarnate in it. Under the Directory, Bonaparte had been the most active agent of that adventurous policy of 'Sister Republics'; now that he was Emperor, he formed his plan of entrusting tributary kingdoms to members of his family and his purpose was thus to subdue a great part of Europe—Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and Portugal—to the French Empire. This aberration was his undoing and resulted in dire losses to France, which would have been unassailable had she confined herself to her natural frontiers, as recognized by the Treaty of Basel.

Under the Empire the place of the armed nation of the Revolution was taken by the professional army, made up almost entirely of units trained for all eventualities and ready for every daring adventure; but this army, though its uniforms made a brilliant spectacle on parades of occasions of state, showed even in long years of war no improvement in its armament and equipment for active service. The preparations for campaigns such as those of 1805 or 1806 were masterpieces of foresight from the strategic standpoint, but from the administrative point of view

they were marvels of improvidence; the attempt to 'make war support itself' and draw supplies largely from the invaded districts led to all manner of excesses and discipline often broke down. In the Russian campaign of 1812 the losses in the three months' advance from the Niemen to Moscow, even if we leave out of account the casualties in battle, were heavier than those of the disastrous winter retreat.

In spite of these serious defects Napoleon's Grande Armée was probably the most formidable instrument of conquest that had yet existed, and this was because of its powers of endurance, its valour, devotion, and traditions of honour, inspired by the soldierly spirit of the French race. It has been rightly said that, for a time, Napoleon raised the French to superhuman heights. Through him, France was sated with military glory, and the very humblest of her sons was intoxicated with it; that is why this glory has become the heritage of the nation, and the man who sacrificed its manhood with such reckless prodigality is still regarded as all but a demigod, terrible but alluring. But so much glory could be bought only with death and destruction; it cost from six to seven million lives, and herein lies the explanation of so much of the hatred with which the fair name of France is still regarded in many other lands, where she is held responsible for so much unforgiven suffering.

The creation of the French Empire caused grave anxiety in Europe, which saw in it the revived menace of the Roman Empire with its centre changed from Rome to Paris, where Pope Pius VII presided at the Emperor's coronation (2 December 1804). The anxieties of the European sovereigns were soon justified. England, directly threatened by the Camps of Boulogne, saw a fleet of 2,543 small craft made ready in a few weeks for the transport of seven army corps (120,000 men) of picked troops across the Channel.

Napoleon's plan for obtaining temporary command of the crossing was that the Toulon fleet should evade Nelson's blockade and make a dash across the Atlantic to draw some of the British naval forces to the West Indies. The Commander at Toulon was Admiral Villeneuve, whom the Emperor regarded

as a skilful and lucky seaman. Having misled the enemy, he was to double back to the Bay of Biscay, bring the French warships out of Ferrol, Brest, and Rochefort, and enter the Channel with the force thus collected, to protect the transit of the Grande Armée to the shores of Sussex.

Villeneuve slipped out of Toulon in the night of the 31st March. Nelson had no wish to keep him there; he hoped to beat him in battle on the open sea. A few frigates watched the port, but the main fleet was kept off Sardinia. Misled by false rumours that the French were planning a raid on Egypt, when he heard the French were out he disposed his force to bar their way southward and eastward, so that some precious days were lost before he heard that Villeneuve had run out into the Atlantic.

Bringing a few Spanish ships out of Cadiz, Villeneuve steered for the West Indies. Nelson, after a long delay, had followed him, and did not reach Barbadoes till the 4th June. He sought in vain for the French fleet in the West Indian seas, for on the 5th June Villeneuve had sailed northward from Martinique, and then steered for the Bay of Biscay. He had bad weather and heavy losses from sickness in his crews, and on the 22nd July, on a foggy morning, he was brought to action by a British squadron under Admiral Calder, some ninety miles off the Spanish Cape Finisterre. Two of his Spanish ships were captured. He got away to Vigo and, after crowding the hospitals with his sick men, moved north to Corunna. Napoleon ordered him to push on to the Channel 'at all risks'. Reinforced by a few ships from Ferrol, he sailed northwards, but was scared by a false report that there was a strong British fleet not many miles ahead of him. He lost heart and went back to Cadiz. When the news of the retirement to Cadiz reached the Emperor, he issued his orders for the march of the Grande Armée to the Rhine, the first stage in the career of victory that gave him the triumphs of Ulm and Austerlitz, Jena and Friedland.

Nelson had left the West Indies when, after a long delay, he heard that Villeneuve was on the way to Europe. He reached Gibraltar without any sight of his enemy, then went to the Irish coast on reports of French action in that direction, and in bad

health, and depressed by a sense of failure, he handed the command over to Collingwood and went on leave to England.

On the 15th September he left England to take command of the fleet that was blockading Cadiz. Villeneuve did not venture to challenge a battle until he heard he was soon to be deprived of his command. On the 19th October he put out to sea, and two days later Nelson's life ended in his crowning victory of Trafalgar.¹

Napoleon led his army by forced marches to the Danube and, after capturing General Mack's army at Ulm, made for Vienna so as to outstrip the Russian army. Vienna was occupied without a blow being struck. Anticipating the advance of the Austro-Russians (whom the Prussians were hesitating to join) Napoleon wasted no time there; he advanced as far as Olmütz and won the tremendous victory at Austerlitz which brought a flawless campaign to an end, and established the fame of Napoleon's military genius for all time (2 December 1805). The third coalition was overthrown, and a few weeks later William Pitt died. 'We shall not need the map of Europe for another ten years,' he had said when the news of Austerlitz reached London.

On the 26th December the Treaty of Pressburg marked Napoleon's first steps towards universal dominion and the withdrawal of Austria from Germany and Italy. Francis II exchanged the title of Holy Roman Emperor for that of Emperor of Austria, and Napoleon added to his imperial title that of King of Italy. On the pretext of reorganizing Germany, Napoleon immediately founded the Confederation of the Rhine with himself at the head. At the same time he began to provide for the members of his family, to whom he allotted tottering thrones at the price of absolute submission such as would be exacted from vassals in respect of an overlord whose power was boundless. His rule extended over France, the Netherlands, western Germany, and Italy.

¹ Of Villeneuve's Franco-Spanish fleet seventeen ships were taken in the fight, another blew up, and four that escaped to the westward were captured a few days later. Eleven ships got back to Cadiz, only to be helplessly blockaded until nearly three years later the city rose in revolt against the French, and the ships surrendered without even a show of resistance.

A fourth coalition was formed against him. Prussia regretted having lost her opportunity but hoped to renew it. Thanks to the English subsidies (£6,000,000 sterling) she armed as the ally of England, Russia, and Sweden (September 1806). The Prussian leaders honoured the tradition of Frederick the Great's victories, but had nothing of his genius. In answer to their challenge, Napoleon took the field, and on the 14th October won two decisive battles at Jena and Auerstadt; there was a complete collapse: 20,000 killed or wounded, 18,000 prisoners, 200 cannon and 60 standards captured, and the Prussian army destroyed in Murat's untiring pursuit to the shores of the Baltic; the Emperor entered Berlin in triumph.

Prussia was overcome, crushed, and ruined; all that was left of her army was a small remnant at Königsberg. But Russia had not disarmed, and a new campaign began in Poland on the 26th December; it would have been better to have waited for the spring. However, the armies fought in the snow at Eylau (8 February 1807), and there was a terrible slaughter, which hardly amounted to a victory. Men began to doubt whether Napoleon was really invincible, but his army was reorganized and fought the Russians again in the summer at Friedland (14 June 1807) and inflicted on them a defeat which recalled the most glorious of Napoleon's earlier triumphs and left the Tsar's army completely disabled. The fourth coalition was dissolved, Russia attributed her ill fortune to Prussia and England, and in this mood the Peace of Tilsit was concluded (8 July 1807), which drew Napoleon and Alexander together in a project for sharing the dominion of Europe and the East.

Tilsit marked the zenith of Napoleon's reign. He was victorious and possessed an ally with whom he could hope to reduce England to submission. With this object, he proclaimed the Continental Blockade, on the 21st November 1807 in Berlin, with a decree that closed the harbours of all Europe against British trade.

It was indeed a grandiose scheme which practically aimed at depriving Europe of all maritime trade, except mere coastal traffic, and suspending the economic life of 100 million men;

but it was an unrealizable dream, the first link in a chain of errors which in five years would lead to the abyss; but just then the glamour of triumph, the glitter of receptions, the occasionally successful efforts to revive industry and commerce, to create public prosperity, sustained peoples' courage and fostered illusions. The Franco-Russian alliance seemed to be completely satisfactory and to guarantee an ultimate triumph over England, but opposition in certain quarters was already tending to resort to threats. Pius VII declared that he could not close his ports against the flag of any Christian State, and, not having any quarrel with Great Britain, declined in that connexion to obey Napoleon's orders. The ports of the Papal States were therefore used by the commanders of British ships, a facility of which they availed themselves and for which they expressed their appreciation. Tuscany asked for the presence of French troops to put a stop to contraband trade. By this time the Spanish peninsula seemed likely to become a suitable base for operations against England and, with this in view, an expedition was dispatched against Portugal, and was a pretext for the gradual movement of large French forces into northern Spain, but Napoleon's real idea was to resume the policy of the 'Family Pact' of the days when Bourbon Kings reigned in both France and Spain. He hoped to use the naval resources of Spain to reinforce those of France against England.

After Tilsit there had been an English declaration of war against Russia as the ally of France, but the only serious action that followed was directed against a neutral, Denmark. The English ministry had been assured by a secret agent, considered to be reliable, that Napoleon and Alexander had a plan for seizing the Danish fleet to supplement their own squadrons and were counting also on getting possession of the Spanish and Portuguese fleets. Without a declaration of war a powerful English fleet appeared before Copenhagen, and demanded that all the Danish warships should be handed over to England until there was a general peace. On a refusal of this summons 30,000 men were landed and the city was bombarded. A surrender followed, and 18 battleships, 15 frigates, some 30 smaller craft,

and a great quantity of naval stores were brought to England, where opinion was deeply divided as to the justification of this act of aggression. In foreign countries it excited widespread denunciation (2 September 1807).

The Tsar, while waiting for the great operations in Asia, outlined at Tilsit, launched out on wars in north and south—the former against Sweden eventually added Finland to his Empire, the latter against Turkey gave him Bessarabia.

Napoleon was busy with his scheme for adding Spain and Portugal to the tributary kingdoms of his Empire. At the end of January 1808 the English ministry declared in favour of war to the last; on receipt of this news, Napoleon could contain himself no longer, and thought only of convulsing the Old World the better to crush England beneath its ruins; he handed over Sweden to Russia and retained Spain for himself; later on they would unite to share the Ottoman Empire and a Franco-Russian army would advance against India. An interview between the two Sovereigns of France and Russia was to smooth away all difficulties. The interview was postponed, and the division of the world was left in abeyance.

An unexpected event had just occurred in Spain: a revolution in the Palace at Aranjuez (18 March 1808).

The Spanish Government had welcomed the coming of the Consulate; at the time of the victory of Marengo, enthusiasm for France was at its height and Godoy returned to power. The Treaty of Aranjuez (21 March 1801) restored Louisiana to France, and gained for Spain the Duchy of Tuscany, which was transformed into the Kingdom of Etruria for the benefit of Charles IV's son-in-law. When the renewed rupture between France and England occurred in 1803 Charles IV showed himself to be heartily in favour of the French alliance (May) but hoped to avoid a direct part in the war by supplying large subsidies. On the 19th October Godoy undertook to provide 6 million livres monthly, but neither France nor England allowed Spanish neutrality, and when England was convinced that the Franco-Spanish alliance was concluded, she attacked four Spanish frigates without a formal declaration of war

(1 October 1804). On the 4th December Charles IV himself declared war. Spain fitted out three squadrons and shared with France the disaster of Trafalgar which wiped her navy off the seas. Intoxicated by the glories of Ulm and Austerlitz, Napoleon demanded a further 24 millions.

Godoy was harassed by such an unreasonable demand and his idea was to free himself from his obligations to France; in August 1806 he felt inclined to join the fourth coalition and, long before he was ready to take the field, issued, on the 5th October, a warlike manifesto against an unspecified enemy. Nine days later, the victory of Jena terrified Godoy and Charles IV, who apologized to Napoleon and were overwhelmed with compliments and flatteries. Godoy was loaded with fresh honours and became all the more detested by the heir to the throne, Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, whom the French ambassador was able to persuade that in Napoleon he would find a staunch support against the favourite.

On his return from Tilsit, the Emperor took the Spanish situation personally in hand. To Charles IV he suggested the conquest, at their common expense, of Portugal, which had refused to adhere to the Continental Blockade. By a subsequent treaty Charles IV was to obtain Portugal with the title of Emperor of the Indies; to this he agreed (27 October 1807). A French army occupied Portugal and entered Lisbon (30 November).¹ An unending stream of French troops poured into Spain and in March 1808, one-third of the country was occupied and Murat was at the gates of Madrid. Meanwhile a palace intrigue had taken up the whole attention of Charles IV and Godoy and discredited the Prince of the Asturias, on whose behalf his father had been asking Napoleon for the hand of a Princess of the imperial family. On the 18th March came a rising at Aranjuez, Godoy escaped with his life, Charles IV abdicated, on the 23rd March Murat entered Madrid leaving a French army in the suburbs, and next day the Prince of the Asturias arrived and was received with enthusiasm by the people as 'Ferdinand VII'.

¹ The King and the royal family of Portugal took refuge in Brazil.

Murat now played a skilful game. Charles IV and his Queen were protesting that their forced abdication was invalid. Ferdinand, supported by the Madrid Junta, was claiming that he had rightfully succeeded to the Crown. Murat persuaded both parties that their best hope was to go to Bayonne, where Napoleon had arrived, and leave their claims to be settled by this friendly and all-powerful protector of Spain. They thus became virtually Napoleon's prisoners. He declared that Charles IV could not be restored to the throne and treated Ferdinand as a rebel. Both were forced to resign all claim to the Crown of Spain. Charles was sent to Compiègne, his son to Valençay (10 May). On the 26th June an imperial decree announced that the Emperor's elder brother Joseph was to resign the Crown of Naples and succeed to that of Spain. He was to be replaced on the Neapolitan throne by Murat, the husband of Napoleon's sister, Caroline.

Joseph left Bayonne on the 9th July to take possession of his new capital. The fact that since the 2nd May insurrection was blazing up in most of the provinces of Spain had been concealed from him; he was told that his escort of 1,500 men was a mere guard of honour. Three days later at Vittoria he had bad news. Cuesta and Blake with 40,000 Spanish regulars and insurgents were barring his way. Joseph wished to negotiate, but Marshal Bessièrès got 14,000 troops together and on the 14th July, at Medina de Rio Seco, in a six hours' battle and a fierce pursuit he routed the Spaniards and took all their guns and 6,000 prisoners. On the 20th Joseph entered Madrid, where the French party organized a welcome. But in the next week each day brought more bad news. In the south, on the 21st, Dupont's army had surrendered to the Spaniards under Castaños at Baylén; Cadiz had revolted and the insurgents had seized the Spanish fleet in the harbour. The British were landing in Portugal. The Marshals told Joseph he was not safe at Madrid. He retired to Burgos and Castaños entered the capital in triumph. The national rising was spreading like wildfire.

Joseph was anxious to leave Spain and return to Naples. He wrote to the Emperor that some other kingdom might be found

for King Joachim Murat. The Bonapartes thought of marking out kingdoms on the map and setting up thrones much as company promoters think of floating new companies. Napoleon told his brother he must remain where he was, and began pouring troops into Spain. This Spanish adventure was becoming the deadly drain on his resources that sapped his power.

Napoleon was in Paris, and amongst other anxieties had to deal with a conspiracy against his throne. He had promised to meet the Tsar in Germany, and the two Emperors met on the 27th September at Erfurt. Four of Napoleon's tributary kings were present at this Congress, which lasted for over a fortnight during which part of each day was given to courtly festivities. The Emperor of Austria sent an ambassador to excuse his absence. 'I suppose,' said Napoleon, 'he prefers to do his lying by deputy.' Talleyrand was there and Napoleon did not like to see him very friendly to the Austrian envoy. This master of intrigue had also some private meetings with the Tsar. Talleyrand, indeed, seems to have been already providing for his own interests in case of a collapse of his imperial master's daring projects.

On the 12th October the two Emperors signed an agreement valid for ten years; on the 14th they parted, and Napoleon, after a short stay in Paris, went to Spain, which he hoped to subdue in three months.

There were now about 250,000 French troops in Spain. Napoleon took command on the 6th November. In a month he had broken up the Spanish armies in the north, and on the 6th December he reoccupied the capital.

A British army of some 20,000 men, under Sir John Moore, had advanced from Portugal to Salamanca in the hope of combining with the Spaniards and saving the capital, but found it impossible to assist them. He planned a march on Burgos to cut Napoleon's main line of supply from France, and moving north-east he was joined at Mayorga, north of Valladolid, by reinforcements with which Sir David Baird had landed at Corunna. Between him and Burgos there was only a force of some 20,000 under Soult, and he counted on a victory, until the capture of a dispatch from Berthier told him that Napoleon

was crossing the Guadarrama Sierra with some 70,000 men to cut his communications with Portugal and overwhelm his small army. Closely pursued by the French, he retired through bitter wintry weather by Astorga to Corunna, where, on the 16th January 1809, he secured the embarkation of what was left of his force, by defeating the French vanguard under Soult. Moore was killed in the battle. In the retreat and the fight he had lost some 6,000 men.

Returning to the Tuileries on the 23rd January, Napoleon spent February and March in bringing back part of his troops from Spain to the Rhine and the Upper Danube, for it was no longer possible to disguise the imminence of a fresh war with Austria. On the 10th April, without any preliminary declaration of war, the Austrian army, under the command of the Archduke Charles, crossed the frontier, invaded Bavaria, and commenced hostilities. Napoleon could only oppose these 310,000 men with an army inferior in numbers and quality to the army of Austerlitz; the moment had therefore come to appeal to the Russian ally; no effort was spared to obtain this co-operation, no promise seemed to be too costly. But the Tsar was already in secret correspondence with Austria, and determined to delay, and only sent a small force to co-operate with Poniatowski's army in Galicia.

The fifth coalition against France was assisted by a subsidy of a hundred millions sterling from England. The 1809 campaign opened on the 19th April with the battles of Abensberg and Eckmühl. Then, on the 21st and 22nd May, the battles of Aspern and Essling on the Danube reduced Napoleon to the verge of disaster; but on the 6th July he won the victory of Wagram, one of his most hard-fought and skilfully conducted battles; it brought the war to an end. A preliminary treaty was signed at Altenburg (13-14 October 1809) and peace was made at Vienna (14 October). Austria lost some territory and three and a half million subjects. Napoleon added to his Empire part of Croatia and Carinthia, Istria, and Gorizia, with the Adriatic ports of Trieste, Pola, and Fiume; all these, with Ragusa and Dalmatia, became French territory under the name

of the 'Illyrian Provinces'. Austria had also to cede to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (one of Napoleon's tributaries) Cracow, Western Galicia, and Tarnopol.

The Tsar received a small increase of territory with 400,000 new subjects. He was in ill humour at the part Napoleon had given to the Polish forces in the war, and the important gains of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw at the peace. In Russia many of the nobles were chafing at the French alliance, and a rift between Bonaparte and the Tsar had begun to open.

50. NAPOLEON AND EUROPE

After the 6th July 1809 there were evident signs of weakness in the imperial system, and it seemed that its decline was near at hand.

The Church. Ever since Pius VII's journey to Paris for the coronation (1804) the Church had been increasingly subjected to a series of encroachments, exactions, and abuses of power, the most intolerable of which was the order to close the ports of the Papal States against English trade (7 January 1806)—a flagrant violation of the neutrality of the Holy See. Pius VII's refusal to comply was followed by the French occupation of four pontifical provinces (28 August 1807) and of Rome (February 1808). On the 17th May 1809 Napoleon declared the annexation of the States of the Church to the Empire and on the 10th June a Bull pronounced excommunication against him, but without as yet actually naming him. This Bull was an appeal to all Christendom against the spoliation of the Holy See. On the night of the 5th–6th July the Pontiff was arrested, and taken away to Savona, where he was closely guarded and unable to fulfil any function whatever of his sacred office.

While he thus kept the Pope a close prisoner, Napoleon consummated a further act of injustice. His marriage with Josephine had given him no direct heir; he meant to break both the civil and religious bond, but Canon Law was opposed to this and the alleged causes for annulment of the marriage could not be admitted; however, in weak subservience to the Emperor, who had suppressed the only competent authority, the Eccle-

siastical Court of the Archdiocese of Paris provided a decree of annulment of the religious marriage; the other only depended on the Civil Code, and a *senatus-consultum* was all-sufficient (16 December 1809). The declaration of the divorce (annulment) was followed by a second union, celebrated on the 1st and 2nd April 1810, between Napoleon and Marie-Louise, Archduchess of Austria, who gave birth to a son who was given the title of King of Rome (21 March 1811).

Pius VII refused canonical appointments to newly named Bishops of France and Italy, but Napoleon ordered them to take possession of their sees without this authorization. A council assembled in Paris (17 June 1811), presided over by Cardinal Fesch, declared that it was incompetent to supply even provisionally any authorization. The Pope, harassed and ill, yielded and granted a brief (20 September), which Napoleon refused, then he dismissed the national council (20 October). Pius VII was removed from Savona to Fontainebleau (20 June 1812), where Napoleon visited him, and there took place between them a stormy interview, though the Pope himself specifically denied that Napoleon was guilty of any act of violence against him. The Pope was induced to sign a new Concordat. As its preamble stated, this Concordat was intended only 'to serve as a basis for a definitive arrangement'. Napoleon, however, had it published, just as it stood, as a law of the State. This was a gross breach of faith, and the Pope therefore refused to carry on further negotiations for transforming the preliminary agreement into a definitive act. On the eve of the Empire's downfall Pius VII was set free and left Fontainebleau for Savona (11 February 1814) and Rome (24 May).

Italy. In 1799 Italians had joined in the pursuit of the retreating French armies, but in 1800 the French were welcomed when they came back victorious. After Marengo, the First Consul hoped to establish a stable system of government that would unite Italy to France by enduring bonds and make her a rampart against Austria; in order to have control of the Alpine passes route he annexed Piedmont to France; and he secured the use of the port which gave him control of the maritime

resources of Genoa by keeping the Ligurian Republic in existence but closely subjected to the influence of French domination. In 1805 Napoleon felt that he had complete mastery and possession of Italy; he made a triumphal progress through the country and had himself crowned 'King of Italy'¹ in Milan (26 May), entrusting the government to a viceroy, Prince Eugène Beauharnais, his step-son. As his representative, Eugène devoted all his energies to applying Napoleon's maxims and carrying out his wishes. The territorial expansion given to the new kingdom by the annexation of Venetia suggested to some the hope of the whole country being united under one sceptre and enjoying its future independence under a national dynasty. There was soon disillusion and disappointment. The formation of the kingdom was never completed; united Italy remained a dream to be realized in far-off years. For the time being its only unity was its general subjection to Napoleon, who dominated more thoroughly the whole country from the Alps to the Strait of Messina than the Habsburgs had ever been able to do in all the long rivalry of France and Germany in the Italian lands. The country really divided into three provinces of the new Empire, one under direct imperial rule, the two others governed by Napoleon's step-son, Beauharnais, and in the south under his brother Joseph from 1806 to 1808, and then from the 6th September 1808 under his brother-in-law Joachim Murat, who bore the title of king, but chafed at being treated as a mere viceroy.

Yet it may be claimed for Napoleon's 'Kingdom of Italy' that it was fruitful in many administrative reforms, and, though it imposed a heavy toll of conscription on its people to swell the numbers of the Grande Armée, it gave them good government, a better legislation, a well-organized development of roads and public works, a new impulse to education and cultural life in its cities. The influence of its years of prosperity survived in many ways its fall. Its very name suggested an ideal, and it inaugurated a new phase in Italian political thought.

¹ The Napoleonic 'Kingdom of Italy' at its greatest extension included only Lombardy, Venetia, the Romagna with part of the territory of the former duchies of Modena and Parma, and the north of the March of Ancona as far as the River Tronto. The population was about 6½ millions.

Of all the periods of subjection [says the Italian historian Cesare Balbo] none was so prosperous, fruitful, useful, almost great and glorious, as the Napoleonic period. It seemed less shameful to serve when it meant serving, with half Europe, an energetic, famous man, who might be counted as an Italian, if not by birth, at least by descent and name. Failing genuine independence, there were hopes of its early acquisition; failing political liberty, the framework was there, and people enjoyed that civil equality which, to so many, is a compensation even for despotic rule.

If men were not free to write all they thought, jealousy, mistrust of knowledge in all its forms, contempt of cultured men had disappeared. If commercial activity had declined, industrial, agricultural, and military activity continued. Then it was that the Italians, first the Piedmontese, then the Lombards and Romagnoli, lastly the Tuscans, Romans, and Neapolitans adopted that military career in which they became brothers in arms of the soldiers who had conquered Europe, and earned distinction and fame in the French armies. In short, Italy's subjection left her free to share the pleasures, activities, and pride of her masters; it no longer bore the oppressive, depressive stamp of former times. It was from that time onwards that the name of Italy was again uttered with affectionate pride, that provincial or municipal jealousies were laid aside. This epoch began a new era in the destiny of Italy.

Switzerland. The first years of the Helvetian Republic had been arduous. They were a time of confusion and discontent. On the 8th January 1800, the two legislative Councils of the Republic placed power in the hands of an 'Executive Commission', which had for its mission to find remedies for the evils from which the country was suffering, appealing to France for support; on the 8th August the Commission took the name of 'Executive Council', asked for the withdrawal of French troops, and the change of the existing offensive and defensive alliance into one of defence only. After the Peace of Lunéville, Bonaparte left only one division of his army in Switzerland and, on the 29th May 1801, he accepted a scheme for a constitution known as the 'Malmaison Act', from the place where it was negotiated.

Two other constitutions followed (February 1802, May 1802),

but there was still a political dispute between two parties, the Unitarians (or centralists) and the Federalists. They sent their representatives to Saint-Cloud to argue their cause before Bonaparte, who accepted the position of mediator. He pointed out that everything was bringing them back to federalism, and recommended a return to the old system, while insisting on the need for a close union between Switzerland and France. The Act of Mediation was signed on the 19th February 1803; it put an end to the Helvetic Republic and restored, with some modifications, the local institutions of the cantons, while making the central government more effective. The Constitution was brought in without the least disturbance.

During the Napoleonic wars Switzerland enjoyed peace at home and concentrated on the liquidation of the Helvetic national debt. Eleven years of peace allowed the internal activity of the nation to expand in many directions and led to a new material and intellectual prosperity, though the former felt some indirect effects of the Continental Blockade after 1809. The consequent increased cost of living and scarcity of some articles of daily necessity provoked general discontent. The immediate neighbourhood of France involved other inconveniences, including some territorial modifications, of which the most important was the annexation of the Canton of Vaud to the Empire in 1810.

On the 27th September 1803 a military compromise was signed by which France took into her pay 16,000 Swiss troops, divided into four regiments, as well as a depot of 4,000 men. Other States continued to recruit Swiss soldiers until 1807, when Napoleon insisted on a monopoly of this field of recruiting and the Swiss Government recalled a number of Switzers who were serving under the British flag.

Napoleon repeatedly violated Swiss neutrality by moving detachments for his armies through the country, and took care that the national army should be kept at merely nominal strength. The Act of Mediation only allowed a force of 15,000 men, composed of contingents from the Cantons; Swiss neutrality was thus little more than a name. When the general

uprising of Europe against the Empire came the Allies were no more inclined to respect it than Napoleon had been. On the 21st December 1813 the Austrians crossed the Rhine and, ten days later, occupied Geneva, where a provisional government had proclaimed its reunion with the Swiss Republic. On the 29th December the Diet abolished the régime of the Mediation.

Holland. Between 1789 and 1814 Holland experienced many vicissitudes. In 1787 William V of Orange had been restored by Prussia to his title and powers as Stadholder, but he was unable to resist the armies of the Convention which declared war against him on the 1st February 1793. The invasion and conquest of Holland by Pichegru compelled William of Orange to leave the country; he was never to see it again (17 January 1795). His departure left the field clear for the 'patriotic' party which set up the Batavian Republic, but this revolution was characterized by a practical wisdom which almost entirely prevented most of the excesses which are generally associated with such a crisis. A national convention met at The Hague (1 March 1796); there was much debating between 'Unitarians' and 'Federalists' but, thanks to the influence of the French ambassador, they agreed on a scheme for a constitution based on that of the French Constitution of 1795. This scheme was rejected by the coalition of the ultra-revolutionaries and federalists (August 1797). A second assembly met, which patched up one more constitution. A series of changes in the organization of the Republic followed, power being more and more concentrated in small groups of politicians, with less and less of popular control. Throughout, the French ambassador's influence was a dominant factor. Holland had to bear the expense of both a French army of occupation and the 'Batavian army' of the Republic. It was involved in the war with England as the ally of France. Its colonies were all temporarily lost, its trade crippled, and, in 1797, its fleet destroyed at Camperdown. In 1805 the last of the series of Republican constitutions was adopted, and an able and patriotic leader, Jan Schimmelpenninck, took charge of the Government with the revived title of Grand Pensionary. In his attempts to introduce long-needed

reforms, he tried to assert the independence of his country against the constant interference of Napoleon. In November 1805 French troops were pouring into Holland and Belgium, to form an 'Army of the North', under the nominal command of Napoleon's brother Louis. The pretext was to provide for the defence of the Netherlands in the event of the expected war with Prussia. The Batavian Republic was to pay the expenses of the army, and buy horses for its artillery. In January 1806 the Grand Pensionary had written to Talleyrand to say that his health was failing, and he hoped a successor would be appointed before long. He was told in reply that he must send a special envoy to Paris to discuss the future of Holland with the Emperor. Napoleon told the Dutch envoy that Holland needed a more stable form of government than a Republic, and it was to become a kingdom under a French prince. An attempt to avert the change by negotiation led at last to the Emperor declaring that for Holland the choice lay between annexation to France or the acceptance of this new ruler. Resistance was impossible. On the 4th June the Grand Pensionary resigned his office. Next day, at the Tuileries, there was the solemn farce of a Dutch deputation inviting Louis Bonaparte to be their King and the proclamation of the Prince as 'King of Holland' followed immediately.

Louis was amiable and compliant, equally incapable of creating a happy home or of governing a great kingdom; he devoted all his abilities to restoring free navigation and commerce to a country to which this was all-important. The financial and commercial questions involved him in disagreements with his brother, whose imperious demands placed him in a position similar to that of a French commissioner in an invaded country; disillusioned, embittered, and disgusted, Louis abdicated in favour of his son (1 July 1810) and took refuge in Bohemia; Napoleon joined Holland by decree to the imperial territory and divided it into nine departments. This humiliation lasted three years. On the 15th November 1813 Amsterdam revolted, and on the 21st Hogendorp took over the provisional government. On the 2nd December the Prince of Orange entered

Amsterdam, where he was proclaimed 'Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands'. In the summer the allied sovereigns decided to unite Belgium to Holland pending the resolutions of the Congress of Vienna.

The Confederation of the Rhine. When the French eastern frontier was pushed forward to the Rhine all the German territories on its western bank had been annexed and divided into French Departments. After the victory of Austerlitz Napoleon proceeded to reorganize the German States on the eastern side of the great river. The old Empire of Germany—the 'Holy Roman Empire'—had ceased to exist, its last Emperor, Francis II, changing his style and title to that of Francis I, Emperor of Austria. He had ceded the Tyrol to Bavaria, and minor possessions of the old Empire in central Germany to Wurtemberg and Baden. On the 12th July 1806 Napoleon proclaimed the formation of the 'Confederation of the Rhine', a league of States under his imperial protection. A number of minor principalities and some ecclesiastical dominions and countships were abolished and their lands turned over to the nearest of the confederated States, or made the possessions of new States to be presided over by the Emperor's relatives. On the lower Rhine the Grand Duchy of Berg was formed, to be given to Marshal Murat; east of this little State, as far as the Elbe, there was to be the new Kingdom of Westphalia, with Prince Jerome Bonaparte for its King. Other States of the Confederation were to be Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg, Nassau, and Hesse-Darmstadt. The Duchy of Mecklenburg and the Kingdom of Saxony were later additions. In all the States of the Confederation there was to be complete independence so far as internal affairs were concerned, but the foreign policy of the league was to be that of France, and the armies of all the Confederates were to be at the disposal of the Emperor, who was also to be allowed to place garrisons in several of the fortresses.

On the left bank of the Rhine French dominion was accepted without protest, and, after the Consulate, the admiration inspired by Napoleon was as enthusiastic and general as in France. Effective improvements and an added sense of safety led to

rapid progress being made in the country; in the towns, people were slower to accept the new state of affairs, but well-chosen prefects took the interests of their districts in hand, gave fresh confidence, revived prosperity, and stilled unrest, so that, when reverses came, there was no attempt at revolt anywhere. A quarter of a century had been enough to produce a kind of affection for the good-natured conqueror, and Prussia only overcame this feeling by another quarter of a century of patience and perseverance.

On the right bank of the Rhine social conditions were less favourable, and Napoleon's abuses of power were certainly not of a kind to win him the affection of the newly created sovereigns. The south allowed itself to be moulded, the north set up a stubborn resistance to all the conqueror's advances. French influence was manifested chiefly in reaction. Prussia, treated with extreme severity, waited and prepared her revenge. Thuringia and the two Mecklenburgs endured the Rhine Confederation in the hopes of breaking away; Saxony played with the hope of succeeding Prussia, and while France spoke of liberty Germany experimented in conspiracies and rebellions which were the prelude to the insurrection that was in preparation.

The Emperor's extravagant acts and his tyranny discouraged friendly inclinations; the annexation of Holland betrayed the instability of thrones, neither monarchs nor peoples could foresee the morrow. On the 5th December 1811 King Jerome wrote to his brother:

The country is in a serious state of ferment; if war breaks out, the whole region from the Rhine to the Oder will be the scene of a general insurrection. The cause of this ferment is not only hatred of France and discontent provoked by a foreign yoke; it is to be found more in the misfortunes of the times, the utter ruin of all classes, the excessive oppression of the taxes, requisitions of war, passage of troops, incessant annoyances of all kinds. We have to fear the outbursts of despair of peoples who have nothing more to lose, since everything has been taken from them.

Poland. After the Third Partition, Poland no longer existed, and yet many Poles hoped that the Tsar Alexander would

restore their fatherland under the protection of Russia, others put their faith in Napoleon; the treaty of Tilsit destroyed their hopes. However, Napoleon founded the Grand Duchy of Warsaw out of the territory withdrawn from Prussia; it was an incongruous and ephemeral institution. This State provided an army, and on the eve of the Russian campaign there was widespread hope for the restoration of Poland. The disaster of 1812 brought the Russians back to Warsaw on the 18th February 1813. The Grand Duchy now existed only in name; it was provisionally retained until Europe would decide its fate.

51. ENGLAND (1800-13)

England had been for years at war with France through all the changes of its Government, and when these led up to the personal rule of a successful general it still championed the cause of the exiled dynasty, though less out of sympathy for the Bourbons than out of aversion to Bonaparte, whom Pitt denounced as 'having no other means of retaining power than his sword, and only the glory of conquests with which to strengthen his rule'; but many people were beginning to say that it was time to come to an agreement with France. There was considerable uneasiness intensified by rising taxation and bad harvests, and by the beginning of 1801 there was a growing desire for peace. In home affairs the serious question was that of the emancipation of the Catholics. One result of the legislative union with Ireland was that the Catholics now included a quarter of the population of the United Kingdom. George III, who was on the verge of his recurring brain disease for the third time, hated the idea of emancipation, and Pitt, unable to redeem his promises to the Irish Catholics, resigned. A ministry was formed under Henry Addington, a personal friend of Pitt, though thoroughly opposed to him on the Catholic question. The King made a rapid recovery, and Pitt gave him a personal assurance that as long as he reigned he would not be asked to assent to Catholic Emancipation. After this Pitt, through Addington, exercised considerable influence on the Ministry. The brief war with Denmark and the appearance of the British

fleet in the Baltic were followed by the collapse of the Armed Neutrality, and the negotiations began in October 1801 that led to the Peace of Amiens (28 March 1802). It was received in London with unbounded enthusiasm; but there were good judges of the situation who did not think it could last. Peace brought with it no new treaty of commerce, and the First Consul did not intend to revive that of 1786. Customs disputes and controversies over formalities sometimes became so acute that ships brought back their undischarged cargoes to English ports. In England bread was cheap once more, but numbers of business men were regretting the profits of contraband trade and the fortunes made from prizes and war loans.

In the English press the *émigrés* and their friends were carrying on a violent agitation against Bonaparte, and this led to protests from his Government, which was also complaining that a British garrison was still at Malta. As the result of a visit to Paris, during which he had some conversations with the First Consul, Fox was active in the cause of peace, but in May 1803 the growing tension between France and England led to a renewed outbreak of war.

During the nine years of war that ended with the Treaty of Amiens, France had been closed to visitors from England. The return of peace had led to a rush of tourists across the Channel, and with them came not a few who sought employment in France as tutors and governesses or clerks in business houses. Hitherto, on a declaration of war, it had been the custom for European governments to give subjects of an enemy country some days in which they could freely return home. But Bonaparte at once made some 10,000 British visitors and residents in France prisoners of war, not indeed by collecting them in internment camps, but in most cases by ordering that they should reside in selected centres under police supervision. A few escaped, but most of them had to endure this modified captivity for eleven years. The First Consul's action was denounced as a lawless outrage. It has since become the precedent for a recognized procedure of 'civilized warfare'. Hanover was easily occupied by a French army, and Bonaparte set to work

on his ambitious scheme for the conquest of England itself. The camps of the Channel coast, east and west of Boulogne, saw the concentration and training of the army soon to be famous as the Grande Armée.

In England, Addington and his colleagues of the Ministry were busy raising the numbers of the regular army by bounties for recruits, embodying the militia, and encouraging a popular movement for enrolling and training a volunteer force for home defence. There was growing disappointment as the year went by without any counter-stroke against the French and a popular clamour for Pitt to be entrusted with the conduct of affairs. He was anxious to form a coalition ministry including Fox, but to this the King objected. On Addington's resignation he became Prime Minister in May 1804, the same month in which Bonaparte assumed his imperial title as Napoleon I.

As in the years of the earlier war, he relied on making full use of England's two chief resources—her naval power and the wealth she could command with which to bring Continental armies into the field. Spain was nominally at peace with England, but under an earlier treaty of alliance she was pledged to assist France in war if called upon, and was actually paying a monthly subsidy of six million francs into Napoleon's treasury, and keeping the dockyards of Cadiz and Cartagena busy with reinforcements for the Spanish fleet. Pitt sent a menacing dispatch to Madrid and a squadron of frigates intercepted the treasure fleet which was on its way from Vera Cruz. After a sharp fight one of the treasure ships was destroyed and the three others taken with bullion to the value of two millions sterling on board. Spain was now the open ally of France, and it was on a scheme for the combined action of the French and Spanish fleets that the Emperor based his hopes of securing temporary command of the Channel and invading England.

By the summer of 1805 the great scheme had failed, and Nelson was blockading Villeneuve's Franco-Spanish fleet in Cadiz harbour. Meanwhile Pitt had taken advantage of the growing alarm among the European Powers to form a new coalition against Napoleon. Its foundation was laid in April

1805 by England signing a treaty of alliance with Russia, and Austria, having completed her war preparations, formally joined the alliance early in August and the Bourbons of Naples agreed to support the attack on the French in Italy.

Prussia was hesitating to enter the coalition. Before the Allies could combine their forces Napoleon broke up his camps on the Channel coast and in the last days of August issued the orders that set the Grande Armée in movement for the Rhine and the Danube, in the victorious march that was to carry it as far as the Niemen.

On the 17th October Mack's Austrian army was forced to surrender at Ulm. On the 21st Nelson destroyed the French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar. On the 11th November Napoleon was in Vienna. On the 2nd December he defeated the armies of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz. Pitt refused to believe the first reports of this tremendous event, which was followed in four days by the Emperor Francis abandoning the coalition. Though he was only in his 47th year, Pitt was in bad health. He died on the 23rd January 1806.

In the new ministry formed by Lord Grenville (who had been a colleague of Pitt) with the help of the Whigs, Fox was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He was a dying man, in his 59th year, and almost crippled by dropsy. He made what proved to be a hopeless attempt to open negotiations with Napoleon. His one success was that he gave his powerful aid to bring forward a Bill for making it a crime for British subjects to engage in the slave trade. It became law shortly after his death, which came on the 13th September 1806. A month later Napoleon's victory at Jena brought the downfall of Prussia.

Grenville's ministry hoped against hope that Russia would yet turn the scale of success against Napoleon, but refused a subsidy to the Tsar on the plea of retrenchment and would not hear of a suggested armed demonstration in the Baltic. But Grenville wasted men and money in an unfortunate expedition to Egypt, and an attempt against the Spanish colony at Buenos Ayres. His ministry was already unpopular, when it ventured on a plan for minor concessions to the Catholics with a view to

bringing more Irish officers and recruits into the army. This was strongly opposed by the King and several of the Tory leaders, and Grenville resigned office on the 25th March 1807. The 'No Popery' cry at the elections brought in a Tory majority and the new ministry of the Duke of Portland was pledged against any concessions to the 'Papists'. In the summer of 1807 came the defeat of Russia, and the Treaty of Tilsit made the Tsar the ally of the victors. Napoleon was the master of Europe and declared all the ports of the Continent closed against the British flag.

Thanks to her insular position and her command of the sea, England was able to continue the conflict with this new lord of the Continent. In those times, when the ways of the air were still inaccessible, and only a few fantastic dreamers predicted the coming of aerial navies, Britain, thanks to its sea power, was an impregnable fortress. The so-called Continental Blockade inflicted more loss on the French Empire and its tributaries and forced allies than on the island kingdom, which was able to occupy the colonial possessions of its opponents, and keep the way to India and the Far East secure. During the long wars in Europe the Indian Empire was expanding, and the defeat of the Mahratta princes swept away the last barrier to British rule in the East. The years that followed Napoleon's great triumphs saw England under the control of a succession of ministries. Although the politicians who from time to time succeeded each other in the various offices of state at Whitehall included not a few men of some ability, it could hardly be said of any of them that they were statesmen of the first rank. Their home policy barred the way to reform, and the state of war limited the freedom of popular agitation. But the overweening ambition and ill-judged aims of their adversary made it possible for them to accomplish great things. It was not they, but the would-be Lord of the World, that wrought the ruin of his Empire.

The year of Tilsit was that in which Napoleon began his luckless adventure in the Spanish Peninsula. The rising of a whole nation against him gave England the opportunity of effective intervention. When he himself took the field in Spain,

and Madrid was recaptured, the Spanish armies of the north and centre defeated, and Moore's British army forced to retire to Corunna, Napoleon may well have thought that once more he was assured of victory. But he was called away to meet the Austrian armies, and though the campaign of Wagram gave him one more splendid success, that very month of July 1809 brought Wellington's victory of Talavera. In Wellington England found a great master of war, conducting a series of campaigns that kept the Spanish armies in the field and, even when no great successes were won, month by month and year by year wasted the strength of the best veterans of the Grande Armée. Napoleon was engaged in his disastrous campaign of Moscow when Wellington broke the best of his armies in Spain at Salamanca. Next year, when Europe was rising against the Empire, Wellington drove the main French army in Spain from the field of Vittoria back to the Pyrenees, while Napoleon was making his last desperate stand against superior forces in Saxony. The winter of 1813 saw the armies of many nations pouring towards the Rhine, and Wellington leading his victorious forces to cross the Pyrenees and invade France.

52. AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA (1800-13)

Austria was the first to enter upon the struggle against the French Revolution; she was the last to withdraw. 'Always defeated yet never tired out, she astonished the world by the feebleness of her attacks and the obstinacy of her resistance.' Since her organization was not of a complicated type, the blows which reached her were never mortal, and she was not greatly discouraged in a warfare that she faced with more of endurance than of enthusiasm. Among a people whose industry and commerce were still in a rudimentary stage, defeat had not those far-reaching after-effects which might have crushed the spirit of the nation, and the State adapted itself to changes which, in any other country, might have entailed its downfall. At the end of the crisis Austria seemed to be in a very similar position to that of 1789. Her ambitions, which she had never abandoned, were satisfied. She had relied upon the traditions of the old

régime, and the partisans of reaction relied on 'that High Court amongst the States of Europe' to keep the spirit of revolt in check. But they had not rightly estimated the situation.

Francis II, with his inactive and limited intelligence, had the abilities of a mere plodding official; he diligently and doggedly systematized the sluggish working of his mind, thinking to uphold tradition by obedience to routine. He presided over his court and ministry without understanding the events of which he was witness and victim, replacing his ministers: Thugut by Cobentzl and Stadion, and finally by Metternich, who was his favourite mouthpiece. The latter, cautious, hard-working, patient, did not weary his master with useless outbursts like those of Stadion. He relied on the future, confident that the Napoleonic domination could not last and, knowing the Emperor's dislike for reforms, he adapted himself to the existing situation, which gave him an opening for his career.

The nation had the failings of its master, and felt it was fortunate in its unenterprising ruler, and free from the irritating innovations of Joseph II. The nobility felt secure in the possession of its privileges, the State assemblies only asked that authority should retain power without troubling itself with the peasants. Since reforms had at least to be discussed, a few were introduced, but they ran counter to progress; the penal code (1803) and the civil code (1811) were antiquated, the few roads that were made were merely old tracks straightened out; the retention of customs and tolls hampered all commercial and industrial development. Repeated wars, the Continental Blockade, a most extravagant financial policy, were leading the country to ruin. There was no specie, a discredited paper currency, business was at a standstill, and the forced currency lost more than 90 per cent. of its nominal value. Officials paid in notes; those who had anything to eat amused themselves with music and dancing. Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven were the idols of a people who took no interest in learning, whose universities languished with out-of-date methods and careless students.

The King of Prussia was timid and irresolute; he disliked

innovations, favoured a feudal aristocracy, and was that type of ruler who governs a country of liberal tendencies by applying a despotic constitution. The campaign of Valmy (1792) plainly showed that the Prussian monarchy had steadily declined in spite of a semblance of strength. The army was living on the fame it had won under Frederick the Great, but its efficiency had declined under the influence of a spirit of mere routine. It was an army of the parade and the review ground, with neither the organization for war, nor any study of its methods that went beyond the pages of the old drill-books. Under the test of active service its record, from Valmy to Jena, was one of failure.

In the civil and political life of the time there was the same stagnation and decay.

But these years of decadence were nevertheless a brilliant literary period. Men's minds were taking refuge from hard realities in literature. There was a splendid outburst of intellectual activity which could not be expected to endure political servitude for long; the names of Herder, Wieland, Goethe, Schiller, the Schlegels, Fichte, and Schelling conjured up a golden age and romanticism which opened up fresh vistas by reviving the old German legends and the study of the medieval lore of Catholic times.

The brilliance of their literature consoled the Germans for their political impotence; but the thunderbolt of Jena taught them that Prussia was only a second-rate power; the nation had foundered with the State, and yet Prussia, crushed, humiliated, and stripped of territory, continued to exist in her three old provinces of Brandenburg, Silesia, and Prussia; thus she awaited the favourable moment for a revolt. In the hope of making this revolt impossible, Napoleon demanded millions of money, kept control over the main military roads, insisted on quartering garrisons in the fortresses, increased the distress, and might well have induced despair. When news came of the Spanish insurrection, hope returned to Prussia, public enthusiasm was aroused. The credit for this has been given to secret societies, to the *Tugendbund* and similar associations, but their activities

were of secondary importance, for the whole country was engaged in a movement against the invader.

This movement had its beginnings in the dark days after Jena, when the French armies were treating the people as a conquered race, and the exactions of Napoleon and his agents were driving them almost to despair. The Emperor regarded Frederick William as a helpless vassal of his Empire. A valiant woman, the Queen-consort, Louisa of Mecklenburg, sought a personal interview with the conqueror, and actually fell on her knees before him as she pleaded in vain for more generous treatment for the people. Repelled with harshness that rose almost to insult, she inspired her husband, Frederick William, with a new determination to labour in patient hope for the restoration of freedom to Prussia and to Germany. She herself died broken-hearted during these sad years (19 July 1810), but she had lived long enough to see the first developments of the new national reconstruction that was the herald of better days.

The King had accepted as his prime minister, in October 1807, the Baron von Stein, of whom it might be said that he incarnated the German spirit and paved the way for a transformation of Prussia. In the years before Jena, Stein had held a minor post in the Government, and attempted to make some reforms in his department. The King, who disliked all change, had dismissed him as 'a refractory and insolent official'. But Frederick William now realized the need of reform and gave Stein a free hand.

He was little more than a year in office, but he used the wide powers entrusted to him to introduce radical reforms. On the 7th October he issued a decree abolishing serfdom in Prussia. He swept away feudal obstacles to the purchase of land, and organized peasant proprietorship on some of the royal domains. He broke the old caste system by abolishing restrictions on men of the lower classes engaging in various trades and professions, and he reformed the municipalities of the Prussian towns. He encouraged and aided Scharnhorst and Gneisenau in the reorganization of the Prussian army. Napoleon had limited it to a small force of 32,000 men. These two able soldiers carried

through a plan that made the little army a training school for a formidable force, by making it a war school for the nation, passing men rapidly through its ranks and transferring them to a reserve. It was the beginning of the new system of short service armies, with intensive training and large reserves liable to recall to the service in war time, which, after Prussia's victories some sixty years later, was imitated in all the armies of Europe, and finally produced the armed nations of the Great War in our own days. The work of Scharnhorst and Gneisenau after Jena enabled Prussia to call up 100,000 men in the winter of 1812-13 for the war of liberation and to place another 100,000 under arms before the battle of Leipzig.

In August 1808 one of Napoleon's spies in Prussia got possession of a letter, in which Stein wrote to a friend that he hoped that before long Germany would be ready to imitate the example of Spain. The Emperor denounced him to Frederick William as the enemy of France, and confiscated Stein's property first in Westphalia and then in other states of the Confederation of the Rhine. In the following December the King was forced to dismiss him from office, replacing him by another patriotic minister, Hardenberg. Working on the lines laid down by Stein, he created a new Prussia. When the disastrous failure of Napoleon's march on Moscow gave the signal of revolt, Prussia took the lead in the national uprising of Germany, and her new army was the vanguard of the Fatherland.

53. RUSSIA (1801-12)

The assassination of Paul I (23-4 March 1801) placed Alexander I on the throne. The Tsar was twenty-four, he had grown up under the eye of his grandmother, Catherine II, and had learnt most of what he knew from his tutor, La Harpe (a Swiss scholar and an admirer of Rousseau). He dreaded his father, neglected his wife, and never quite knew his own mind, hovering between absolutism and republicanism, between despotic tradition and liberal ideas inspired by La Harpe; sincere and hypocritical by turns, he had confided his political dreams to Adam Czartoryski, a friend of his own age, with whose help he

hoped to introduce a new régime and relieve his people from that which they endured; as soon as he was Emperor he multiplied reforms, promulgated an amnesty, recalled exiles, and took four young men into his confidence—Adam Czartoryski, Paul Stroganof, Victor Kotchubey, and Nicholas Novossiltsof, calling them his ‘Committee of Public Safety’. They were to plan a better future for Russia and, with this end in view, give her a constitution. To this generous ideal were due many measures of reform, imperfect at the outset, but to be perfected in the future. The emancipation of the peasants was one of these; it was only actually accomplished in 1861, but from 1804 onwards it was forbidden to sell peasants apart from the sale of the land, to marry them without their overlord’s consent, or to punish them with more than fifteen strokes.

At the beginning of the reign, it seemed that the Senate was destined to play an important part (Ukase of 5 June 1801); but the Tsar and his advisers soon treated its declaration as a well-meant statement of policy, to which no practical effect could yet be given. A Ukase of the 8th September 1802 created eight ministries which showed a tendency towards order and regular procedure, and each ministry was provided with a minister and an assistant minister, but the outcome was little more than mutual espionage and incessant conflicts between departments of state. Of these the Ministry of Public Instruction achieved some real progress, notably in the foundation of new universities, literary societies, and museums; and, besides this, Catherine II’s idea of a code of law for the Empire was once more taken in hand.

After Tilsit, French ousted British influence and the former four friends were replaced by Michael Speranski, a man of humble origin, but a methodical and indefatigable worker, and an admirer of the Constituent Assembly and of Napoleon. Out of the collaboration of the Tsar with his new Secretary came a ‘Plan to Reform the State’ in which Alexander recognized the ideals of La Harpe. There were bold schemes of reform, seemingly inspired by the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and these led to the establishment of an elective Duma that

presently was remodelled as a kind of imperial Duma not unlike Napoleon's legislative body. This scheme stirred up many individuals and various interests against Speranski, and in 1812 a rather violent dispute led to his downfall and exile (29 March). He was recalled in 1816, but he no longer played a part in political life. Nevertheless Speranski still ranks as one of Russia's most remarkable administrators. He was the first to hold practical ideas with regard to giving a constitution to Russia and freedom to its citizens and peasants, and introducing a system of legislative assemblies and tribunals, a magistrature, a code of law, and organized finance; in a word, he anticipated the reforms of Alexander II and saw the possibilities of a Russian development which is now little more than a memory.

54. NAPOLEON IN RUSSIA (1812)

The principal reasons why the alliance concluded at Tilsit and confirmed at Erfurt was so suddenly broken off were: (1) Russia's behaviour in the war of 1809; (2) the failure of the scheme of a Russian marriage for Napoleon and the conclusion of the Austrian marriage with Maria-Louisa; (3) Napoleon's utter refusal of permission for the Tsar to occupy Constantinople; (4) the effects of the Continental Blockade in Russia and the Tsar's attempts to evade it; (5) Alexander I's anxiety at the indefinite expansion of the French Empire; (6) Napoleon's annexation of the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, whose sovereign was a relative of the Tsar; (7) the Polish question. Of all these motives, the last was one of the most serious, for while Alexander I was doing his best to prevent Napoleon from ever re-establishing Poland, he aspired, at the same time, to remodel the partition to his own advantage. In Poland hopes were centred on Napoleon and its people trusted him. In March 1811 Alexander tried to bring matters to a head by preparing for a sudden invasion of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and large numbers of Russian troops were brought to the frontiers. Napoleon replied by defensive preparations in France and Germany; thus a definite rupture was imminent. On the 27th April 1812 the Russian ambassador was to hand in an ultimatum, and by that

date Alexander I had left St. Petersburg to join his army. On his side, Napoleon had concluded two treaties of co-operation with Prussia and Austria against Russia (24 February and 16 March), but at the same time Frederick William III and Francis II informed the Tsar that they would take no serious action against him. As for Sweden and Turkey, they declined to make any engagement, and Sweden was even preparing, under Bernadotte, to arm against France. From that moment, Bernadotte was busy with political and military suggestions against Napoleon to all the enemies of France, whom he urged, by a last refinement of infamy, to show no quarter to the French soldiers. England, on the other hand, agreed, on the 3rd May, to the treaty concluded on the 5th April between Sweden and Russia, granting subsidies to the latter (18 July), and in August a treaty was signed between Turkey and Russia who, thanks to this and the alliance with Sweden, was once more free to dispose of her armies in Finland and on the Danube.

Napoleon left Paris on the 9th May 1812 to undertake that famous campaign which was to be the ruin of his fortunes and his Empire; on the 17th he entered Dresden in triumph, on the 30th his arrival at Posen roused tremendous enthusiasm; he avoided Warsaw, and on the left bank of the Niemen took command of an army of 678,000 men. On the 24th June the Grande Armée began to cross the Niemen, advanced to the Dnieper and Dvina, fought a battle at Smolensk (17 and 18 August), another at Borodino (19 August) without achieving any serious results. For the Russians were avoiding any decisive engagement, fighting only delaying actions, and retiring deliberately before the French advance. As they retreated they destroyed all supplies they could not remove, often burning the villages as they abandoned them. They left even the city of Smolensk blazing like a furnace. In the first week of September Kutusoff, the Russian commander-in-chief, occupied an entrenched position on a gentle rise of the steppe on a front of some seven miles, north and south of the Moscow road, the village of Borodino in front of his centre, his right resting on the little river Moskowa, his left on the pine woods of Utiza. Moscow lay 70 miles away

to the eastward. At dawn on the 7th September Napoleon attacked the position. At nightfall the Russians were in retreat and the French held it. The Russians had lost heavily, but they marched off through the night with unbroken ranks. Of their 640 guns they had only left 30 in the hands of the victors, and they carried off 13 French cannon and some hundreds of prisoners. Kutusoff retired to the eastward of Moscow, most of its population leaving their city as the Russian army left it to its fate. The road to Moscow was now open; on the 14th September the Grande Armée arrived at the gates of the Holy City; on the 15th Napoleon entered the Kremlin with his guards to the strains of the 'Marseillaise'. Moscow seemed like a city of the dead. By order of the Governor, Rostopchin, fire broke out that night; it spread through the whole city, which outside the Kremlin was a wilderness of ruin by the 19th.

Napoleon had hoped to dictate peace from Moscow. He tried in vain to open negotiations with the Tsar. He had lost touch with Kutusoff's army, but the Cossacks were prowling round the neighbourhood of the city and cutting off foraging parties. Moscow itself yielded no supplies, but only useless loot saved from the conflagration. The troops were half starved. They were a mere remnant of the army that had crossed the Niemen. The first half of October heralded the coming of winter, with dull skies and showers of cold rain and sleet, and the troops suffered terribly in their bivouacs and improvised shelters. On the 15th October the Cossacks were becoming aggressive south of the city and there were rumours that Kutusoff's army was now in that direction. Murat's cavalry corps was pushed out to force back the raiders. In the dawn of the 18th he was surprised by Kutusoff and driven back with the loss of thirty-six guns and many prisoners. The first snow of winter was falling as on that day Napoleon began the retreat from Moscow. An attempt to reach a line of march south of that followed in the advance was defeated by Kutusoff, and the French had to retire along the war-wasted zone of country they had followed in their march to Moscow. Then began the disastrous retreat across the wintry plains to Vilna and the Niemen. Few recrossed the frontier

river. In the advance Napoleon had carefully husbanded the lives of the 20,000 veterans of his Guard. He had refused to throw them into the fight at Borodino, but of the Old Guard when it reached Königsberg there were only 1,500 men, of whom 500 were fit to carry arms. Of the Young Guard not a man was left.

It is generally admitted that 420,000 men had crossed the Russian frontier in June 1812, and that 113,000 joined them later inside the Empire: in all 533,000 soldiers. Out of this great body of men only about 18,000 recrossed the Niemen in December 1812. To these must be added 55,000 survivors in the army corps of Macdonald,¹ Reynier, and Schwarzenberg.² About 50,000 men had deserted the colours since the beginning of the campaign. About 130,000 prisoners were detained in Russia. The number of those who perished in Russia from privations, illness, cold, enemy fire, or reprisals by peasants can therefore be estimated at 250,000. How long did most, of those that saw their homes again, survive the miseries they had undergone?

For Napoleon it was an irreparable disaster. Besides his military power, his whole European political system had broken down. The work of regeneration, begun with the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, crumbled away with the destruction of his Polish regiments. With that of his German regiments, the Confederation of the Rhine also went to ruin, as did his Kingdom of Westphalia and all his plans for a Germany subjected to France. The trail of mourning made by this stupendous disaster in other European countries, in Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, throughout Italy from Milan to Naples, from Venice to Turin, and even as far as the Illyrian provinces, led to the dislocation and crumbling away of the Napoleonic Empire. Those who had perished in Russia were those very generals, officers, and men of many nations, whether German, Italian, Polish, Dutch, or Swiss who had believed in the Emperor's star and ensured the adherence of their compatriots; they composed those foreign regiments to whom he had taught the art of war, the artilleries he had trained, the soldiers who had learnt to shout '*Vive l'Empereur!*' in every European language, and to risk their lives for a word of

¹ Macdonald's army—mostly Prussian and other German troops—had moved on Riga through the Baltic provinces and had no direct part in the operations of the main army.

² Schwarzenberg commanded the Austrian contingents on the extreme right and also had no part in the main operations and the advance on Moscow.

praise in his bulletins or for the Cross of the Legion of Honour. Napoleonic Europe was above all a Europe of camps and battle-fields; as such, most of it had been lost on the plains of Russia. A new Europe was about to take its place; its arrival was heralded, on December 30, 1812, by the defection of York von Wurtemberg, then in command of the Prussian contingents, who agreed to give free passage to the Russian army in the Baltic provinces.

Napoleon had prided himself on arming as many as 'twenty nations' against Russia and on shifting Europe, as it were, from West to East, from the Seine to the Moskowa. Alexander was about to arm as many nations against the French Caesar, and now the flow of the armies would run from East to West, from the Niemen to the Seine, carrying with it, nation after nation, army after army, which but lately had one and all cheered on Napoleon's eagles. [A. Rambaud.]

55. THE SIXTH COALITION (1813-14)

The remains of the Grande Armée recrossed the Vistula; Prince Eugène Beauharnais evacuated Berlin and moved to the Elbe, where he assembled 40,000 men—all with which France could then oppose Germany, now on the point of rising against her. On his return to Paris, Napoleon set about forming another army and obtaining supplies, and he succeeded in raising and assembling 500,000 men, who set out for Germany as soon as they had been trained and equipped. Large numbers of them were youths under twenty, who proved themselves fit comrades of the veterans with whom they were embodied; all were still convinced that Napoleon was invincible and were ready to die for him and for France. But the Emperor had aged, the field-marshal were tired men, discipline had weakened; more serious still, Napoleon was blind to the facts, and at the sight of this new army thought he could take his revenge without giving up one inch of his conquests. On their side, the Allies hesitated; they did not know their real strength, and lacked initiative. Germany was quivering with impatience, the Prussia of Stein and Scharnhorst had 150,000 men under arms. The war of 1813 was above all a Prussian counter-stroke; the King was swept along with the nation.

East Prussia was the first to revolt, and then the rising became general, and Frederick William III signed a treaty of alliance with Alexander I at Kalisz (28 February 1813); it was agreed that Prussia should be restored to her frontiers of 1806; that Germany should recover her independence; and that neither of the two allies would sign a separate peace. On the 17th March the King of Prussia issued his call to arms, on the 20th the Prussians entered Dresden; the line of the Elbe was broken, Eugène fell back on the Saale; Napoleon hastened to the front, misled by Metternich who was promising the armed assistance of Austria, but was really getting ready to rouse Europe against France and hurl the Austrian armies against her.

On the 26th April Napoleon opened the campaign of 1813 during which he displayed all his past genius and his soldiers—even the new levies—were worthy of their chief; he led 200,000 Frenchmen against 220,000 Russians and Prussians, and conducted a summer campaign marked by the victories of Lützen and Bautzen; the coalition armies retired to the Oder, foiled, and mutually suspicious; Austria's intervention reconciled them. Metternich made an offer of mediation to the belligerents, suggesting an armistice and the assembly of a European Congress as a preliminary to a general peace. Napoleon signed the armistice of Poischwitz, from the 4th June to the 28th July; he believed in the loyalty of Austria and was hoping for time to reorganize his cavalry¹ for one more bold stroke like those of Austerlitz and Friedland. Meanwhile the enemy also called up reinforcements, and Metternich's duplicity brought Napoleon to bay, faced by terms which his obstinacy made him refuse. The armistice was prolonged until the 10th August; on the 8th, Napoleon received Austria's ultimatum, which left him France with her natural boundaries and Italy; claimed the freedom of Holland and the Hansa Towns, but left him the Illyrian Provinces, and recognized the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. On the 10th August Metternich declared that the negotiations at Prague were ended, and issued Austria's declaration of war.

¹ The loss of tens of thousands of horses in the Russian disaster had made it exceedingly difficult to form an effective cavalry force for the campaign of 1813.

The conflict was resumed, this time an autumn campaign, with a series of disasters for Napoleon. While he was winning a last victory at Dresden his lieutenants were defeated at Kulm and the Katzbach. He himself was eventually driven back on the 16th, 17th, and 18th October and defeated at Leipzig. On the 5th December 1813 the last of the French cavalry recrossed the Rhine. Outside France the French flag no longer flew, except over a few besieged towns doomed to capitulate sooner or later.

Holland, where a Provisional Government had declared the independence of the United Provinces, had to be evacuated, whilst in Italy, Murat, following Bernadotte's example, made common cause with the coalition to save his throne at Naples. Wellington had crossed the Pyrenees and reached Bayonne. The armies of the Allies were preparing to attack France on all her frontiers. The allied governments were determined to resort to no further negotiations, and summed up their resolution in the Declaration of Frankfurt, in the two phrases: peace with France, war on Napoleon.

France, too, bereft of men and bankrupt, was anxious for peace; the rich were feeling the pinch, the poor were destitute. Commerce and industry were at a standstill; there was no more money and people took their silver plate, their furniture, and linen to the pawnshops; and yet large numbers of the French people, though anxious for peace, did not desire or even imagine Napoleon's downfall. However, the old noblesse, those Republicans who had never heartily accepted the Empire, and the Royalists welcomed the distinction drawn by the Declaration of Frankfurt and exploited it against Napoleon. Proclamations distributed by the Royalists represented the allies as liberators who brought peace and prosperity. The Bourbon princes once more courted public notice, and prepared to return to France, where they had been all but forgotten, but where their chances were once more being canvassed. Nevertheless, Napoleon succeeded in raising another 300,000 men and embodied 60,000 National Guards; but these men had hardly any training, were badly equipped, and short of arms.

Then began that French campaign of 1814, in which it still

seemed that Napoleon's genius, energy, and fortune might save the Empire. For two months (31 January–30 March), in France itself, invaded as far as the Marne, there was a series of battles, sometimes day after day: Brienne, Rothière, then in quick succession, Champaubert, Montmirail, Vauchamps, Montereau (10–26 February), and the armies of the coalition were held in check. France was making her last effort; recruits were forthcoming, battalions, squadrons, and batteries were formed. Conferences held at Châtillon between the 4th February and the 19th March led to nothing because, from the moment they entered France, the Allies had determined not to deal with Napoleon, but to dethrone him. In spite of the harsh lessons he had taught them, in spite of those days at Craonne and Laon followed by the counter-offensive at Arcis-sur-Aube, the Allies, aware of the openly hostile attitude of influential quarters in Paris, determined to march against the capital at all costs, while other troops screened this manoeuvre from the Emperor. The two battles of Fère-Champenoise (25 March) were the last notable military exploit; then the Allies reached the neighbourhood of Paris and attacked. What was left of the army of Paris capitulated after a brief but heroic defence; Napoleon was hastening to the capital when he heard of the surrender (30–1 March).

The Allies entered Paris on the 31st March, and in Talleyrand's *salon*, in the presence of the King of Prussia and the Tsar, the restoration of the Bourbons was settled. On the following day the Senate declared the deposition of Napoleon, who was waiting at Fontainebleau with 60,000 men ready to resume the war. His field-mmarshals deserted him¹ and he signed his abdica-

¹ Fontainebleau had been the prison of Pius VII. It was in the very room in which the Emperor had menaced the Pope and forced his unwilling and temporary submission that on the 6th April 1814 the marshals, headed by Ney, came to tell him that further resistance was hopeless and he must abdicate. He argued that it was still possible to recapture Paris. 'I declare to you,' said Macdonald, 'that we do not mean to expose Paris to the fate of Moscow.' Napoleon persisted that they would attack the Allies in and around the capital. Ney interrupted him saying: 'But the army will not march on Paris.' 'The army will obey me,' said the Emperor raising his voice. 'Sire, the army will obey its generals,' was Ney's reply. There was a brief silence, then Napoleon asked the marshals to leave him alone with Caulaincourt, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, and presently called them back to witness his abdication.

tion in favour of his boy son the 'King of Rome' (6 April). On the same day the Senate proclaimed Louis XVIII.

56. THE RESTORATION AND THE HUNDRED DAYS (1814-15)

In the person of Louis XVIII the Senate was 'freely calling to the throne' a prince who thought that it was already his by right of birth. While rejecting a ready-made constitution he agreed to the guarantee of constitutional liberties; by the 'Declaration of Saint-Ouen' he promised a representative government, the voting of the taxes by the Chambers, freedom of the press, freedom of worship, the irrevocability of the sale of national property, and the retention of the Legion of Honour (2 May 1814). The white flag of the Bourbons replaced the Tricolour.

A government has rarely had to face a more difficult situation. The Treaty of Paris, signed on the 30th May, cost France all her conquests, and these were to be shared by the victors; the 'Charter', dated in the nineteenth year of the reign, gave rise to anxieties which might, however, be allayed; but the state of the Exchequer made necessary the difficult task of dismissing 12,000 officers and putting 10,000 more on a 'retired list' with half-pay. Suspected, spied upon, and reduced to a material condition little better than destitution, the 'half-pay' officers soon became the most active enemies of the Restoration. Their discontent was increased by the favours shown to the former *émigrés* and young nobles in the privileged regiments. Ill-dressed and badly paid, these veteran soldiers longed for the Emperor's return, and spread among the civil population something of their own devotion to their idol and to the Tricolour.

The common people and the army were hostile to royalty; the nobles were not well satisfied and still less the middle-class. Political parties, suppressed under the Empire, again came into existence, and criticized the Government; denouncing alleged encroachments on liberty, old Terrorists were again drawing together, and began to reckon up their strength. Opposition developed on all sides, in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Chamber of Peers; anxiety and discontent were rife. In

February 1815 there were rumours of plots, and Fouché took a leading part in a conspiracy to overthrow the Bourbons.

This was the situation which Fleury de Chaboulon, a former member of the Council of State, was able to disclose when he landed on the island of Elba on the 13th February and was interviewed by Napoleon, who, for nine months, had been ruling over his diminutive kingdom with a sense of impending bankruptcy. He considered that the Allies were not fulfilling the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Was he to wait until they took some hostile measures against him? He thought he had every reason to expect the worst, and when he heard how French opinion was inclining to his favour his decision was made; he would leave Elba. On the 28th February, at 8 o'clock in the evening, he embarked with 1,100 men of the Old Guard, evaded the English and French cruisers, and landed on the shores of the Golfe Jouan at midday on the 1st March; then 'the eagle' was seen 'to fly from belfry to belfry right to the towers of Notre-Dame'.

Avoiding the direct road through Lyons, he chose his line of march through the hilly country of the Alpine border by way of Cannes, Grasse, Gap, and Grenoble. His welcome began from the time he entered Dauphiné. While the little band was advancing by forced marches it was decided at the Tuileries to attack him. But the regiments sent to bar his way hailed him as 'their' Emperor; he entered Grenoble in triumph; Ney declared for him at Lons-le-Saulnier and marched to join him; he was welcomed at Lyons, from which the Comte d'Artois had just fled.

Napoleon's return roused the whole of France, and in spite of the views of the inhabitants of Paris and the vehement invective of a few marshals and generals, the movement in his favour became irresistible, and on the 20th March, at nine o'clock in the evening, the Emperor entered the Tuileries.

The soldiers' enthusiasm for their old leader had found a responsive echo among the civil population, now largely disaffected towards the Bourbons, and especially among the peasants and small farmers, who dreaded a return of the old régime.

Only in La Vendée was there any resistance. There a local rally to the Bourbon cause was a menace of civil war. In the first weeks after his triumphant return to the Tuileries Napoleon hoped that he might secure his position by proclaiming a Liberal policy for the restored Empire at home, and peace with the Allies, even though, when the news of his landing in France reached Vienna, their representatives in the Congress that was settling the affairs of Europe had declared him an outlaw. He might yet convince them that his restoration to power would not mean renewed aggression. He was ready to accept the new frontiers of France. Three of his brothers—Joseph, Lucien, and Jerome—joined him at Paris. They had renounced all claims to their lost kingdoms. Lucien was the friend of Pius VII. He was to assure the Pope that the rights of the Church would be respected in France, and attempt to secure his influence in favour of Napoleon. Attempts were made to win the goodwill of the Emperor of Austria. Napoleon hoped that Maria-Louisa, now in Vienna, would influence her father on her husband's behalf. It was a vain hope. She had abandoned him. She had been promised the Duchy of Parma; her child was to be educated as an Austrian prince; she was soon to be the mistress of the Austrian, Count von Neipperg.

Napoleon hoped at least to divide the Allies, if he could not win their goodwill. There had been sharp dissensions among the statesmen at Vienna over the spoils of victory. At the Foreign Office Napoleon had found the official copy of a secret treaty that England, Austria, and Bourbon France had signed while he was at Elba, an engagement for joint action against the Tsar under certain expected contingencies. He sent a copy to Alexander I, but after an outburst of anger the Tsar decided that he must stand by the new coalition. While Napoleon was marching on Paris, a mad act of Murat had gone far to wreck all hopes of a peaceful settlement. He had proclaimed himself the champion of Italian freedom, set two armies in movement that occupied Ancona and Rome, and challenged Austria to battle by advancing into the Romagna. His brief campaign ended in defeat. Murat was driven from Naples and took

refuge at Cannes. The Emperor refused to see him or even correspond with him.

Lucien did his brother the valuable service of winning to his cause Benjamin Constant, the leader of the French Constitutionalists, who met Napoleon and accepted his new idea of a government that would, under imperial forms, preserve the best results of the Revolution. Constant took the chief part in drafting the 'Additional Act for the Constitution of the Empire', a kind of Imperial Charter. It provided for a Senate and an elected Chamber of Deputies. But popular enthusiasm was waning as the prospect of a war with a European coalition became more and more certain. At the elections some possible opponents of the new régime were returned, though they were a minority.

Napoleon was busy organizing a new army for the now inevitable war. He called back to the colours the 25,000 officers dismissed or placed on half-pay by Louis XVIII. In less than three months he had nearly 200,000 regulars under arms, besides 50,000 National Guards mobilized for home defence. The Allies counted on beginning the invasion of France on the 1st July, with a converging march on Paris of five armies, across the northern frontier, the middle and upper Rhine, and the Alps—some 650,000 men in all—British, Dutch, Prussians and other Germans, Russians, Austrians, and Piedmontese.

With these tremendous odds against him Napoleon decided to strike before the hostile concentration was complete. He chose for his objective the allied armies in Belgium, the nearest of his enemies, in a country where he believed he had friends. Here Wellington commanded a mixed force of British, Dutch, Belgian, and German troops, with his head-quarters at Brussels, and much of his force in cantonments along the frontier from the great road by Charleroi to Brussels westward to near Bruges and Ghent. Eastward from Charleroi by Liège and Namur was the Prussian army under Blücher. In the first days of June Napoleon quietly concentrated his main army of 120,000 men (six army corps, the Imperial Guard, and a cavalry corps) south of the Sambre. He hoped to surprise the Allies and defeat

them in detail, striking at the junction of their two armies, by crossing the frontier about Charleroi, falling on the Prussians, who, he expected, would retire eastwards towards Germany, and while Wellington was concentrating his scattered force, defeating him and entering Brussels in triumph.

On the 1st June there was a solemn ceremony in the Champ de Mars. With the Emperor were the princes of his family, the Senate and the deputies, and 50,000 men were under arms—regulars and National Guards, with deputations from all the regiments of the army. The Archbishop of Tours said Mass. Napoleon took an oath of fidelity to the new constitution and then, amid the thunder of saluting cannon, distributed the new eagles to the delegates of the regiments. On the 12th all was ready for the great stroke, the secret of which had been well kept. That day Napoleon left Paris to take command of the army. On the 15th the Sambre was crossed, but though only minor detachments were encountered, the advance was not pushed as far as was intended. Napoleon commanded the main column on the right; Ney on the left, with two army corps, was to have seized the cross roads at Quatre Bras on the highway to Brussels, but he merely reconnoitred the position, though it was held only by a small Dutch force. Staff work was wretchedly bad, and the Emperor no longer showed the untiring energy of earlier days. Orders were issued late, and on the 16th the first hours of the long summer day were wasted. Ney attacked Quatre Bras late in the forenoon, with the result that the first of the British regiments came into action, and he failed to carry the position. In the afternoon Napoleon attacked the Prussians about Ligny. It was his last victory. After a hard-fought battle Blücher retreated in the night, pursued by an army corps under Grouchy.

On the 17th the Emperor concentrated his army for a march on Brussels; he had beaten Blücher and now counted on defeating Wellington. The British commander was retiring on a position he had chosen weeks before for the defence of the Belgian capital, the low rise of ground south of the village of Waterloo and the forest of Soignies. That afternoon Napoleon

was heading the pursuit, and there were rearguard actions between the French and British cavalry. Sunday, 18th June, saw the battle of Waterloo. Napoleon believed he had only to deal with the British, but Blücher, leaving one of his four army corps to hold Grouchy at the crossing of the Dyle at Wavre, had been marching by wretched country lanes to join Wellington. Towards noon the great battle began. About an hour later the Prussian vanguard appeared on the right flank of the French. Hour after hour the British position was attacked with reckless intrepidity, and held with stubborn steadfastness. But hour after hour Napoleon found the Prussian pressure on his right increasing, and he had to divert from his main effort some of the best of his troops. He was fighting two battles, one facing north, the other eastward, against the Prussians. It was near sunset when the last effort to storm the ridge—the attack by the Imperial Guard—ended in failure and Wellington took the offensive. As night came on Napoleon's last army was retreating towards the Sambre in hopeless rout pursued by Blücher's cavalry.

For Napoleon it was more than a defeat, it was an irreparable disaster which put an end to his career and brought back Louis XVIII to the Tuileries, while he who was once the master of Europe went as a prisoner to end his days in St. Helena (5 May 1821).

57. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA (1814-15)

The sovereigns allied against France under Louis XIV as under the Republic and Napoleon had all followed the same clearly defined purpose—that of forcibly confining France to her earlier boundaries; in 1815 the Emperor Alexander of Russia calculated that a constitutional monarchy would keep the French nation at peace and would divert it from incessantly waging war on Europe. The Treaty of Paris (30 May 1814) stipulated that envoys should be sent within two months to Vienna, where a general congress was to determine the political basis of the new Europe in accordance with the findings of the allied powers—Austria, England, Prussia, and Russia.

These powers were determined to bind France hand and foot, but that was the only point on which they were agreed, and the division of the territory given up by France—that of Saxony and of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw—roused the cupidity of those who were to share it, Prussia and Russia. For their part, England and Austria were alarmed at the idea of a territorial expansion which would make Russia too powerful in Europe, and, as a result, in the East. Thus there were three parties among the Allies, and their disagreements seemed to open up the only way by which France might be able to regain her place in European affairs, and perhaps break up the coalition which had been formed against her.

To accomplish this, Louis XVIII adopted Talleyrand's political plan—that of disuniting the Allies while assuring them that France renounced all ambitious aims out of genuine disinterestedness; thus it was in an appeal to that public law which had brought her downfall that France was to use her influence at the congress, asserting principles which she accepted without reserve, and making her influence felt by defending the rights of others against all inroads. These were the views which inspired the 'Instructions' given to Talleyrand in September 1814. It was somewhat surprising to see such a man defending such lofty principles, but besides the fact that the position taken up by France was unassailable and that she was upholding against the Allies rights which they had solemnly proclaimed, the consciences of those who listened to Talleyrand were so heavily burdened by their diplomatic past that they had to agree in drawing a veil over it. However, they did not give up the hope of tempting France with advantageous offers, and Metternich lost no such opportunity, but Louis XVIII took care to avoid any new engagements; with his marked acuteness he saw through all Alexander's devices and foiled Metternich's schemes, while his interests as well as his personal tastes inclined him rather to side with England.

The Great Powers had no sooner taken up a scheme for excluding France from the deliberations than they disagreed amongst themselves, and Talleyrand understood that their

pretensions to settle everything without taking the minor powers into account created a bond between him and all countries outside the dominant group. He took advantage of this, made himself their spokesman, and gained their confidence; he had no sooner realized the difficulties created by the Polish question between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, than he drew up a memorandum in which he showed the full justice of restoring an independent Poland and the grave danger attending the establishment of a Russian Poland. In a few days the superior talent of Talleyrand gave him a leading position and he did his best to increase the disagreements between the three Powers over the questions of Saxony and Poland. After endless discussions and amid persistent rumours of war, Talleyrand, Castlereagh, and Metternich reached an agreement, and on the 3rd January they signed a secret treaty between France, England, and Austria. Talleyrand wrote to Louis XVIII: 'The coalition is dissolved. . . . France is no longer isolated in Europe. . . .'

This treaty had immediate results. The questions of Saxony and Poland were settled in February 1815; the King of Saxony once more ascended his hereditary throne and gave up all claim to the Duchy of Warsaw. Prussia and Austria received as their share some borderlands of Poland, which became a kingdom, of which the Emperor of Russia was to be king, while the country was to enjoy a separate local government. Besides this fundamental business, the question of Naples was to be settled and Joachim Murat had to be got rid of. On the 4th March his fate was decided. During the night of the 6th to the 7th a courier brought the news that Napoleon had left the island of Elba. After an outburst of anger a calm debate followed, and on the 13th March the signatory powers of the Treaty of Paris once more united against 'Bonaparte'.

This unforeseen event disorganized all the plans made by Talleyrand, but he became more enterprising than ever, though he no longer represented anybody or anything. On the morrow of Waterloo it was open to question whether the victorious powers would still support the Bourbons whom France had so

readily abandoned. Alexander was inclined to favour the Duc d'Orléans, England supported Louis XVIII, and he, well advised and on the alert, returned to Paris before any steps could be taken to prevent him. The Congress was able to resume its task; it restored the throne of the two Sicilies to the Bourbons and proceeded to divide up Italy among a number of rulers; its national unity had never seemed more remote. It was thought advisable to establish a strong military power in North Italy as a barrier against French intervention. Austria, therefore, not only received back Lombardy, but also, in exchange for her surrender of Belgium, was given the territory of the suppressed republic of Venice. Matters were the same in Germany, where thirty-four reigning princes and four free towns, all with equal rights, formed a confederation for the maintenance of the safety and independence of the Confederate States. Switzerland also formed a confederation of nineteen free cantons, and Belgium was handed over to Holland.

All these transactions were subjects of special treaties embodied in a general treaty signed on the 9th June 1815, under the title of the 'Final Act of the Congress of Vienna'. This Congress had a special importance owing to the range and number of the questions which it dealt with; since the Treaty of Westphalia it was the first attempt to give Europe a territorial charter, though this ingeniously contrived scheme of equilibrium was only maintained for a few years. It could hardly be long-lived, for the diplomats of Vienna had carved up territories and divided up the nations which inhabited them as their predecessors might have done in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They parcelled out Europe into States without taking much account of nations, as if they had no idea that nations have always been at once the factors and the object of public policy. This principle might have been ignored before the Revolution, but afterwards, in 1815, this could no longer be the case.

The French Revolution [wrote Albert Sorel] had, by its principles no less than by its example, and its conquests, proclaimed, propagated, everywhere aroused the national spirit; the idea that peoples

are themselves alone entitled to settle their fate, that men who consciously belong to one and the same nation have the right to constitute themselves as a nation, and that for every nation, independence is the source of all life and of all dignity. In Vienna the diplomats considered that such principles were subversive of the monarchic rule; they meant to make an end of them for ever; they imagined that the results of the French Revolution could be swept away by declaring that it had never happened and by changing the position of frontier barriers all over Europe. It was too late. The treaties of Vienna broke down one after another, wherever in the new Europe this principle of life had been disregarded or violated. The treaties of Vienna, set on an insecure foundation from the very outset, shaken in 1830, partly overthrown in 1848, then elaborately shored up, were utterly wiped out in 1859-60; 1866 and 1870—by the creation of an independent and neutral Belgium, of an Italian monarchy, and of a German Empire—and these events proved to be the prelude of still greater changes.

58. THE HOLY ALLIANCE (1815-25)

One outcome of the Congress of Vienna savoured more of mysticism than of statecraft. The Tsar of Russia, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia professed to recognize and appeal to the supreme authority of the laws of God, accommodating, however, their application to their own personal interests; accordingly, on the 26th September 1815 they signed the treaty of the 'Holy Alliance', which was officially published in February 1816. The King of France and the Prince Regent of England also signed, and all the co-signatories claimed that the obligations which they had assumed should apply also to their subjects. What was this agreement worth? It was a moral manifesto, an empty but pretentious declaration, under cover of which Metternich, who had nothing but contempt for Alexander's cloudy pieties, intended to form an effective league of the forces of order, as he saw them, against those of disruption. During eight years, from 1815 to 1822, the Austrian Chancellor played a leading part in Europe and came to grips with what still survived of the Revolution in the hope of annihilating that which inspired his deepest horror—the representative system

which he hated because in it he saw progress and change, while he believed in a fixed and stable condition of affairs. He was thus voicing the Habsburg tradition, which always inclined towards absolute monarchy.

There was a succession of congresses: at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818; at Troppau, in 1820; at Laybach, in 1821; at Verona, in 1822. Metternich maintained that a State had the right to intervene in the internal policy of a neighbouring government if that policy was of a nature to disturb its own tranquillity; he did not even recoil from armed intervention. This latter was not admitted by England, which refused to sign the protocols of Troppau and Laybach; France had only signed with strict reservations; finally, only Russia, Prussia, and Austria signed the Declaration of Laybach. The Congress of Verona dealt only with the affairs of Spain, where a revolution had made Ferdinand VII a prisoner, and proclaimed a Liberal constitution. In these events France saw a danger which might lead to war, but only at the time she herself would choose, while Alexander I and Metternich wanted the French armies to restore Ferdinand to power in the name of the Holy Alliance, which was to settle the moment for action. England had withdrawn from the Congress and still kept her ambassador at Madrid. The majority of the sovereigns declared that they must insist on immediate action, and an army must be sent across the Pyrenees (13 December 1822).

The French government made some assertion of its independence, but only by a short delay. Its ambassador remained in Madrid till the 18th January 1823. The French expedition did not start until the month of May, and Canning, the Prime Minister of England, denounced the 'unlawful aggression' of France. The army of the Duc d'Angoulême met with only a feeble resistance, for large numbers of the Spanish people were opposed to the revolutionary government, and Ferdinand was restored to freedom and power.

England had left the League, and the Greek question completed the dislocation of a Holy Alliance and decided Russia to break with Austria and Prussia in order to prevent France

and England from running away with the whole credit for liberating the Greeks. The Tsar Alexander was preparing to settle the Greek question directly with Canning when he died on the 1st December 1825. His successor Nicholas put Russian interests before the general interests of the Sovereigns, and in the case of Russia, as in that of England, the desire to enforce a national policy led to a secession from the Holy Alliance.

The Alliance had lasted as long as it served the purpose of the Sovereigns in their struggle against liberal ideas and tendencies; it was merely a mutual insurance against revolution. As soon as England became aware that the concert of powers was prejudicial to her economic development, and Russia realized the advantage to herself of weakening the Turkish Empire, the part played by the Holy Alliance was at an end.

59. THE SECOND RESTORATION (1815-28)

Within less than three weeks of the battle of Waterloo Louis XVIII was once more on the throne of France, between Talleyrand and Fouché. These two forbidding characters could not retain their position for long, for the King was as firmly determined to sacrifice them as he was resolved to die on the throne, and had enough tact and wisdom to accomplish both these purposes. He was as a king well fitted for introducing and acclimatizing the parliamentary system in France; but unfortunately he allowed his dislike for the quarrels that his hot-headed connexions—his brother and niece—were always seeking, to get the better of his caution and astuteness. The latter pinned their faith on the army of extreme Royalists, the 'Ultras' who were dreaming only of regaining all that was gone and taking revenge on all who opposed them. The banishment of the former regicides, the trial and execution of the abettors of the Hundred Days, did not satisfy them; they demanded stern measures, which the King was to be compelled to sanction. The 'Ultras' were supported by the *Congrégation*, which was a kind of secret semi-religious and Royalist society, to whose intrigues were due the ultra-Royalist Chamber of 1815 with its policy of vengeance, and the dangerously reactionary Chamber of 1822.

Many of the clergy put their influence at the disposal of the royalist reaction and, later, shared its defeat and the suspicions under which it remained long after.

In opposition to the 'Ultras' there was a moderate Royalist party which boasted that it could 'nationalize royalty and make France royalist' by the loyal enforcement of the Charter. They called themselves 'Liberals' but were popularly known as the 'Doctrinaires'. Besides these there were the 'Independents', who, like the 'Ultras', had their secret society, the 'Charbonnerie', in imitation of the Italian Carbonarism, and whose object was the overthrow of the Bourbons.

Louis XVIII has not, perhaps, been given all the credit he deserves for his loyal effort to govern France with moderation without the support of the 'Ultras'. Having got rid of Fouché and Talleyrand, he appealed to the Duc de Richelieu, who only accepted office in order to help his King and country, to obtain the mediation of his friend, the Emperor Alexander,¹ in favour of France. The difficulty was the greater because the elections of August 1815 had returned to the Chamber 350 ardent Royalist deputies out of 402, and these were inclined to demand and support every violent and exceptional measure. A stand had to be made against legalized terrorism and the dissolution of the Chamber was the only way to deal with it. The elections got rid of a large number of the 'Ultras' and the Ministry was able to rely on a majority of nearly forty votes (1816). This heralded a period of reconciliation (1816-20) for which the credit is largely due to a man of enlightened intelligence and energetic will, Decazes, who took over the direction of the Ministry after the elections.

The electoral law, the military law, the law with regard to the Press were in turn the cause of troubles which led to discussions, split the country, and weakened the Ministry, which fell when the assassination of the Duc de Berry (13 February 1820), whereby Louvel hoped to cut at the root of the House of

¹ Richelieu had left France after the downfall of the monarchy and entered the Russian service, but took no part in the Tsar's wars with France in 1805-7 and 1812. From 1803 to 1814 he was governor of the Russian provinces on the Black Sea coast, and founded the port of Odessa, till then only a fishing village.

Bourbon, provoked a fierce attack by the 'Ultras' and the dismissal of Decazes. The Duc de Richelieu agreed to take his place, but was unable to retain power for long. He was unable to prevent the 'Ultras' from resorting to violence, and absolutist and clerical propaganda was unrestrained; thereafter there was an open struggle between the *Congrégation* and the *Charbonnerie*. The influence of the Comte d'Artois steadily increased, because Louis XVIII was ill and ageing, and only put up a formal opposition. When Richelieu and Decazes resigned they were succeeded by Villèle, who immediately attempted a partial restoration of the *ancien régime* (December 1821).

Villèle did not conceal his intentions: he began by attacking the Press, insisting on restrictions of its freedom. He had unlimited power with a Chamber completely under his thumb, which he intended making more subservient still by putting forward 'official' candidates, with the support of the prefects and all the machinery of the State.

The position was not unlike that of 1816, with the difference that there was a series of military plots against the dynasty; every attempt failed, and the *Charbonnerie* gave up their hope of overthrowing the Bourbons by mutinies in the army. The year 1822 was a time of unsuccessful plots and cruel reprisals; the year 1823 saw a French army invading Spain in order to restore a native-born king by force of arms. In this way it was hoped to enhance the reputation of the white flag, and the easy capture of the Trocadero was represented as a glorious victory, but public opinion was sceptical. The only result of this military excursion was to convince the 'Ultras' that they had nothing to fear from the army and that the moment had come to dissolve the Chamber (24 December 1823) and to have a new one elected for five or seven years. It was elected (25 February 1824) and the Royalists triumphed. Out of 430 deputies they totalled 415 who were ready to go to any extreme. Louis XVIII left full powers in Villèle's hands, and on the 16th September 1824 he died and was succeeded by his brother. There was, for the last time, a solemn coronation at Rheims, but Charles X was not destined to wear for long the crown he received there.

The welcome of his people was at first almost enthusiastic, but it was soon evident that he intended to revive all the forgotten past, to sacrifice the national army to the returned *émigrés*, close the last wounds of the Revolution, in other words, get laws passed which would harrow the country and stir up hatred, of which the dynasty, the nobility, and the clergy would be the first victims. In the Chamber of Peers it was proposed to pass a severe law against sacrilege, involving among other penalties the severing of a hand followed by death for the profanation of the Sacred Host. This law, which was keenly opposed, was passed, and promulgated a few days later to the surprise of the whole country, but was never enforced. A law providing for indemnities to the *émigrés* for their nationalized property, created a very unfortunate impression. There was a great deal to be said both for and against it, but the greed and unworthiness of many of the beneficiaries on the one hand, and the enormous expenditure of 1,000 million francs on the other, impressed the popular imagination more than any considerations of justice or expediency.

Public opinion was once more challenged in the 1826 session by a proposed law to re-establish the rights of primogeniture, which caused strong feeling throughout France; its failure was celebrated by banquets in the provinces and by illuminations in Paris. Montlosier requested the Government to free itself from ultramontane influence: the Government replied with a proposed law regarding the Press which was popularly given the ironical name of '*loi de justice et d'amour*'. After passing in the Chamber by 233 votes to 134, it was withdrawn by the Government. Paris was illuminated (19 April).

Ten days later the Parisian National Guard was disbanded, and after this all the opposition parties formed a coalition. This led to the dissolution of the Chamber and the elections resulted in a sweeping defeat of the Ministry. Villèle was doomed, but persisted in trying to retain power. However, after a month of intrigue he had to make way for the Martignac Ministry (4 January 1828). He withdrew, leaving France agitated and sharply divided; a religious conflict had begun and the King

himself was compromised; but it must be admitted that on his resignation Villèle left the finances in a prosperous condition and the country strong and respected abroad.

60. RUSSIA (1815-47)

The events of 1812-15, which Alexander I thought that Providence had ordained him to direct, had unbalanced his subtle and complex ideas and led him into a kind of mysticism which was inspired for some years by his Egeria, the Baroness von Krüdener. But nothing lasted long in his unstable mind and, after a period of Liberalism, as might have been expected, he reverted to despotism; the development of this reactionary movement was guided by Araktchef, a survivor of the reign of Paul I, who was responsible for the system of 'military colonies'. Simultaneously, there was an 'obscurantist' reaction against science and letters. But in this absolutist phase of his later years he still believed that he was a heaven-inspired ruler. There is no knowing what abuses Alexander might have countenanced had he not been carried off by a malignant fever (1 December 1825).

His illness had been a brief one, and his death left Russia the legacy of a doubtful succession. His brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, the second son of the unfortunate Paul I, had been regarded as the Tsarevich, the successor to the throne. He had for some years been in command of the Polish army at Warsaw. He had married a Polish lady, and was popular in Poland, thanks to his Liberal ideas. These ideals made him shrink from the prospect of inheriting the Tsardom with its iron tradition of autocratic rule. He had drawn up a formal renunciation of the succession, but revealed the fact only to two or three intimate friends, intending to put it forward, if he survived his eldest brother, when Alexander's death was expected after a prolonged illness. He would then recognize his younger brother, the Grand Duke Nicholas, as the heir to the throne. Nicholas was in command of the Imperial Guard at St. Petersburg, and on the death of Alexander he proclaimed Constantine, and the Guard took the oath of fidelity to the new Tsar.

There had been for some years a growing movement in Russia for a Liberal constitution, a secret agitation, which had among its supporters many officers of the army and even of the Guard. The accession of Constantine raised hopes of reform. But when news came from Warsaw that he absolutely refused the succession, and Nicholas was proclaimed, the rumour spread in the capital that this was a *coup d'état* arranged to displace the legitimate and Liberal Tsar. On the 26th December a Guards regiment refused to take the oath of allegiance to Nicholas and marched on the palace accompanied by applauding crowds. Nicholas brought up regiments that had accepted him, and placed a battery in position. For more than an hour he sat on his horse among the loyal troops while the Governor of the city argued with the mutineers, who rejected his assurances that Constantine had freely renounced his claim. At last the Governor was killed by a pistol shot fired from the crowd. Nicholas then swept the square with gunfire, and in less than half an hour the mutineers dispersed or surrendered. There were 300 dead. Arrests, executions, and deportations to Siberia followed. Minor revolts in south Russia were easily trampled out. Poland remained peaceful during the crisis, and Constantine had no part whatever in the revolt against his brother.

The outcome of the 26th December 1825 was that the Tsar Nicholas found himself cast for the part of a breaker of revolutions; he became the champion of the Divine Right of Kings in Europe, and he had no lack of opportunities. In 1830 he would have gladly sided with Charles X, but he was not free to act; similarly the Belgian revolution occurred so suddenly that he had no time to intervene. He had a great deal to keep him busy at home; the Polish revolution of 1830 gave him a difficult task; and, later, in 1848 and 1849, he crushed the Hungarian and Roumanian revolutions. But he favoured the liberation of Greece, as a blow against Turkey and a step towards Russian domination of the Balkan lands.

In Russia Nicholas gave full scope to his autocratic policy. Supported by the official Church and by the army, he suppressed the Masonic lodges as likely centres of conspiracy, and

dissolved the Bible Societies which Alexander had permitted; the Holy Synod was presided over by a cavalry general and the 'Uniats' were cruelly persecuted to force them to renounce their union with Rome and revert to the State Church. He thought of his Empire as an immense entrenched camp, which had to be protected against foreign infiltrations of all kinds, whether social, educational, literary, or philosophical. But he encouraged progress in some directions. It was in Nicholas's reign that the first railway from St. Petersburg to Moscow was made, that chambers of commerce were created, and a rough attempt at a Third Estate was made by some privileges granted to 'leading citizens' in towns and cities. But the Tsar did not go so far as to emancipate the serfs. In 1842 a Ukase settled the terms of the contracts between landowners and peasants regulating manumission, which was becoming more frequent. Secretly, Nicholas studied the means for solving this social problem, and his successor, Alexander II, reaped the benefit of this research. It has been said of Nicholas that 'however hostile he may have been to all ideas of freedom, he never, during his lifetime, gave up the hope of emancipating the serfs'.

61. TURKEY AND GREECE (1814-32)

In 1814 it might well seem that the decline of the Ottoman Power had gone so far that its disappearance would be an event of the near future, and as the Tsar favoured the movement for the restoration of independence to Greece, it appeared likely that this Hellenist movement, backed by Russia, would strike the fatal blow against the Turkish Empire in Europe. It was obvious that Alexander's interest in Hellenism was inspired not merely by a Crusader's zeal for the victory of Cross over Crescent, but by the hope of using the Greeks to embarrass the Sultan, and, as their protector, making one more step towards domination over Constantinople and the Near East. Austria and England were alarmed at this aspect of the Tsar's policy, and at the Congress of Vienna these two Powers were ready to join in guaranteeing the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, but the suggestion was rejected by the Sultan's advisers, who regarded

the proffered guarantee as not unlikely to develop into a protectorate. They felt its acceptance would be a confession of weakness. The result was that the question was not raised at the Congress and the Treaties of Vienna were drawn up as if Turkey were non-existent.

The Tsar Alexander now thought that he was all-powerful and the Treaty of the Holy Alliance hardly concealed his ulterior designs on Turkey. The British naval power was certain to be an obstacle to any independent Russian operations against Turkey in the Mediterranean. But the Tsar might count upon free play for threatening demonstrations by land; in 1816 he still had 640,000 men whom he could put in the field and he was only waiting for an opportunity. Meanwhile he encouraged the growing boldness of the Greek nationalist organization, the Hetairea (i.e. 'Comradeship') which steadily increased from 1814 till 1820. Just then Alexander was rather less favourable to liberal ideas, and he advised the Greeks to be patient, but his feelings with regard to the Turks had not changed. His changing moods were well known, and the moment was sure to come when the wind would blow from another quarter. In April 1820 the Hetairea chose a leader from Russia, Alexander Ypsilanti, a Greek who had risen to the rank of general in the Russian army. Next year he invaded the Danubian provinces at the head of 800 horsemen, but after one engagement he took to flight. His band was dispersed or massacred and the Principalities were laid waste by the conquerors.

The Roumanians had remained deaf to the call; the Greeks on the mainland and the islands rose to a man. The Turkish army was already occupied in suppressing the formidable revolt of Ali of Yanina, the Pasha of Albania, and on the Greek mainland the insurgents were soon masters of the whole country, except a few towns where the Turkish garrisons still held out, embarrassed as they were by every place they held being overcrowded with Moslem refugees from the surrounding district. Every success of the Greeks was followed by ruthless slaughter of the Turkish farmers and peasants—men, women, and

children—and as the walled towns and citadels were starved into surrender further massacres followed. In the islands the insurgents were even more successful. There was the novel situation of an insurrection being effectively supported by an improvised navy. The Greeks of the Archipelago were good sailors, and their merchant craft were armed for protection against the corsairs of North Africa. Their light, swift craft carried on a guerrilla warfare against the Turkish navy. Many of the islands were successfully held by the Greeks, but the Sultan's navy was able to land relief expeditions to help some of the garrisons, and their success was followed by ghastly massacres in Chios, Cyprus, and Crete. The record of the war was one of a series of ferocious massacres and reprisals. Rumours of a Greek plot in Constantinople itself led to terrorism in the capital, and the news of the summary execution of the Greek Patriarch came as a shock to western Europe, where there was a widespread sympathy for the Greeks among all classes. Philhellenic committees were formed, funds collected to support the Greek cause, arms and supplies sent to them, accompanied by enthusiastic volunteers, while journalists, orators, and poets predicted a renaissance of the heroic age of classic Greece.

In January 1822 the rising had so far succeeded that a national assembly met at Epidaurus to proclaim the independence of the country and prepare a Constitution. By the end of the year Corinth and Athens were in the hands of the Greeks, the siege of their military capital at Missolonghi had been raised, and the Turkish fleet had gone back to the Dardanelles. The Greeks were disappointed in their hope that the Congress of Verona would lead to an intervention of the European Powers in their favour. The Turks, however, had withdrawn to Thessaly, the immediate outlook seemed hopeful, and a French officer, Colonel Fabvier, was attempting to organize their irregular levies into an army. But then the Greek leaders began to quarrel among themselves. Personal ambitions and local jealousies led to outbreaks of civil war, in which Greek met Greek with the same fierce courage as they had shown against the Turks.

It was during a lull in this troubled period that Byron was welcomed at Missolonghi. He had been exerting himself in the cause of Greece, and devoted to it what money he could command or obtain from friends. He was offered the governorship of the liberated territories. He occupied himself in efforts to end the quarrels of the moment, and worked steadily at reorganizing and drilling the new army. He was already in wretched health, and he was carried off by an attack of fever (19 April 1824). His sacrifice for the Greek cause undoubtedly strengthened the already strong feeling for it in France and England; but the outlook in Greece itself was not promising. The Sultan, Mahmoud II, had ended the war with Ali of Yanina and could again find Albanian recruits for his army. He was arranging for the help of the fleet and army formed by his viceroy in Egypt, an Albanian soldier of fortune, Mehemet Ali, and the Greeks had to lay aside their quarrels and face new activities of the Turkish forces.

Canning, the Prime Minister of England, had already recognized the belligerent rights of the Greeks, and after the accession of Nicholas I he arranged, with promise of the support of Charles X of France, a conference at St. Petersburg, the result of which was that a joint proposal was made to the Sultan by Russia, England, and France for settling the Greek question, by giving Greece self-government as a tributary state of the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan rejected it, for he now counted on the reconquest of the revolted provinces.

The war blazed up once more. In April 1826 Missolonghi was taken by the Turks, and numbers of the Greeks who survived the siege and the massacre that followed were sold into slavery. Next year Athens fell, the 5th June 1827, and Greece seemed doomed. Worse than defeat by the new Turkish levies and the first reinforcements they received from Egypt was the renewed discord between the insurgent leaders themselves. There was a feud between the Greeks of the Morea and those north of the isthmus. There were times when rival chiefs fought for the possession of a town. A *coup d'état* in Constantinople had strengthened the hands of the Sultan. In the old times, when

the Ottoman armies had been the terror of Europe, the privileged corps of the Janissaries had been the best battle-winners—the first to be sent to the front when a Sultan took the field, his personal escort, and, like Napoleon's Old Guard, the splendid fighting force whose charge had decided many a great battle. But in the later days of the decline of the Empire they seldom took the field. They formed the main part of the Constantinople garrison. They guarded the palaces and took part in ceremonial parades. In the eighteenth century they had deposed Sultans and placed in power Grand Viziers, who bought their support by pledges of promotion to a number of their officers, and largesses to all ranks from the public treasury. They had become rather the masters than the servants of the Sultans. Mahmoud II had long been preparing to end this armed tutelage. He had taken advantage of the state of war in Greece and the menace of Russian action on the Danube to raise new battalions, squadrons, and batteries, organized on European lines, the new 'Nizam' army, partly trained by officers from western Europe, and the best of the Nizams were not sent to Greece but kept in the neighbourhood of the capital.

The Janissaries, now little better than parade troops, were some 40,000 strong, a whole army corps, idling in the capital during five years of war in Greece. In the first months of 1826 their chiefs were jealously watching the growth of the new Nizam army. The Sultan's friends alleged that the Janissaries were plotting against him. However this may have been, a mutiny in a detachment of the corps gave him the opportunity of taking decisive action. Concentrating rapidly his new forces he declared the Janissaries to be rebels, displayed the banner of the Prophet, attacked and stormed their barracks, setting fire to a vast range of buildings, and killing some six or seven thousand in the fight and the massacre that followed. Some thousands more of those who surrendered were executed and the rest were dispersed throughout the Empire. Freed from the domination of this Pretorian Guard, Mahmoud announced a new policy of reform and progress and began by abolishing the wearing of the turban and substituting the red fez as a more civilized headgear.

For some time the Sultan was too occupied with remodelling Turkish affairs to pay much attention to Greece, where he hoped the Egyptian army would soon intervene in force.

The Pasha of Egypt had occupied Crete as the base of operations for a campaign in the Morea; a crowd of transports and Egyptian and Turkish squadrons of warships concentrated in its harbours, but for some time nothing was done beyond sending some small reinforcements to the Morea. In January 1827 France agreed to act with England and Russia to save the Greeks and end the war. In those days of slow posts and no telegraphs negotiations were often slow in coming to a result, and it was not till the 6th June that the Treaty of London was signed between the three Powers. By this time news had come that an Egyptian army, escorted by the Turco-Egyptian fleet, was on its way to the Morea, under the command of Ibrahim Bey. Orders were sent to the admirals of the Allied fleets in the Mediterranean, to make a display of force to compel both Greeks and Turks to accept an armistice, to be followed by negotiations for a settlement. The French admiral De Rigny and the Russian Count Heyden agreed to act under the orders of Sir Edward Codrington, the senior of the three. The Greeks at once accepted the armistice. Ibrahim Bey had brought his fleet into the almost land-locked Bay of Navarino on the west coast of the Morea, erected batteries to defend the entrance, and landed the Egyptian army, which at once began a campaign of burning villages and the massacre of their people. He protested that he could not accept an armistice without referring the matter to the Sultan, but agreed that the fleet would not put to sea. Negotiations dragged on; Ibrahim made an attempt to send one of his squadrons to sea; the ravage of the country by the army continued. At last the admirals decided to act. On the 20th October the Allied fleet entered the Bay of Navarino, and in a four hours' battle every ship of the opposing fleet was captured, sunk, or burned. An armistice followed. The Greeks had already elected Count Capo d'Istria, who had formerly been the Tsar's Minister of Foreign Affairs, to be President of their directing Committee. A brigade of French

troops was sent to keep order in the Morea, but the future of Greece was still unsettled.

The Tsar now took vigorous action to assert Russia's claim as protector of the eastern Christian provinces. War was declared against the Sultan and on the 7th May 1828 Russian troops crossed the Pruth and entered Ottoman territory where they gained some unimportant successes but finally had to retreat. On the other hand, the 1829 campaign was decisive. In Asia the Russian army took Erzerum; in Europe it conquered Silistria, crossed the Danube and the Balkans, and appeared before Adrianople on the 20th August; a few days later its advance-guard arrived within a few miles of Constantinople. There was a panic in the city, and on the 14th September the Treaty of Adrianople was signed.

The Ottoman Empire lost Moldavia, Wallachia, and Serbia, which became tributary States, with Turkish garrisons in the citadel of Belgrade and the Danube fortresses. Greece was assured of complete independence; Turkish influence yielded to Russian force, and indeed Russia was becoming mistress of the East.

Greece was to be a kingdom. England suggested as a candidate for this new throne Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. He laid down his conditions which were partly accepted, but Capo d'Istria, who now governed the country, painted such a picture of it for Leopold that he refused the Crown. Shortly afterwards Capo d'Istria had to quell an insurrection and, after appealing to Russia, was assassinated (9 October 1831). The Government of Megara, which rejected Russian influence, won the day (10 April 1832). Russia, France, and England agreed to give Greece a King, the young Prince Otho of Bavaria (7 May 1832), and declared the new kingdom to be under their joint protection. Otho landed at Nauplia, with a council of regency entrusted with the government until he attained his majority, which was to be reached in 1835; with him came 3,500 Bavarian soldiers, who were to replace the French troops in the Morea.

62. SPAIN AND PORTUGAL (1814-47)

The return to the throne of Ferdinand VII in 1814 was marked by a revival of absolutism together with a fanatical reaction; the Press was gagged, individual liberty was abolished. Ferdinand knew no moderation; everything was in the hands of the Camarilla, an inner circle of his partisans. The Government seemed to be managed by madmen, and conspiracies soon began. Spain seemed to be doomed to perpetual despotism when the revolution broke out and a Constitution was proclaimed (1 January-9 March 1820). A provisional Junta governed the country (9 March-9 July), but its activities included violent measures. The Cortes came into being on the 9th July and clashed with the extreme parties, particularly the clergy, who were whole-heartedly against the new Constitution. A committee was formed in Galicia in January 1821, and during that year the Cortes effected important reforms, which did not suffice to curb the hostility of the dissident parties. The Press became more violent every day, there were almost daily outbreaks in Madrid, Barcelona, Saragossa, Granada, Cadiz, and Seville. In 1822 civil war broke out in the provinces and assumed alarming proportions. The Cortes decreed a levy of 30,000 regulars and 20,000 militiamen. A crisis was impending when French intervention threw Spain back into absolutism for another ten years.

This intervention was the work of the French Conservative party. In January 1823 war was inevitable, but the French army, commanded by the Duc d'Angoulême, took six months crossing Spain from Irun to Cadiz (7 April-1 October) without meeting with any serious opposition. The Liberals retired and capitulated, and a fierce reaction set in; on the 13th November Ferdinand VII entered Madrid in triumph. The next ten years of his reign were a period of terror, still known by the name of the ruthless Minister: the 'years of Calomarde'.

When Ferdinand became a widower for the third time, he married Maria-Christina of Bourbon, Princess of Naples (11 December 1839), who exerted a happy influence over him.

On the 31st March 1830 a law passed by the Cortes restored the right of female succession, and on the 10th October 1830 there was born a princess, Isabella, who became heiress-presumptive to the monarchy. The Infante Don Carlos, Ferdinand's brother, was set aside by the law, but he refused to recognize its validity, and on Ferdinand VII's death (29 September 1833) claimed the throne. The result was seven years of civil war, which divided the country between *Cristinos* and *Carlistos*, and ended in the exile of the Regent, Maria-Christina (17 October 1840). She entrusted her daughters, Isabella and Maria-Luisa, to the honour and patriotism of General Espartero.

Espartero became Regent in 1841, but his power did not last long; he played the dictator, but on the 30th July 1843 he escaped by sea in an English ship. Narvaez replaced him for a short time. On becoming Queen, Isabella II married her cousin, Don Francisco¹ (10 October 1846); she had neither the talents nor the virtues necessary to govern Spain.

Portugal also underwent a series of revolutions. The first broke out in 1820 and gave the country a Constitution. For years Portugal was the scene of a series of civil wars arising from a disputed succession, complicated by the fact that the rival claimants to the Crown, Dom Pedro, the elder son of Juan VI, and his brother, Dom Miguel, represented, the former the liberal and the latter the conservative element in the country. The record of the conflict is a dreary tale of risings, executions, *coups d'état*, and military dictatorships. In 1846 there was a terrible rebellion throughout Portugal; it required 100,000 men to quell it and the intervention of England in order to get the better of the insurrectionary Junta in Oporto. The town surrendered in June 1847.

Brazil had separated from Portugal in 1822, and became an independent Empire under Dom Pedro, a prince of the House of Braganza. After the French revolution in 1830, and the victory of the Reform party in England, there was a new element in the civil wars of both Spain and Portugal. In the case of the latter English naval officers took command of the improvised

¹ He was a prince of the Spanish Bourbon line of the Kingdom of Naples.

fleet of the Liberal party, and in both countries French and British officers and volunteers reinforced the armies of the Cristinos in Spain against the Carlists, and of the Pedroists against the adherents of Dom Miguel in Portugal. France and England were at peace with the two kingdoms of the Peninsula, but Louis-Philippe at Paris and the Liberal ministry in England not only permitted but encouraged this irregular intervention in the affairs of Spain and Portugal, in flagrant contempt of the recognized tradition of international law.

63. THE REVOLUTION OF 1830 IN FRANCE

Villèle was succeeded as Prime Minister by Martignac, whose sincere desire was to govern in the interests both of the throne and of the people (4 January 1828). He was honest, intelligent, moderate, and loyal, and returned to the liberal policy of the Duc de Richelieu. From that moment Charles X's one ambition was to get rid of him. The decrees of June 1828 put the preparatory schools for the seminaries under the control of the university and limited the number of their pupils to 20,000. This blow struck directly at the *Congrégation*; the more so because a papal brief stated that there was no violation of episcopal rights in the decrees. Martignac's defeat in the Chamber was due to the proposed laws regarding communal and departmental administration; as soon as the budget had been passed, Charles X sent for the Prince de Polignac and entrusted the government to him (8 August 1829). Polignac was a visionary; his name stood for a counter-revolutionary programme. The more thoughtful people predicted that it could not be long delayed. Anxiety turned into disgust when Bourmont—who had deserted to the Allies in the campaign of Waterloo—was given the Ministry for War. The Liberals made it their business to organize a legal resistance to the exceptional measures which they foresaw; an Orleanist party was formed under the leadership of Talleyrand and Baron Louis, with the support of Thiers and Mignet. Its organ, the *National*, was first published on the 23rd January 1830, and was largely devoted to singing the praises of the English Revolution of 1688; the royalist Press

called for repressive measures. The Chambers met on the 2nd March 1830, and the King said in his opening speech: 'If obstacles which I do not wish to anticipate are put in the way of my Government by any culpable action, I shall find means to overcome them in my determination to maintain public order, in legitimate confidence in the people of France and in the love which they have always shown for their King.' In reply, the address from the Chamber did not conceal from the King the fact that harmony no longer existed, and it demanded the dismissal of the Ministers. On the following day, the 19th March, the Chambers were prorogued; on the 16th May they were dissolved and the elections announced for the 23rd June, with the first meeting of the new Chamber for the 3rd August. As the election date drew nearer anxiety increased, and the Ministry suffered a crushing defeat at the polls. The King and the Ministry were disappointed in their hope that the news of the capture of Algiers would rally public opinion in their favour. As early as the 29th June Charles X and his Ministers had decided on a *coup d'état* 'for the safety of the State'. The Ordonnances, a series of emergency decrees, appeared in the *Moniteur* on the 26th July. They were four in number: (1) suspension of the liberty of the Press; (2) dissolution of the Chamber; (3) establishment of a new electoral law; (4) new elections fixed for September.

No precautions had been taken against a revolt which was considered impossible. The King had gone to enjoy the shooting at Rambouillet. On the 26th Paris began its resistance with angry protests; on the 27th armed crowds appeared in the streets, barricades were set up and blood flowed; on the 28th the tricolour was again displayed. Marshal Marmont, who commanded the troops, made a feeble and ill-directed resistance, abandoned most of the capital, and concentrated his forces at the Louvre; on the 29th the Louvre and the Tuileries were in the hands of the people. Charles X withdrew the Ordonnances. On the 2nd August he abdicated and went into exile with all his family. Next day the Chamber met and revised the Charter of the Constitution; on the 7th August the Chamber called to

the throne the Duke of Orleans¹ and his heirs male in perpetuity and by right of primogeniture. On the 9th August Louis-Philippe I took the oath and assumed the title of 'King of the French'.

This revolution came in a time of great and widespread prosperity; the financial position was good; the army was victorious in Africa. Charles X's incapacity did all the harm; he lost a throne where Louis XVIII would only have lost a ministry.

64. THE POLISH REVOLT (1815-46)

The effects of the July Revolution in Paris were felt throughout Europe; among its results were the coming of a Kingdom in Belgium and the disappearance of the Kingdom of Poland. We have seen that the treaties of Vienna recognized Polish nationality. On the 25th May 1815 Alexander I had announced the creation of the autonomous Kingdom of Poland and its Constitution. The Tsar, represented by a governor at Warsaw, was to be King of Poland. There were to be an elected Diet, a Polish ministry, courts of law and civil service, and the Catholic religion was recognized as that of the nation. There was to be a Polish army to garrison the country. The Tsar gave the command of it to his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, who had served in several campaigns and commanded the Russian Guards Corps at Austerlitz. He was a painstaking routine soldier with no special talent for war. He was friendly to the Poles—he had married a Polish lady—and as a man of liberal ideas he was anxious for the success of this experiment in 'Home Rule' for Poland.

Two Diets were opened by Alexander in 1818 and 1819, but it was very soon realized that secret societies were being formed by groups of men in all classes who clung to the national aspirations for independence. When Nicholas I succeeded his brother, he swore to observe the Polish Constitution (1825) but, as early as

¹ He was the son of Philip, Duc d'Orléans, the Philippe Égalité of the great Revolution and one of its victims. His son, the future King, was then known as the Duc de Chartres. He served in the first campaign in the north and deserted to the Allies with Dumouriez.

1829, he foresaw the imminence of serious difficulties. The minds of the people became more and more excited with the hope of making the Polish army a weapon against the 'Muscovite'.

The news of the revolution in Paris caused a great stir; then came the Belgian revolution and a rumour that the Polish army was to be the vanguard of a Russian army to be sent against Belgium. On the 29th November the cry was raised of 'Long live Poland'; the Grand Duke Constantine left Warsaw, and within twenty-four hours the revolt had spread throughout Poland. On the 24th December 1830 a provisional Polish Government was formed, and negotiations began, although the attitude of Nicholas I left little ground for hope.

The Tsar declared that he could make no concessions until Poland submitted to his rule. In February 1831 two armies were massed on the upper and middle Niemen for a march on Warsaw. The Diet replied by proclaiming that he was no longer King of Poland. The war that followed was not between a regular army and an improvised insurrection. It was a conflict between two regular armies, Polish and Russian, the former reinforced by new levies, which included considerable numbers of veterans who had fought in Napoleon's wars. From the outset the Poles were heavily outnumbered. The Russians on the Niemen were 100,000 strong and were gradually reinforced by 80,000 more. The regular Polish army, well trained and equipped, numbered about 30,000. From first to last the new levies were about 50,000, but it was difficult to obtain arms, equipment, and munitions. In the later months of the war some 10,000 of the Polish infantry were 'scythemmen', peasants armed only with rough halberds made by fixing a scythe-blade in prolongation of a spear shaft, a formidable weapon against the Russian bayonets in a fight at close quarters.

From the latter weeks of a hard winter till the early autumn the Poles made a heroic fight against the invaders, and foiled more than one Russian advance on Warsaw. Their hope was that if for a few months they could keep the banner of the White Eagle flying against the black double-headed Eagles of the Tsar, England and France, both profuse in their sympathy for

Poland, would intervene in her favour, as they had done for Greece. But the Western Powers were too much occupied with the affairs of Belgium to take any effective steps for far-off Poland. At last, on the 8th September 1831, the Russians entered Warsaw. The remnant of the Polish armies still in the field retired across the Prussian and Austrian frontiers, and local attempts to carry on a guerrilla warfare were trampled out in a few weeks.

Nicholas I retained the title of King of Poland, but abolished everything that could have encouraged illusions of independence for Poland. The flower of the nation was terrorized by confiscations, deportations to Siberia, wholesale transfer of families to places in Poland itself and in Russia. The Constitution was done away with, the ministries were abolished, the national library was sent to St. Petersburg, the Polish army was disbanded. Everywhere Russian administration took the place of national organizations and Polish aspirations were treated as seditious ideas. Lithuania and the Ruthenian districts were fundamentally Catholic, and here the worst outrages were resorted to, with the object of forcing the people into the so-called Orthodox Church.

Besides the three subjected Polands there had existed the Republic of Cracow, which had been given, by the treaties of 1815, a Constitution, a Diet, and a Senate. In January 1846 this tiny State was invaded by turbulent refugees and was given an irregular form of government; this was the prelude to and pretext for the intervention of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, who sanctioned the suppression of the small republic and the annexation of its territory to Austria by a treaty concluded in Vienna on November 1846.

65. THE KINGDOM OF BELGIUM (1814-47)

In order to provide a safeguard against any revival of French ambitions in the lands of the former Austrian Netherlands, the Treaty of Paris (30 May 1814) established an enlarged Holland, and united it with Belgium under the House of Orange. The representative of that House, Prince William of Orange-Nassau,

had been the ruler of Holland since its revolt against France in 1813.¹ On the 31st May 1815 the final agreement of the Congress of Vienna proclaimed the existence and defined the boundaries of the new Kingdom of the Netherlands. Belgian Catholics, under a Protestant King, did not remain satisfied for long, and William I was powerless to stem the general movement of discontent and, in his anxiety to subject the Belgians to the supremacy of the Northern Provinces, he yielded to the dictates of his stubborn and unprogressive temperament; he was responsible for the impolitic measures which drove half his subjects to rebel. Besides the fact that the 1815 constitution had only given moderate guarantees against the authority of the Crown, everything had been settled with special regard to Dutch interests, and with so little moderation that there was an attempt to introduce Dutch legislation and make Dutch the official language, fifteen years being granted to the French-speaking population in which to learn Dutch. There was constant friction; laws regulating the Press were followed by economic exactions and a ruinous commercial system. The religious question became more acute when the Bishop of Ghent, De Broglie, was prosecuted for corresponding with Rome and publishing a Papal Bull without the Royal licence, and education laws were passed that led to the closing of many Catholic schools. From 1828 onwards it was obvious that a breach between the Belgians and the Dutch Government was inevitable.

¹ Born in 1772, William married a Prussian princess in 1791, and served with the Dutch forces in the war with the French Republic. After the Peace of Amiens, Napoleon agreed to recognize his claim to possessions of the Orange-Nassau family in Westphalia, on his resigning his claim to succeed to the Dutch stadtholderate and giving up his estates in Holland. But on the death of his father he reasserted his hereditary rights, took the title of Prince of Orange-Nassau, and resided in Berlin. He fought on the Prussian side at Jena, and Napoleon declared all his German estates forfeited. In 1809 he served in the Austrian army and was wounded at Wagram. When the Dutch revolted against France in the winter of 1813 he returned to Holland, and was proclaimed ruling Prince of the Netherlands. Next year the Congress of Vienna agreed to his becoming King of the Netherlands. He commanded the Dutch and Belgian contingent under Wellington in the campaign of Waterloo, and in the same year the Congress added to his possession Luxemburg, with the title of Grand Duke.

It was delayed for a while by disagreements between the Belgian Catholics and Liberals, but they were sufficiently united to join in the claim for freedom of worship, of the Press, and of education. The country was roused by a great propaganda campaign, petitions were broadcast amongst all classes of society in the towns and in the country. By 1830 a separatist tendency was already noticeable.

When the July revolution broke out in Paris the effect was quickly felt in Brussels. On the 25th August, after the performance of *La Muette de Portici*,¹ there was rioting through the night, the offices of the Government organ in the Press were sacked, and the houses of officials attacked, and in some instances set on fire. Next day the rioting had developed into an insurrection, which spread all over Belgium, town after town raising the red, black, and yellow standard of Brabant and sending volunteers to man the barricades in Brussels. After three days of conflict the Dutch governor evacuated the city, and the leaders of the rising attempted to negotiate with King William. At this stage they would have accepted a separate administration for Belgium under a Dutch Prince, but King William was obstinate, and after summoning the States General to meet at The Hague, he sent an army under his son Frederick to recapture Brussels. This led to some hard fighting (21-6 September), ending in the retreat of the Dutch.

Antwerp was now in revolt: the garrison under General Chassé held only the old Spanish citadel. On the 3rd October Chassé used its guns to bombard the city. A Belgian provisional government was now declaring for independence. The French party were anxious to have a son of Louis-Philippe as their King, but a congress of the Ambassadors of Europe in London recognized the right of Belgium to independence and proposed Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as its King, and he was accepted by the Provisional Government.

King William had rejected the suggestion of the congress for

¹ Auber's opera produced in Paris, in 1848, dealing with Masaniello's revolt against the Spaniards in Naples. It is said that the Dutch authorities had protested against its production in Brussels, with the result that it was made the occasion of an enthusiastic demonstration against them.

an armistice, and refused to sign the treaty adopted by the Powers in the autumn of 1831. The British and French navies blockaded the Dutch ports. But the King persisted in his opposition, and in the spring of the following year a Dutch army entered Brabant to march on Brussels. With the consent of the Powers France intervened, and Marshal Gérard with 50,000 men came to the rescue of Belgium. The Dutch army retired before him without fighting. He pushed on to Antwerp, where Chassé refused to surrender the citadel. He capitulated after it had been wrecked by the French artillery.

The Treaty of XXIV Articles, ratified by France, England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia (November 1831–May 1832), guaranteed the existence of the new kingdom; Holland did not agree to it until the 14th March 1838. Leopold I governed wisely, he organized and strengthened the kingdom, encouraged commerce, developed education, formed the army; the King was popular with the nation and stood for a genuine parliamentary system.

66. THE MONARCHY OF JULY (1830–48)

Louis-Philippe may be said to have taken infinite pains to extend and consolidate his popularity, but he was very much inclined to consider that the July revolution should be limited to a change of sovereign, a few slight modifications of the Charter, and the retention of the system introduced by the Bourbons in 1815. He would have been glad to see a moneyed aristocracy take the place of an aristocracy of birth. During the first years of his reign he concealed his ambitions, but did not desist from his determination to establish a personal government, whose chief object would be the maintenance of the established order. Ultimately he succeeded, but this success, which was practically assured from 1837, and definitely so in 1840, had not been easy to obtain. His reign of eighteen years was divided into two periods: the one, up to 1840, combative; the other, one of superficial calm marked by the triumph of the King's personal conservative policy, up to the 24th February 1848.

Two parties struggled for the upper hand in the Government: the Legitimists, the rich and unenterprising party of the *salons* and sacristies; the Republicans, exasperated at seeing the gains of the revolution slipping through their fingers. As a ruler, Louis-Philippe realized the difficulty of his position and had to put up with a kind of governmental anarchy, the outcome of differences of opinion between his ministers and himself. He lived under the almost daily threat of outbreaks of disorder. The trial of the ministers of Charles X (20-2 December 1830) was followed by the sacking of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois (14 February 1831) and the pillage of the Archbishop's palace (15 February). There was an outburst of rage against the clergy who had sided with the fallen monarchy. These disorders affected public opinion, which wanted a strong government and approved of Casimir Perier as Minister; he had the courage and ways of a dictator, but all his energy was unable to avert the consequences of an economic crisis due to new industrial conditions. Serious disturbances broke out at Lyons and Grenoble, though these had no political character; then La Vendée was roused to a brief revolt by the Duchesse de Berry, and a sudden outbreak of cholera in Paris carried off 20,000 victims, including Casimir Perier. Then followed a series of republican risings, in Paris on the 8th June 1832, and in Lyons and in several other cities. There were many disgraceful attempts against the life of the King between 1835 and 1846, while, in 1836, Bonapartist propaganda was started which led to two insignificant attempts at military rebellion.

A succession of Ministers held office: Thiers, Guizot, Molé, de Broglie, Soult. The Monarchy survived every crisis and every plot; it had, for the time being, incapacitated its adversaries. The nation had accepted the parliamentary system, which had the merit of continuity, and which had, amidst so many vicissitudes at home and abroad, increased the general prosperity. The Government had taken pains to foster the economic development of the country. The roads were improved in view of the coming competition of the new railways, but, nevertheless, steps were taken for the construction of six main lines of

rail. The campaign for the conquest of Algeria was regarded with similar lack of comprehension; only a few very broad-minded people realized the possibility of a colonial empire as the outcome of this military enterprise. The abolition of the hereditary rights of the peerage, the laws regarding municipal and departmental councils, and primary education, had satisfied the levelling instinct and the liberalism of the middle class. But ideas of reform were gaining ground, chiefly in connexion with the question of the composition of the Chamber of Deputies and the method of election. This question of electoral reform became prominent at the time of the first Reformist banquet held in Paris on the 10th June 1840.

Adolphe Thiers took a prominent part in the later stages of the Reformist movement. Born at Marseilles in 1797, his boyhood's memories were those of the great days of the Empire. Educated for the Bar, he early abandoned law for literature and journalism, and he was still a young man when the first volumes of his history of the French Revolution won him a wide popularity. Napoleon was his hero, and, Liberal though he was, he undoubtedly prepared the way for the revival of Bonapartism. He was a member of the Government from 1832 to 1836, first as Minister of the Interior, then at the Foreign Office. He resigned office when the King became alarmed at his advocacy of a French intervention in Spain. But in March 1840 he returned to power as President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs. He indulged in dangerous suggestions that before long France might perhaps be able to set aside the treaties of 1815 and claim the natural frontier of the Rhine. He secured large votes for strengthening the army and navy, and when in the summer of 1840 the ambitions of Mehemet Ali in Syria raised the Eastern question, he refused to join the other Powers in a guarantee for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Mehemet Ali's invasion of Syria was checked by the armed intervention of the British and Austrian fleets, but Thiers had brought France and England almost to the brink of war. The peace-loving King opposed his warlike policy, and he was replaced in the ministry by Guizot. Thiers had already

arranged with the British Government for the transfer of Napoleon's remains from St. Helena to France, though it was some weeks after his resignation that, in December 1840, Paris witnessed the second funeral of the great Emperor and his entombment at the Invalides.

Guizot was in power for eight years, until the catastrophe. He was peremptory, narrow-minded, and unable to develop the ideas of his Liberal apprenticeship; some minor alterations to the Charter were all he required, to him all else was idle fancy; he wanted merely peace with the foreigner and inaction at home. The King was of the same opinion. They both had the support of the Chambers for seven consecutive years. In the end this policy of inertia wearied the country and, after the 1846 elections, a progressive party was formed.

In their foreign policy, Louis-Philippe and Guizot were inclined to put their faith in England, at the risk of painful disappointment with regard to the support of that Power under the leadership of Palmerston. The persistent pursuit of what was known as the *entente cordiale* led to neglect of the interests of France. If the Chamber was doubtful whether to support this policy, it gave its complete confidence to the Minister as soon as it was a question of parliamentary and electoral reform. All the schemes submitted were rejected. According to Guizot, there were not more than 180,000 men capable of voting sensibly in France. Those who wanted to become electors should set to work and make money.

After 1847 the opposition gave up all hope of obtaining anything from the ministry or the Chamber and organized a great reform movement guided by Odilon Barrot, Thiers, and a few others; the Republicans joined them. A first reform banquet took place in Paris on the 10th July 1847; on the 18th July, at Maçon, Lamartine declared: 'After experiencing revolutions in the name of liberty and counter-revolutions in that of glory, you will experience the revolution of the public conscience and the revolution of scorn.' The impulse was given; it was openly stated that 'the work which had not been done in July had to be begun over again' and the place of a personal uncontrolled

government should be taken by the government of the country by the country. The royal family was anxious, and after the accidental death of the Duc d'Orléans (13 July 1842) none of the King's relatives were able to be of much help to him.

Two parties faced one another in anticipation of a coming conflict: the Catholics and the Socialists. A Catholic democratic party had realized that a return to the past and the rule of a privileged class was impossible, that dynastic ties were dangerous, so instead of fighting against the principles on which modern France was based, it accepted them, tried to turn them to account, and claimed to be treated in accordance with the principles of liberty. Lamennais, Montalembert, and Lacordaire were at the head of this new movement—'To acquire civil liberties with a view to spiritual freedom'. The Catholic democratic party openly declared itself ultramontane and brought the whole weight of its claims to bear on the question of the freedom of education in the form of free schools and a struggle against academic and State monopoly. The University of Paris was bitterly attacked and defended itself with corresponding vigour. The Socialist party did not aim so much at a political change as at a social recasting to be achieved by the equal distribution of the burdens and benefits of society. Louis Blanc provided the party with a doctrine, proclaimed the 'Right to work' for every man and the obligation of the State to provide work for every one (1832). In 1840 Arago spoke in the Chamber of the need to organize labour; in 1843 the party had its newspaper, the *Réforme*, and acute observers contended 'that the time for political movements in France had passed; that the next revolution would be a social revolution'.

67. ENGLAND (1814-48)

When the treaties of Vienna brought peace to Europe, England had passed through some twenty years of war, and the change from war to peace seemed in the popular mind to promise a time of prosperity. Sea-power had given England world-wide possessions. At Vienna it was agreed that she should restore to Holland Java and other islands of the Far Eastern

seas, and give back to France Pondicherry and Chandernagore in India, some islands in the West Indies, and St. Pierre and Miquelon on the fishery coast of Newfoundland. She retained Malta and the Ionian islands in the Mediterranean, several of her West Indian conquests, and, as valuable outposts on the way to India, the Cape of Good Hope and the island of Mauritius.

There had been a remarkable development of the English shipyards and dockyards, the harbours had been improved and internal communication was better served than it had ever been till then. The making and maintenance of roads had become a recognized branch of engineering, and the canal system was extended year after year to meet the needs of the growing prosperity in the mines and factories. For the time being England had control of most of the world's sea-borne traffic, and at home more abundant supplies of coal and iron than any other country; coal and iron had a new value and importance in these years when machinery was increasing the output of the workers.

But peace did not at once bring prosperity, so that the first years after Waterloo were an anxious time. In 1816 a disappointing harvest raised the price of food. The reduction of the army and navy threw numbers of men on the labour market; unemployment was increased by over-speculation leading to many bankruptcies. The discontent among the labouring classes became acute. The distress was increased by the policy of drastic deflation which was adopted in order to make possible an early resumption of cash payments. In the new factories women and children were employed in increasing numbers, and for long hours each day. There was as yet no legislation to regulate the conditions under which they were employed. Any association of the workers to secure better conditions or fairer wages in factory, field, and mine was under the ban of the law as 'conspiracy'. There was a widespread belief that the coming of machinery was the ruin of the workers, and for years to come there were occasional outbreaks of disorder, attacks on the factories, and wrecking of the hated machines.

Besides these labour and unemployment troubles there was

another source of anxiety for the Government in the agitation for parliamentary reform. In the early years of George III's reign a few isolated reformers had endeavoured to secure a change from the system under which the House of Commons was elected by the great landlords and their dependants, and seats in Parliament were bought and sold by those who controlled the voters. The situation had now become more flagrantly ridiculous with the growth of the new manufacturing centres. Birmingham had no representative at Westminster, but the landlord of a pasture on Salisbury Plain sent two members to the House of Commons, the two shepherds he employed voting under his orders as burgesses of the long-abandoned city of Old Sarum, whose site was marked by grass-grown mounds. The French Revolution had set back the clock of reform in England. The Tory Government and its supporters regarded the new reform agitation of the 'Radicals' as the not unlikely prelude to a reign of terror in London. Radical meetings were broken up; there were prosecutions for sedition and conspiracy and condemnations to penal servitude in Australia. Cobbett, a genius for pamphleteering, attacked the Government in his *Political Register*; Sir Francis Burdett moved in Parliament in 1815 a resolution to introduce manhood suffrage, but found few supporters. Henry Hunt, an effective speaker, went from place to place to address open-air meetings and Radical dinner-parties. On the 16th August 1819 he addressed a meeting of some 60,000 men, women, and children in St. Peter's Fields at Manchester. The magistrates sent mounted troops to disperse the crowd and arrest Hunt. Some hundreds were killed or wounded and Hunt was sent to prison.

This affair is since known to history as 'the Peterloo Massacre'. Cobbett had invented the new word when he wrote of the Government having scored at 'Peterloo' a success that would be their ruin. Eldon, the Lord Chancellor, described the meeting as an overt act of rebellion. When Parliament met, a law was enacted declaring illegal all meetings called to consider grievances in Church and State, or to prepare petitions, with the exception only of parish meetings at which none but

parishioners were present. Several arrests followed, and Cobbett went to America for a while, but sent his *Register* to be printed in England. Burdett was sent to two years' imprisonment for publicly denouncing 'Peterloo'.

George III died in January 1820 after nine years spent in seclusion, insane and blind. For these nine years his eldest son, now proclaimed as George IV, had been Prince Regent. For all practical purposes he had thus been the head of the State and his accession made no change in the political situation. He was a man of considerable ability, but all his talents were wasted by the defects of his character. From his youth upwards he had been a spendthrift and a libertine. A learned Anglican prelate, Hurd, Bishop of Lichfield, after being for two years his tutor, had said the Prince would be the most polished gentleman or the greatest blackguard in all Europe, and very likely both. He had an income of £50,000 a year, but he was hardly of age when Parliament voted £60,000 to pay his debts. There was a brief interruption in his career of dissipation when in 1785 he privately married a wealthy Catholic lady, Mrs. Fitzherbert, but he soon disavowed the marriage¹ and then obtained another vote of over £200,000 to pay his debts. He quarrelled with his father and, more to annoy him than from any serious political conviction, became an ally of the Whigs. He married a German Princess, Caroline of Brunswick, but soon tired of her, made damaging accusations against her, and drove her from the country. He was a patron of pugilists and jockeys, and also of authors, artists, and musicians. As Regent he appointed the architect Nash First Commissioner of Works, and did some useful town-planning in London. Nash built the line of streets from the Prince's residence, Carlton House, by way of the new Regent Street, to Regent's Park, which was enclosed, laid out, and planted with the help of drafts on the revenue of Ireland. Nash also built for him the grotesque sea-side palace of the 'Pavilion' at Brighthelmstone, which, thanks to the Regent's

¹ He based this disavowal on the plea that since the Revolution of 1688 marriage with a Catholic by the sovereign or the princes of the Royal family was illegal, and any such alleged marriage invalid.

patronage, led to the rise of that fishing-village into the new fashionable and prosperous town of Brighton.

George IV was in his fifty-eighth year when he became King. It may be that in his reckless extravagance there was an inherited touch of his father's mental failures, for he had some strange delusions. At times he referred to his having led a cavalry charge at Waterloo. He delighted in planning pageantry and devising court ceremonies and costumes. He gave the Household Cavalry new uniforms with helmets and body-armour imitated from Napoleon's cuirassier regiments, and converted several dragoon regiments into lancers, with the Polish uniforms copied from the imperial army. Much of his time in his first year as King was devoted to supervising the costumes for his coronation at Westminster in 1821—a costly pageant marred by his rejected Queen Consort, Caroline of Brunswick, returning to London and attempting to force her way into the Abbey.

While King George IV was finding congenial occupation in courtly display in London, and revels with his boon companions in the Brighton Pavilion, and playing the part of a patron of art and literature and a leader of fashion and the 'first gentleman in Europe', the Government of the country was being carried on by his ministers, amongst whom there were several men of real ability. In the Government and among their supporters in Parliament there were some who were before long to realize that the much-boasted Constitution was utterly out of date, and the time was passing away in which the United Kingdom could be ruled by the peers, the great landlords, and a House of Commons elected by a mere minority of the people, and including men who represented only pocket boroughs occupying seats sold to the highest bidder. As yet reform of any kind was regarded by the dominant party as the prelude to revolution, so that the policy of repression continued, strengthened in the first months of the new reign by the discovery of a plot of a few desperate men in London, with the purpose of murdering all the members of the Cabinet at a political dinner in Grosvenor Square.

In their foreign policy, while opposing all change at home, the ministers of George IV adopted a liberal line of action. Canning, as Foreign Secretary, refused to give English support to the repressive measures of the Holy Alliance. In Europe he not only protested against the French intervention in Spain in 1823, but, when there was talk of this action being extended to Portugal, sent British troops to Lisbon as a warning that any such step would mean war with England. He recognized the new governments of the revolted Spanish colonies in America in 1823, and no obstacle was put in the way of officers and men being recruited in Great Britain and Ireland for service in the insurgent armies. In the last months of his life Canning, as Prime Minister, took part in the intervention of the Powers that secured the freedom of Greece.

In home affairs the most important event of the reign was the passing of the 'Catholic Relief Act' of 1829, popularly remembered as the Act of Catholic Emancipation. In England the Catholics were a small and scattered flock. Sidney Smith, advocating in the *Edinburgh Review* the abolition of what was left of the Penal Laws, had argued that even if these had in former times been a necessary defence against the Papal power, the Catholics were now a small and decreasing element in the population and not unlikely soon to disappear, so there was no need of vexatious laws that were now out of date. Soon after the union with Ireland Grattan had made an unsuccessful effort to carry a resolution in the Commons for the admission of Catholics to the legislature. The Catholics of England had made more than one effort to negotiate with the Government, but the movement for Catholic Emancipation seemed all but hopeless until in 1823 O'Connell began to organize the 'Catholic Association' in Ireland.

In England the movement for Emancipation had been in the hands of a committee of Catholic peers and landowners who had more than once shown themselves more anxious to secure for themselves a free entry into the public life of the country than to safeguard the rights of the Church. They had at one time proposed to describe themselves as 'Protesting Catholic

Dissenters'; they had been willing to give the ministry in power a right to exercise a veto on the nomination of individual Catholic bishops; and, until the famous Dr. Milner successfully exposed the danger of the proposal, they had been ready to adopt a compromising statement of the Catholic position as a substitute for the existing test for admission to Parliament. O'Connell decided to present to the Government a demand for justice backed by the whole Catholic manhood of Ireland, the demand not of a few thousand, but of millions, from the peers and the gentry down to the poorest peasant. The necessary funds were provided, not by an appeal to prominent and well-to-do supporters for large donations, but by collecting from each enrolled member one penny each month. There were nearly seven millions of Catholics in Ireland. If only one million paid the penny—'the Catholic Rent'—there would be a war-chest of some £50,000 a year. It was a simple matter to organize committees in Dublin and the larger towns, and hold meetings and demonstrations, but the country people were scattered in small villages and lonely farms. To keep in touch with them a parish organization was adopted. Every Sunday, despite distance, bad roads, and even the worst of weather, the country folk gathered for Mass at their churches (many of these were as yet only mud-walled and straw-roofed cottages, differing little from the poor cabins of the peasantry, and so small that most of the congregation knelt outside them even in mud and rain). It was easy to hold a meeting of the congregation after the Sunday Mass, and as soon as the first successes had been secured the *Weekly Register*, at first a mere handbill, was sent out from Dublin to keep each local group informed of the news of the movement and the directions of the central committee.

In two years the organization spread all over Ireland. Though from first to last O'Connell and his colleagues insisted that the agitation must be conducted without disorder of any kind, the Government took alarm and hurried through the session of 1825 an Act suppressing the Catholic Association as a disorderly and seditious society. O'Connell at once held a meeting of its committee, carried a resolution dissolving the Association, and

followed this up with another resolution establishing a New Association with some mere verbal variations in its programme. As he said on another occasion, it was easy enough 'to drive a coach and six through any Act of Parliament'. For a while the Act was further evaded by calling meetings 'to consider the state of the country', or its educational facilities, or to prepare for the next elections. The small farmers, who had long been driven like sheep to the polls by Tory landlords under the menace of losing their holdings, were at last encouraged to vote for Protestant supporters of Emancipation—for numbers of non-Catholics were now realizing the justice and the urgency of the Catholic claims. In 1826 there was a first victory at Waterford, where a friendly Protestant candidate was elected against the nominee of Lord Beresford, the chief landowner of the county and a prominent opponent of Emancipation. Evictions of O'Connell's followers resulted in many districts, but the New Association found means to compensate them.

Encouraged by the success of the Catholic movement in Ireland, the English Dissenters were now urging their claims to be admitted to membership of the corporations and the House of Commons, and appointments to various public offices, so far barred against them by the Test Act of Charles II, which imposed the qualifying test of attending the Church of England service and receiving the Sacrament at least once in the parish church. The Act was abolished in 1828, but this relief to the Dissenters was no relief to Catholics. They were barred by the further test of a declaration against the doctrine of Transubstantiation, a declaration that in the mouth of a Catholic would be an act of apostasy and blasphemy. When a seat for County Clare became vacant in this same year O'Connell came forward as a candidate. He knew, of course, that if he were returned he would be disqualified, but he meant to give the world the spectacle of the Catholic leader of a whole people returned to Parliament and rejected by the Test. After an exciting but orderly contest he was elected. He claimed his seat at Westminster. The formula of the Test was handed to him; he glanced at the words, and threw it on the Speaker's table,

saying that he could not make a declaration which he held to be a falsehood. He returned to Ireland, where meetings all over the country pledged once more the support of the people to the cause. The Association had made a census of Ireland, which showed that seven-eighths of its people were Catholics. Fair-minded members of the Established Church and numbers of Dissenters came to O'Connell's assistance by a declaration signed by 2,000 men of title or good position, in favour of a concession of the Catholic claims.

Through all the years of his political career Wellington had again and again opposed any suggestion of concession to the Catholics. He had become Prime Minister in January 1828. He once more declared his opposition to Catholic Relief, when in the session of that year he advised the Lords to accept the Bill passed by the Commons for concession to the Dissenters. In the winter of 1828-9 he changed his attitude. Shortly before the session in the new year he told the King that further opposition to the Catholic claims would endanger the peace of his kingdom. Ireland would be exasperated into rebellion, so there must be a Catholic Relief Act passed in the Parliament of 1829. After some resistance the King yielded the point, and the Duke had to persuade his colleagues and supporters to accept what he now regarded as the inevitable. In the House of Lords he reminded the Peers that the concession to the Catholics was the fulfilment of a long-standing promise made when the Act of Union was passed. In the House and all over England, and among the Orangemen of Ireland there were furious denunciations of Wellington's sudden change of policy. Excited orators described him as a turncoat and a traitor. Some fanatics declared that he had been misled into a conspiracy to bring back 'Popery' to England. One of his colleagues in the Lords, the Earl of Winchilsea, used such strong language about him that Wellington sent him a challenge to a duel. For the last time in his life the victor of Assaye and Waterloo was under fire when one morning there was a bloodless exchange of pistol-shots on a South London common. The Bill passed through both Houses, introduced by Peel in the Commons and Wellington

in the House of Lords, and became law on the 13th April 1829.

It enabled Catholics to sit in both Houses of Parliament and to be elected to municipal corporations. It qualified them for most public offices and allowed Catholic army officers to be promoted to general's rank. There were several restrictive clauses¹ that were nullified or repealed by subsequent legislation. There had been no second election in Clare since O'Connell's victory of 1828. When the new law came into force he again claimed his seat in the Commons, and argued the validity of it in an able speech at the bar of the House on the 15th May. It was put to the vote, and ungraciously rejected by 190 votes against 46. A new writ was issued for Clare, and the Irish Tories had the good sense to nominate no candidate, so that O'Connell was elected without a contest. He returned to London to take his seat in the Commons. In the interval a son of the Duke of Norfolk had been elected for Arundel and taken his seat. O'Connell was thus deprived of the honour of being the first Catholic to take his seat since the penal times.

On the 28th June 1830 George IV died and was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Clarence, William IV. He was in his sixty-fifth year. In his young days he had served in the navy, and seen active service under Rodney in the West Indies in 1783. In later years the long-obsolete rank of Lord High Admiral had been revived for his benefit. His friends described him as kindly, open-minded, and generous, his critics complained that he was weak and irresolute. In the House of Lords, as Duke of Clarence, he had often voted with the Whig minority, and his accession was regarded as a gain for the now growing party of Reform.

In the last week of July of that same year came the Paris Revolution, and Charles X was an exile in England. The Liberal triumph in France found its echo of insurrection in other Continental countries and had its influence on the Reform

¹ The most important of these provided that all members of religious orders of men should be registered, and no future members admitted. This, if enforced, would have gradually abolished religious communities of men.

movement in England, turning the thoughts of the extremists of the party to the idea of abandoning peaceful agitation and venturing on armed action if concession was much longer delayed.

Grey, in his first years in Parliament, during the French Revolution of 1789, had urged reform in the House of Commons. When Parliament met in November 1830, as Earl Grey in the House of Lords (having succeeded to his father's title), he suggested the time had come to accept some measure of reform. He had opposed the Act of Union, and after it passed he had supported Grattan on the Catholic claims. In recent years he had played the leading part in the Reform movement. Wellington, the Prime Minister, rejected Grey's proposal, adding that there could be no question of altering the constitution of a legislature which was as perfect as the human mind could conceive. This exaggerated declaration led to the Government being defeated in the debate on the Address in the Commons, the moderate Tories voting with the Whigs. Wellington at once resigned office, and a new ministry was formed under the premiership of Grey. The Reform Bill was introduced in the Commons by Lord John Russell on the 31st March. It reached its second reading only by a majority of a single vote, and an amendment was carried which Grey regarded as unacceptable. He dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country.

The elections, carried through midst wild excitement and some rioting, gave the Government a large majority. When Parliament met, the Reform Bill, slightly modified, was adopted by the Commons, but on the 8th October it was rejected by the Lords. The session was brought to an end in order to re-introduce the Bill when the House met again in December.

All over England there were outbursts of angry protest and wild disorder that seemed to be a menace of revolt. Meetings were held to denounce the Peers. Wellington was hooted in the streets of London and a mob broke his windows at Apsley House. Nottingham Castle was attacked and set on fire. Derby and Bristol were for a while in the hands of rioters, who sacked and burned Tory houses. At Birmingham a town's meeting

resolved to pay no taxes till the Reform Bill became law and a group of prominent men threatened civil war if it were again rejected, planned the rally of the men of the midlands and the north for a march on London, and offered the command to a distinguished general.

Parliament met in December. In March 1832 the Commons sent the Reform Bill to the Lords. On the 12th April 1832 its second reading was carried by a narrow majority of nine, but so far accepted in order to introduce amendments in the Committee stage that would limit the coming changes. Grey protested and asked the King to create a number of new peers to swamp the opposition of the Tory Lords. William IV disliked the Bill and still more the idea of promoting a number of Whigs to the peerage, and Grey and his colleagues resigned office. William IV sent for Wellington to form a new government. After some hesitation he advised the King to recall Grey, for another rejection of Reform would be dangerous. Grey and his colleagues returned to power, and the King agreed to create new peers, if necessary, while Wellington used his influence to persuade several of the die-hard Tory Lords to be absent from the House, rather than vote against the Bill. On the 7th June it became law, and at the elections that followed there was a strong majority for the Whigs.

The chief change in the House of Commons was the addition of members for several of the new manufacturing centres. Though the electorate was increased, there was yet no pretence of introducing democracy. The Commons represented the middle classes, and great masses of the people had still no direct representation. In the years that followed some important measures of reform were enacted. Slavery was abolished in the colonies, twenty millions of compensation being paid to the planters of the West Indies. A first Factory Act was passed, thanks to the efforts of Ashley (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury). It was a very small step in advance, worth noting, however, as the beginning of better things, and evidence that the minds of the governing class were at last becoming concerned at the awful exploitation of child labour in the cotton and cloth

factories of Lancashire and Yorkshire. It enacted that children up to twelve should not work for more than eight hours a day, and those between twelve and eighteen years of age for not more than twelve. A new Poor Law was enacted. Under the old law (first enacted in the days of Queen Elizabeth, to deal with the mass of poverty created by her father's suppression of the religious houses and plunder of numbers of charitable institutions dating from the Middle Ages) it had become the custom of the Poor Law Guardians to grant relief to the poor, especially in the country, as an addition to the small wages they could still earn. This had the result of keeping down the rate of wages, and the poor-law grants became an aid to unscrupulous employers of labour. The new law limited relief to those who were ready to enter the workhouses. Its principle was to make the lot of the recipient of relief less eligible than that of the man in work. Had there been enough jobs to go round this principle might not have been an unfair one, but, if the governing classes were going to treat unemployment as a misdemeanour, it was clearly their duty to provide a sufficiency of employment. This was a duty which they never seriously faced. As it was, the wages of the employed man were so poor that it was hardly possible to make the lot of the pauper less eligible than his without making it also less eligible than that of the convict. Therefore it frequently happened that the unemployed deliberately committed crimes in order that they might go to prison rather than the workhouse. The wretched conditions under which their inmates lived made them hateful to the poor, and there was a special horror of the workhouse infirmaries, where the only nurses were ignorant and aged women taken haphazard from among the paupers. It was many years before any real reform of poor relief began.

On the 20th June 1837 William IV died of a heart attack in the night, and the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, with the Archbishop of Canterbury hurried to Kensington Palace to wake up the Princess Victoria, inform her that she was now Queen, and arrange for her proclamation in the early morning of the coming day. The girl Queen was just eighteen years of

age, and hers was to be the longest reign in the history of her kingdom. She was the only daughter of the late King's brother, the Duke of Kent, who had died within a year of her birth. Most of her young life had been passed at Kensington, then a quiet suburban village, with her widowed mother, a princess of the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. She had a German governess, and tutors for special subjects. Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister, used often to visit her and talk of public affairs. These conversations were an important part of her education. Hers had been a secluded girlhood. She had seldom been seen at court, for the old King thoroughly disliked her mother, and the feeling was reciprocated. She was popular from the first day of her reign, partly because her youth was an attraction, but still more because there was a widespread fear that the succession might pass to the late King's younger brother, Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland.¹ He was heartily disliked in England, and there was general satisfaction when, as the Salic law barred a female succession in the German State, he went away to be King of Hanover. The separation of the two crowns, after being united for more than a century, was regarded as a

¹ An episode of the reign of William IV (now all but forgotten, for in all the popular histories of England there is not even an allusion to it) was a movement after the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 to secure the succession of the Duke of Cumberland and further, amongst its more zealous adherents, to repeal both the Reform and the Catholic Relief Acts. The Brunswick Clubs were organized with the ostensible purpose of defending order and law against the Radicals and the Church of England against Papists and Freethinkers. There was an alliance with the Orange Lodges in Ireland and affiliated groups of Brunswickers were formed in several regiments of the army. The history of the movement is obscure, but some light is thrown on it by a Blue Book that records the proceedings and recommendations of a commission appointed to report upon it, chiefly in connexion with its infiltration into the army. The report which is to be found in the series of Parliamentary papers of the reign of William IV is a voluminous one. Its publication was followed by a general order to the army, forbidding officers on the active list to take part in the proceedings of political associations, or belong to secret societies. (The Orange Association was named in this connexion.) Until the peaceful accession of Victoria and the Duke of Cumberland's departure for Hanover, there were still some lingering fears of a *coup d'état* in his favour. This probably explains what at first sight seems only a flight of oratorical bombast in O'Connell's speech welcoming the accession of the young Queen, in which he declared that if her title to the Crown were challenged thousands of Irishmen would be ready to defend her rights.

gain. It was a safeguard against England being involved in the internal rivalries of Germany.

In the first decade of the new reign there was a time of growing prosperity in England. Cobden, by his action in Parliament and by the propaganda of the Free Trade League in the country, gained widespread support for the abandonment of the long-standing policy of protecting trade by duties on imports, and assisting the landed interest and the farmers by duties on imported corn, though the growth of the working population in the towns was making it impossible for English farming to provide adequate food supplies for the people. He made a convert of Sir Robert Peel, who in 1846 abolished the Corn Laws. During the following years all other protective duties were removed. A step had been made towards advancing the education of the working classes by an Act providing for grants in aid of building new schools.¹ Some further progress was made in

¹ In 1816 a committee of the House of Commons had reported that large numbers of the working classes were utterly without even the rudiments of education and that steps should be taken to provide elementary schools for their children, but Parliament took no action till this first grant in 1832. When Robert Raikes founded his first Sunday school at Gloucester in 1780, he was the pioneer of a movement in England to provide for some education for the illiterate children of the workers by teaching them, on Sundays, to read and to learn the Church Catechism. Large numbers of such schools were established in the first decades of the nineteenth century, by both Anglicans and Nonconformists, but in almost every case their founders and directors insisted that, so far as general education went, it should not go beyond the elements of reading. Hannah More wrote that her 'plan for instruction of the poor was very limited'. She allowed no writing. Dr. Andrew Bell, who from 1800 to 1805 was employed in organizing Anglican Sunday Schools, and founded for this end the 'National Society', in outlining its plans explained that: 'It is not proposed that the children of the poor be taught to write and cypher. There is a risk of elevating the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labour, above their condition and thereby rendering them discontented.' Robert Southey wrote in 1833 that the owners of the 'accursed factories' were making the Sunday schools subservient to their merciless love of gain. Knowing there would be an outcry if 'their little white slaves received no instruction, they have converted Sunday into a school day.'

Recent historical research has given ample proof that all over England in the days of the later Plantagenet Kings there was a network of free schools for the workers, and the people were better educated than under the first four Hanoverian Kings. Not only were there schools for people of every class, but from the local school the son of a working man could find his way to the higher schools and the universities. There was a wholesale destruction and pillage of schools under Henry VIII. Later the public schools that survived and the universities became

the improvement of labour conditions, by abolishing the employment of women in the mines, and making some minor additions to factory legislation. Rowland Hill's proposals for new methods in the Post Office were adopted, and the penny post came into existence and the first postage stamps were issued—a novel idea soon adopted all over the world.

When the Queen came to the throne, the grievances of the French Canadians had reached such a point that Lower Canada was on the verge of revolt, and in the following autumn the rising led by Papineau began, presently supported by Mackenzie's movement in Upper Canada. The suppression of the rebellion was happily followed by Lord Durham's proposal for a reorganization of the colony, the union of its two provinces, and the concession of a first instalment of self-government. These measures, embodied in the Act of Union for Canada passed by Parliament in the session of 1840, were the small beginning of an immense change in the whole constitution of the British Empire, a gradual evolution that in our own time has changed it into a federated Commonwealth of quasi-independent States. Unfortunately it was a long time before the success of this change in Canada brought home to England the lesson that concession and the reform of grievances give better results than repression of reform disguised as 'strong government'. After his victory of 1829 O'Connell had made his first attempt to raise the question of the repeal of the Act of Union, and the grant of self-government to Ireland. In 1834 he had moved in the House of Commons for an inquiry into the question of the Act of Union and its results. After a debate in nine sittings of the House his resolution was rejected by 523 votes against 38, and he realized that for some time to come further action was useless.

With the coming of a new sovereign and the Liberals in power in England he felt the time was ripe for another effort, and, in 1838, he formed in Dublin a 'Precursor Society' to the preserves of the wealthier and privileged classes. Results of historical research take a long time to filter down into general popular knowledge and old fictions still survive in most of the text-books from which English children obtain their ideas of the history of England.

organize the new Repeal movement. On the 15th April he founded the 'Repeal Association'. He travelled all over Ireland addressing meetings which soon became assemblies of tens of thousands. Perfect order characterized these immense meetings. He protested against any idea of riot or outrage being associated with the movement, and organized a Repeal police to keep order in the country. To use a later term in Irish politics, he proclaimed a boycott of the civil courts, and formed arbitration courts to settle any disputes among the people. Some of the landlords tried to terrorize his supporters by evicting tenants who became Repealers. The subscriptions to the Association—the 'Repeal Rent'—had provided ample funds. By the third year of the movement the 'Rent' had produced over £48,000. A special new rent was levied to assist the evicted tenants. Gavan Duffy founded the *Nation* to be the organ of the popular movement, rallied a group of brilliant young men to assist him, and published a series of popular works on the history and traditions of Ireland. O'Connell was elected Lord Mayor of Dublin and held the greatest of his meetings at Tara on the 15th August 1843. It was said that more than 200,000 men were present. Though he had declared that victory was to be won only by peaceful agitation, and protested that no political change was worth even one drop of bloodshed, the young men of the *Nation* were referring freely to the battles for Irish freedom in earlier days. The Government in London was alarmed, and some 30,000 troops reinforced the Irish garrisons. Another great meeting was announced to be held on the field of Clontarf, on the north shore of Dublin Bay, on the 3rd October 1843. A proclamation was issued from Dublin Castle late in the afternoon of the 2nd declaring the meeting a seditious assembly, and preparations were made to disperse it by armed force. Against the opposition of several of his colleagues O'Connell abandoned the projected meeting and riders were sent out to turn back the thousands that were already marching on Dublin to take part in it.

In the spring of 1844 he was arrested, and on the 30th May, after a trial that lasted three weeks, he was sentenced to be

imprisoned for a year, pay a fine of £2,000, and find security to the amount of £5,000 for his conduct during the next seven years. After he had been over three months in prison, an appeal to the House of Lords declared the proceedings of the court irregular,¹ and his liberation was celebrated as a triumph. But his supporters were now divided. The 'Young Ireland' movement had begun and its adherents held that the Clontarf surrender was an act of weakness and the time was coming for one more attempt at armed action. O'Connell's powers were on the wane. He was in his 70th year and his health was breaking down. Within two years the Young Irelanders openly broke with the Repeal Association. By this time the three years of the great famine had begun, with the first failure in 1845 of the potato crop, which had long been the chief food of the peasants and small farmers and the poorly paid labourers of the towns.

O'Connell, heart-broken and in the grip of deadly illness, left Ireland on the 26th January 1847. The doctors had advised his going to a warmer climate, and he was bent on making his journey a pilgrimage to Rome. Travelling slowly, he reached London in ten days. On the 8th February he spoke for the last time in the House of Commons. The voice that had a few years before stirred tens of thousands to enthusiasm was so weak that he could hardly be heard, as he pleaded for help for the sufferers in Ireland. A slow and painful journey, with many pauses for rest, brought him to Genoa in the first week of May, and there he died on the 15th May, after directing that he should have his grave in Ireland but his heart was to be sent to Rome.

Three successive failures of the potato harvest brought famine and fever to Ireland. For centuries no country in all Europe had suffered such a calamity. Hundreds of thousands died and hundreds of thousands more left the country, the poorest of all

¹ 'The ultimate judgment lay with five law lords, Lyndhurst, Brougham, Cottenham, Denman and Campbell, of whom the last three felt ashamed of jury-packing, and could not, they said, comprehend how a sound judgment could be based upon a verdict so produced. The judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench, accordingly, was reversed on legal grounds and on the merits of the case. "If", said Lord Denman, "such practices as have taken place in the present instance in Ireland should continue, the trial by jury would become a mockery, a delusion and a snare."' (C. M. O'Keefe, *Life and Times of O'Connell*, p. 716.)

to seek the life of labourers in the slums of English and Scotch cities,—those who could find a passage in the crowded emigrant-ships, streaming away to Canada, the United States, Argentina, and Australia. They took the famine-fever with them; numbers died under the wretched conditions of the voyage, or in the improvised quarantine stations where they landed. The extent of the coming disaster was not realized when the first failure of the crop came in 1845. Ineffective relief measures began in the following year, but these were often ill directed, and proved at most but a mere palliative of the sufferings of a whole nation.¹ To this day there are bitter memories in Ireland of the base cruelty of some few misguided men and women, the propagandists of the Irish Mission to Catholics, at whose relief stations bread and soup were offered at the price of apostasy. Not many accepted the offer; numbers of men and women preferred to starve to death. Death and emigration reduced the population of the country by one-half—from eight millions to a little more than four.

In 1848, when there were revolutions in many of the countries of Europe, Ireland was in the peace of something akin to despair. The Young Irelanders planned a rising, which ended in an insignificant skirmish with constabulary, arrests, condemnations to penal servitude in Australia, and the departure

¹ 'Vast acres of corn had not failed, but the famished masses had no money wherewith to buy it, and it went to foreign purchasers. In the year 1845 there were exported to England 3,250,000 quarters of wheat, besides cattle, making a total value of £17,500,000. The Government did nothing. The old orthodox political economy insisting on *laissez-faire*, was received as a new, and I suppose, a better Gospel by the middle class Philistines whom Lord Grey's Reform Act had placed in supreme power. This doctrine of devils, which issued in the horrors of English coal mines, woollen factories and cotton factories, revealed in the Parliamentary reports of 1842-3, condemned the starving Irish—to starve. Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister, refused the use of the Queen's ships for the conveyance of food, on the ground that it would be a great discouragement to individual shippers—who had not the faintest intention of shipping anything for which they would not be paid. At last a Relieving Act of Parliament was passed whereby no applicant would be able to benefit if he possessed more than a quarter of an acre of land; which meant that the entire population must quit their holdings and become homeless paupers, under pain of a strict denial of a meal of yellow porridge for man, wife and child.' Article on the Irish question, contributed to the *Nineteenth Century & After*, September 1919, by Mr. W. S. Lilly, an Englishman of marked conservative views.

of many more who sought a new career abroad. In London there was just one day of alarm and anxiety. There had been a movement in England which began in 1838, and in the years that followed led to local outbreaks of disorder. It was an agitation for a new measure of reform, outlined in 'The People's Charter', from which its adherents were known as the 'Chartists'. It demanded manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, equal electoral areas, annual elections, no property qualification required of candidates, and payment of members of the House of Commons. This programme was denounced as sheer revolutionary Jacobinism, though since then nearly all of it has long been the law of the land. The Chartist organization included extremists who relied on physical force. In 1839 there was an unsuccessful attempt at a general strike, followed by a plan for insurrection. This resulted only in an attack on Newport in south Wales, by some 3,000 miners armed with picks and muskets. They were dispersed by a company of soldiers with the loss of many killed and wounded, and this incident associated Chartism with serious danger to the peace of the country. The Chartists continued their agitation, and were encouraged by one of their most violent leaders, Fergus O'Connor, securing a seat in Parliament for Nottingham. In the stormy year of 1848 there was widespread alarm in London when they announced that on the 15th August, reinforced by supporters from the provinces, the workers of the capital would assemble on Kennington Common (now Kennington Park in South London) to march across the Thames bridges in columns that would converge on Westminster, and present to Parliament a petition for the enactment of the People's Charter, bearing some millions of signatures.

There were fears of a day of revolution and street-fighting such as so many other European capitals had lately seen. Wellington took command in London, and concentrated all available troops for the defence of order. A whole battalion guarded the Bank of England, and sandbag breastworks for musketry fire were erected along the parapets of its low roof. Troops of all arms were posted at various points, but everywhere kept out of sight. Some 20,000 special constables reinforced the police

(Prince Louis Napoleon, soon to be Emperor of France, was one of these volunteers). The Chartists marched on the bridges, but found them held by the police. There were troops kept in reserve in buildings, gardens, and courtyards on the northern bank. But they had not to act. Not a shot was fired. The police held the bridge-heads on the south side, and charged and dispersed the Chartist forces. The march on Westminster ended in some street-rioting, broken heads, and broken windows. Little was heard of Chartism after this failure.

68. ITALY (1810-46)

A French conquest of Italy had begun in the wars of the Revolution; Napoleon made it part of his Empire. He annexed Piedmont, Genoa, and Tuscany directly to France; occupied Rome; proclaimed a 'Kingdom of Italy', its capital being Milan, with Lombardy, Venetia, the Romagna, Tuscany including Umbria and the March of Ancona as its territory; his stepson, Eugène Beauharnais, ruled it as his Viceroy; Naples became a tributary kingdom, first for his brother Joseph, and then for Murat, his brother-in-law. Thanks to British protection the Bourbons reigned in Sicily. All the mainland was ruled from Paris.

When Murat returned to Naples after the campaign of Moscow he realized that the downfall of the Empire was a likely event of the near future, and he began a series of covert intrigues with the Allies, offering to join forces with them if he were allowed to remain King of Naples. He was in secret communication with Austria while he actually commanded the French cavalry in the campaign of Leipzig in 1813. Next year, when the downfall of Napoleon was imminent, he sent his army to co-operate with the Austrians against the Viceroy Eugène in northern Italy. While Napoleon was at Elba, Murat was reigning in Naples, and hoped that his friends at the Congress of Vienna would secure his power in southern Italy. Even if Naples were restored to the Bourbons there was still the fair chance that some minor principality would be provided for him elsewhere.

But when in 1815 the news reached Naples that Napoleon had landed in France and the army and the people were welcoming him, Murat was guilty of an act of supreme folly. The Emperor hoped for a friendly negotiation with the Allies. Murat, though he sent him an offer of his services, did not wait for his reply, and in utter ignorance of his plans, called Italy to arms, set two armies in movement for the north, seized Rome and Ancona, and entered Bologna. Few joined him, and the Austrians easily defeated his armies, drove them southwards, and marched on Naples. Murat fled to the south of France, but Napoleon refused even to answer his letters. After Waterloo he took refuge in Corsica, and tried to organize a stroke against the Bourbons in his old kingdom. He had a wild hope that the men of the south would join him. In October he landed, with a mere handful of partisans, at Pizzo in Calabria. The people attacked him, he was slightly wounded and taken prisoner. On the 13th October he was tried by court martial and shot.

The fact was that, for the time being, few in Italy had any enthusiasm for action against its new masters. The vast majority of the people were hoping for a time of peace. Some 50,000 of the men of Italy had lost their lives all over the Continent, from Russia to Spain, in Napoleon's armies. They were tired of war. There was soon to be the beginning of a movement for liberation from the dominance of Austria, and for constitutional reform in the various States of reorganized Italy. However, the movement for Italian unity was still in the future, and as yet there was not even any concern for plans for confederation of the existing States. The Congress of Vienna had restored the Bourbons at Naples, given back the Papal States to the Holy See; restored Austrian princes to Tuscany and the neighbouring Duchies (giving Parma, during her lifetime, to the Empress Maria-Louisa); handed over Genoa and the old territories of the Genoese Republic to Piedmont; and made Lombardy and Venetia Austrian provinces, as a permanent vanguard of the Habsburg power.

Italy was divided by something more than internal frontiers. For most of the people, especially those outside the cities, there

was little of nationalist feeling, and only a sense of purely local patriotism, mostly no more than a loyalty to the district, or the province in which they were born and spent their lives, or even to the village and parish. So many dialects still survived, even in many of the cities, that it might almost be said that Italian was the language of the educated classes, not of the whole people. There were not many newspapers, and none had any large circulation, or found readers throughout the whole country. Pamphlets that escaped the censorship and the circulars of propagandist societies were more important than newspaper articles.

The restored rulers of the Italian States and the men whom they chose as their assistants in the reorganization of their dominions were, not unnaturally, chiefly concerned with consolidating the position they had regained and easily alarmed at any talk of introducing democratic reforms. It is easy for us, looking back at the record of Europe in the hundred years after 1815, to misjudge them, and to realize that they would have been better advised if they had inaugurated their new reign by adopting a policy of moderate reform, beginning with the organization of local government on at least partly representative lines, as a prelude to the later formation of a central legislature. We must not forget that the French Revolution was a recent memory, and that nowhere in the Europe of their time, except in little Switzerland, was there any democratic system of government as yet in existence. Even in England, which claimed to be the home and the model of constitutional government, the great mass of the people had no voice in public affairs, and the House of Commons actually represented only the titled and wealthy classes. One cannot wonder that the Italian rulers were thinking more of 'law and order' than of progressive reform.

While Murat reigned at Naples and the Bourbons, under British protection, held Sicily, the English commissioner, Lord William Bentinck, had persuaded King Francis to grant a constitution to the island and convene a Parliament at Palermo (1812). On his restoration as King of the Two Sicilies, one of

his earliest acts was to abolish the Sicilian Constitution (1816). When the French invaded southern Italy a powerful secret society, known as the Carbonari (the 'charcoal burners'), had been formed to oppose the rule of the foreigner. Murat had trampled out its armed bands, but it lived on in its secret lodges, and gained adherents in town and country. On the restoration of the Bourbons its leaders had declared for the extension of the Sicilian constitution to the whole kingdom. After its abolition they organized for a rising, which began in Sicily, on the news of the Spanish revolution of 1820, and spread to the mainland.

When King Ferdinand ordered his troops in Naples to march against the insurgents, he found the regiments were honeycombed with Carbonarism. General Pepe, his commander-in-chief, was himself a Carbonaro, and told the King his troops would not act against their fellow countrymen. Naples itself was seething with revolt, and Ferdinand accepted a constitution and swore to observe it. But in January 1821, at the congress arranged by the Holy Alliance at Laybach, on Austrian territory, to deal with the affairs of Italy, he met the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and declared to them that he had accepted the constitution under duress and did not consider his oath as binding, and would welcome intervention to restore his freedom of action. The Liberal Government declared war against Austria, but 50,000 Austrian troops marched southwards from Venetia, routed Pepe's army of Neapolitan regulars and Carbonarist levies at Rieti in the Abruzzi (7 March 1821), and entered Naples to restore the King as an absolute ruler. He at once began a stern repression of Liberalism in his kingdom.

While the Austrians were marching against the revolutionists in Naples, there was an unsuccessful conspiracy in Piedmont. When the House of Savoy was restored to a kingdom enlarged by the addition of the Genoese territory, the old and almost absolutist régime of the eighteenth century had been re-established. The King, Victor Emmanuel, and his brother, the heir apparent, Charles Felix, were elderly and childless men. With them the direct line of the House of Savoy would expire, and the succession to the throne would pass to the junior line of

the princes of Carignano, represented by a young officer of the Royal Guard, Prince Charles Albert. Born in 1798, he had been educated in France. Napoleon had made him a Count of the Empire, and given him an allowance of 100,000 francs, and while he was still a mere boy made him an officer of a Dragoon regiment. In 1815 he came to Turin, where he was a favourite of the old King. He married a daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1817. Their son, born next year, was named Victor Emmanuel. The boy was destined to be the first King of United Italy.

Charles Albert was recognized as the second in succession to the throne. He was a young man of marked ability, and made many friends. He took his duties as an officer seriously, and was a life-long student of war. In his personal life, unlike so many princes of the time, he was deeply religious. The King counted on him as certain to rule, when the time came, as an upholder of the old legitimist and autocratic traditions of the House of Savoy. This expectation, shared by many, was based on his dislike for all theories of popular violence as a factor in politics. But, at the same time, he was the hope of the Liberals, for he shared their resentment at the domination of Italy by the Austrian power. Piedmont possessed an army that could put 60,000 men into the field. He took a practical interest in its efficiency, for he cherished the hope that the future course of events might make it a powerful factor in some future alliance that would expel the foreigner from Lombardy and Venetia. This was the motive of his devotion to his profession as an officer, who could count upon high command and on succession to the Crown before many years had gone by.

The revolution at Naples and the Austrian intervention had excited strong party feeling throughout Italy. On the 6th March 1821 one of his friends and brother officers, the Count di Santa Rosa, came to see Charles Albert, and made a startling statement to him. It was the revelation that Santa Rosa had organized a conspiracy among officers of the army. They counted on their men following them in a stroke against Austria, and the whole army joining in the movement. They hoped the

old King, who had no love for Austria, would accept the accomplished fact when war began. Some 50,000 of the Austrian army of northern Italy were far away in their march southward.

If the Piedmontese army declared for the freedom of Italy from the foreigner and entered Lombardy, a flame of revolt would spread through all the north, and the Austrian communications with the south would be cut. Santa Rosa asked the Prince to head the movement. There is hopelessly contradictory evidence as to what passed at this and subsequent interviews between Charles Albert and the promoters of this military pronunciamento. The conspirators afterwards alleged that the Prince had consented to be their leader, but then changed his mind, and tried to dissuade them from action, after warning the King of the existence of the plot. Charles Albert insisted that he had never consented to it; that he had told the King there might be a military movement, but mentioned no names; that from the first he had tried to persuade Santa Rosa and his friends that the attempt was doomed to failure and useless bloodshed, and at last induced them to countermand the rising. On the 9th March they actually sent out this order, but it was too late; for next day the garrison of Alexandria was demonstrating for war with Austria; on the 11th, when this news reached Turin, there was a revolt of several regiments and large numbers of the people, and the insurgents seized the citadel.

The old King, Victor Emmanuel, lost heart and abdicated in favour of his brother, who was then at Novara. He himself left Turin for Nice, after appointing Charles Albert Regent in the capital until the new King, Charles Felix, could take over the Government. There had been no general mutiny of the army; at least half of it held aloof from the rising. The plot had failed, and Charles Albert was anxious to avoid civil war. He proclaimed the accession of Charles Felix, agreed to a committee of Liberals maintaining order in Turin, and when pressed to promise a constitution he did so, subject to the consent of the King, and then, escorted by some loyal troops, set out for Novara.

Charles Felix refused even to see him, protesting he had

betrayed the old King and played into the hands of rebels, and he must quit the kingdom. The Prince, with his wife and infant son, took refuge at the court of his father-in-law at Modena. For years to come he was under a cloud of suspicion with Loyalists and Liberals alike, both accusing him of having betrayed their cause. The Turin Liberals, with some of the revolted troops and a number of volunteers, marched on Novara. Charles Felix, with his loyal escort, and an Austrian division that crossed the frontier, scattered the rebels, and reoccupied Turin. The rising collapsed, there were two or three executions and numbers of sentences of imprisonment and exile and then some years of 'strong government'.

Charles Albert served with distinction in the French army that invaded Spain in 1823 and restored Ferdinand VII to power, and after a short stay in Paris was allowed to return to Turin and recognized as heir to the throne. It is said that he had to give a pledge that he would take no steps to alter the constitution of the kingdom. He was certainly opposed to conspiracies that might end in civil war, and still more strongly to any attempts to tamper with the discipline of the army. He regarded risings of mere civilians as certain to end only in failure, useless bloodshed, and increased official coercion. But he hoped to see the Piedmontese army some day the vanguard of a war with Austria.

A new revolutionary organization was before long to come into existence. A young Genoese lawyer, Joseph Mazzini, had joined the Carbonari about 1825. His local efforts at Liberal propaganda attracted the notice of the police. He was exiled and went to live at Marseilles. Amongst the Italians in the south of France he began to plan a new society that was to supersede the Carbonari. A man of marked mental ability and a ready writer he began to circulate his new programme of organization and action, and in 1831 the first circles of the new Society, the *Giovine Italia*—'Young Italy'—were formed. It became a formidable force, though it never realized to the full his ambitious expectations. He was himself in his twenty-sixth year. No man over forty could be admitted to this league of

youth. Local groups were to be connected by a system of messengers, and visited by representatives of a central council. Each member was to obtain and keep secretly a musket or fowling-piece for the day of action. But this was not to come till it could be attempted simultaneously in every state in Italy. The objects aimed at were to be the expulsion of the Austrians and the introduction of representative government—preferably republican. Prudent efforts should be made to enrol soldiers and young officers. There was to be active propaganda of ideas. Members were to study the duties and rights of free citizens. Mazzini wrote a wise word when, in one of his political tracts, he warned his readers to be suspicious of men who were always talking of their rights and never said anything of their duties. He was a man of rigid moral life, but his religion was only a philosophic deism, and he wrote and spoke of the priesthood as the ally of those who oppressed the people. He held the utopian view that 'Young Italy' would prepare the way for a 'Young Europe', with a peaceful brotherhood of free nations. His ideal was an Italian Republic, and a Republicanized Europe. Constitutionalism would be the first step to this world-wide 'reign of enlightened freedom'.

Mazzini's organization was still in its beginning when a new storm of revolt broke out over Italy. The impulse came from France. The Paris Revolution of 1830 had led to widespread excitement in many lands. The advanced Liberals in Italy counted on a French alliance if an appeal to arms was met, as it had been met ten years before, by an Austrian intervention. And they had reason for this hope. On the 1st December 1830, in the Chamber of Deputies at Paris, Laffitte, the Prime Minister of Louis-Philippe, had made a bellicose declaration:

France [he said] will not permit any violation of the principle of non-intervention. Very soon, besides having our fortresses well supplied and armed, we shall have 150,000 men for the line of battle. A million National Guards will be ready to support them, and if need be the King will put himself at the head of the nation.

The Minister of War, Marshal Soult, spoke of the efficiency

of the army, which had just won a great success in Africa; and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sebastiani, spoke of France as the devoted champion of national liberty. Leading men among the Italian exiles in France were assured that the Government would recognize the right of the people in the Italian states to choose their own form of government. Two months later insurrection began in Italy; the scene of the revolt was the centre and north. In the Kingdom of Naples there were only insignificant local disturbances.

Pius VIII had died on the 1st December 1830, after a pontificate of less than two years. The conclave that assembled a fortnight later for the election of his successor dragged on for seven weeks, and at last, on the 2nd February 1831, Cardinal Capellari was chosen and took the name of Gregory XVI. Born in 1765 at Belluno, then in the territory of the Venetian Republic, he had been called to Rome as a young prelate by Pius VI, and before the French Revolution had held various offices in the Papal curia. Twice he had seen Rome occupied by the French, and two Popes in succession carried away as prisoners. On the very day of his election, there was a Carbonarist rising at Reggio in the Duchy of Modena; next day it spread to the capital and the Duke of Modena took refuge with the Austrians at Mantua. That day, the 3rd of February, there was a successful revolt in Bologna, the capital of the Romagna, next to Rome the largest city in the Papal States. A provisional government was established and the Cardinal Legate Benvenuti, the governor of the province, was imprisoned. The rising spread from town to town westward through the Romagna, and southward to Ancona and into Umbria. It was largely a movement of the middle and the wealthier classes. In the towns many held aloof, and in the country districts the people were either indifferent or hostile to the revolt.

On the 25th February the Austrians crossed the frontier and occupied Modena. Gregory XVI had appealed for help to Radetzky, who commanded the Austrian forces in the north. General Zucchi, who had served in Napoleon's wars, was actually in the Austrian service when the rising began, but had

deserted to take over command of the insurgents at Bologna. When the Austrians entered the Romagna he decided that Bologna could not be defended, and marched towards Ancona, intending to make that a centre of resistance. He hoped that if the struggle could be prolonged, France would intervene, but despite the bellicose declarations of the Paris Government in December, the French took no action. Louis-Philippe was too deeply interested in the Belgian Revolution to trouble about Italy.

By the end of March the rising was at an end. Zucchi had only some 5,000 men with him. He fought a rearguard action with the pursuing Austrians near Rimini, and then, hearing that Ancona had surrendered, he broke up his little force. Another leader, Sercognani, with a smaller column, had marched through Umbria, hoping an advance on Rome would lead to a rising there. But in Rome there had only been an insignificant riot easily suppressed by the police. The nearer Sercognani came to it, the more hostile were the country folk. He was repulsed at Orvieto by a handful of Papal troops and the armed townsfolk. The news from Rome was that men of all classes were volunteering for the defence of the city. He moved on Spoleto, not to attack it, but to surrender to its Archbishop, Mgr. Mastai Ferreti (afterwards Pius IX), who was believed to be not unfriendly to the nationalist ideal. The Archbishop accepted the surrender. The band was only 1,200 strong. When they disarmed he told them to disperse peacefully to their homes and gave them a sum of 12,500 scudi to help them on the way.¹ By the 31st March the Austrians held Ancona, Bologna, and the chief centres of the Romagna.

On the very day of his election Gregory XVI had directed his Secretary of State, Cardinal Bernetti, to invite the chief men

¹ Two nephews of Napoleon, Napoleon-Louis, and his younger brother Louis-Napoleon (afterwards Napoleon III), joined the insurgents of the Romagna. They were among the leaders of a guerrilla band in the march into the Papal States. The elder brother died of malarial fever. Louis-Napoleon, seriously ill, took refuge in Spoleto, where he was cared for and nursed back to health in the palace of the Archbishop, Mgr. Mastai Ferreti, who also provided him with the passport that enabled him to leave Italy in safety. The Prince's later conduct towards Pius IX shows he had little gratitude for the prelate who had saved his life and freedom.

of the provinces to state their grievances. Within a few hours came the news of the rising at Modena, and next day that of the revolt of Bologna. He now agreed to a conference of the ambassadors in Rome to suggest a scheme of reform. In April there began a meeting of the ambassadors of France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia with a special representative of England. The Conference presented a project of reform that included reorganization of the civil courts and simplification of their procedure; an annual budget drafted with the help of a lay committee; local government by elected district and provincial councils, and in Rome a Council of State partly of elected, partly of nominated members. Gregory XVI and Cardinal Bernetti (his Secretary of State) at once rejected the idea of a Council of State and the lay control of finance, but made no objection to the suggested judicial changes. The idea of introducing representative government was set aside—no government of this kind yet existed in any Italian State. But the Holy See was ready to appoint four leading laymen in each province as consultors to the Prelate who governed it, and to organize provincial councils, of lay members—advisory and administrative bodies, with their first members nominated by the Government, and any vacancies filled by co-option. Such councils had been established by Pius VII, after his return to Rome, but abolished by his successor, Leo XII. After further debates, during which a decree establishing the provincial Councils was issued by Cardinal Bernetti, the Conference broke up early in 1833. The Austrians evacuated the Romagna, but in the summer there was a local revolt that was easily suppressed by the Papal troops and volunteers. Alarmed at this outbreak of fire in their neighbour's possessions, the Austrians reoccupied Bologna; France asserted her interest in Italian affairs by occupying the forts of Ancona. It was not till 1838 that, by common agreement, both these foreign occupations ended.

In 1833 it was discovered at Turin—thanks to a drunken quarrel between two soldiers—that Mazzini and the Giovine Italia had made some progress with a plot for a revolt in Piedmont, which (like the earlier plot of 1821) depended on a pro-

jected mutiny in the army, the prelude to an invasion of Lombardy. Charles Albert dealt severely with the conspirators.¹ There were some executions and many sentences of imprisonment or exile. Amongst those thus banished was one of the royal chaplains, the Abbé Gioberti. He spent some years as a professor of philosophy in a Belgian college, where he wrote an ambitious work that proved to be a serious factor in promoting the moderate Liberal movement that had begun in Italy. Its very title was an appeal to the national spirit and patriotic pride of his fellow countrymen. It was no mere political pamphlet, but a solid work of over 700 pages, issued in 1843, as a treatise *Del Primato morale e civile degli Italiani*—a claim for a leading position for the Italian people in European civilization. He wrote of the glory of Rome and Italy as in old times the centre and mistress of the civilized world; of the Papacy as making Rome for centuries the capital of united Christendom, and still the centre of the world-wide Catholic Church. He enumerated the many sons of Italy who had won enduring fame in every field of thought and action—in peace and war, in religious and in civic life, in art and science and literature and learning. A glorious past was surely the presage of a great future. Sooner or later that hope would be realized. But to bring this to pass there must be union in freedom and progress. Local patriotism need not be sacrificed, but must become part of a national patriotism by a union of all the States of Italy in a permanent federation. He called on princes and people to join together in this sacred cause. There was to be a confederation of the Italian States, with the Pope as the President of the League, and the King of Piedmont as its Defender. He did not propose representative government, but only the creation of a consultative body in each State. As steps to unity there would be internal free trade, a customs and postal union, a common coinage, the teaching in the schools of a common language to

¹ After the conspiracy of 1833 Gallenga, a Corsican student, sought out Mazzini and not only won his assent to an attempt to assassinate Charles Albert but received the gift of a dagger from him: he went to Turin, but gave up his plan. Later Gallenga became a law-abiding journalist and for some years was the special correspondent of the London *Times* in Rome.

supersede local dialects. There was to be an end of conspiracy and civil strife and patient preparation for the day when the country would be freed from foreign domination.

Count Balbo, also a Piedmontese, published in 1844 his work on 'the Hopes of Italy'. He followed largely the ideas of Gioberti, but claimed that the King of Piedmont should be the President of the hoped-for league. The Marquis d'Azeglio, a poet and artist who had long resided in Rome, and celebrated with pen and pencil the earlier glories of Italy, published after a local and unsuccessful revolt in the Romagna a pamphlet in which he bitterly attacked the Papal Government, suggesting that it could have no part in the future fortunes of Italy. These publications did much to promote the development of a moderate Liberal movement, though many noted the fact that all three authors were Piedmontese and there was widespread suspicion of Charles Albert, and jealousy of the importance attributed to him.

Peaceful propaganda was taking the place of secret organization for armed revolution. In Lombardy and Venetia the hope of freedom from foreign rule, and the existence of a strict military government did not prevent numbers of those who still hoped for that future from realizing that the Austrians were doing some good work in promoting the material prosperity of the country. In the Kingdom of Naples, despite some troubles in Sicily, there were also peaceful times, and his energetic interest in improving the industrial condition of his dominions made Ferdinand II not unpopular. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was reckoned as a Liberal ruler, and welcomed political refugees from other States to Florence and Leghorn. Except for an insignificant Mazzinian outbreak in the Romagna the years before 1846 were a quiet time. In that year Gregory XVI died. His successor, Pius IX, was regarded as a prelate of nationalist and liberal ideals, and his election was received with a welcome throughout Italy as the presage of happier times.

69. SWITZERLAND (1815-48)

Switzerland, now a confederation of twenty-two self-governing cantons, secured a solid gain from the Congress of Vienna by

the treaty of the 20th November, which definitely established the neutrality of its territory and recognized its actual boundaries.¹ The idea of national sovereignty was revived, strengthening the unity of the confederation by a central government, to replace the earlier method under which the lead was taken by a temporarily dominant canton—Zürich, Berne, or Lucerne. The political evolution of the nineteenth century thus gave to Switzerland a considerable preponderance of central power. Steady progress was made, and the cantons made local unions for co-operation by means of 'concordats' in order to consolidate their institutions. Material prosperity, due to commercial and industrial development, did not lead to the neglect of religious ideals, always an important element in Switzerland. There was proof of this in the reaction against the scepticism of the eighteenth century; there was what was known as a 'revival' in the Protestant cantons—and there was marked progress in the Catholic districts. The religious orders were developed; several new episcopal sees were created, some of them being the restoration of bishoprics suppressed at the Reformation; and the Jesuits, restored by Pius VII, founded a college in Freiburg.

Switzerland reverted to her old custom of furnishing mercenary troops to foreign armies and her nationals served abroad in Holland, Spain, Sardinia, the Two Sicilies, and Prussia. But in 1830 France disbanded her Swiss regiments, as Naples did in 1859.

The only military force now recruited in Switzerland for service beyond its frontiers is the Swiss Guard of the Vatican. It would, however, be a strange misuse of words to describe the officers and men of this small picked force as mercenary troops. They are recruited from the Catholic cantons, and in many Swiss families it is a point of honour that in each generation one or more of the sons should serve for a few years in the personal guard of the Father of Christendom.

¹ In the wars of the French Revolution it had suffered from belligerent powers violating its neutrality and making its territory their battle-ground. Thanks to the recognition of its permanent neutrality, safeguarded by its efficient army—existing only for defence—the little mountain land was an oasis of peace during the years when nearly all Europe was involved in war (1914-18).

From 1815 to 1830 government had been reactionary in tendency; from 1830 to 1848 it developed along revolutionary lines; the Liberal middle-class succeeded the aristocracy, and from 1840 Radicalism had the upper hand. When the idea of democracy had prevailed in most of the cantons, the Liberals undertook the modification of the federal Constitution, but it was many years before any further centralization of the Government was effected. Switzerland was for some time out of favour with the European Governments, who blamed her for offering a home to malcontents from France, Italy, Poland, and Germany. Louis-Philippe's Government even sent regiments to the frontier to insist on the expulsion of Prince Louis Napoleon, who was residing at his mother's château of Arenenberg, on the shores of Lake Constance (1838).

After 1841 religious questions embittered internal politics; several cantons had gone over from the Conservative to the Radical party, and even in the Catholic cantons a Radical minority had come into existence.

In 1841 the Canton of Aargau seized the Abbey of Muri, and then proceeded to a general suppression of the religious houses in its territory and to confiscate their property. This was a violation of the Federal Pact, which guaranteed religious freedom for both Catholics and Protestants. Protests from the Catholics resulted in the minor concession of three or four convents being restored, but with a Liberal majority in the Diet at Berne, and an agitation for the expulsion of the Jesuits and the suppression of their college spreading through the Protestant cantons, the Catholics felt their freedom was seriously menaced. The men of the Forest Cantons round the Lake of Lucerne, the cradle of Swiss freedom, formed a defensive league, the *Sonderbund* ('separate league'), to assert their local liberties, but though they had a directing committee at Lucerne, they continued to send their representatives to the Diet at Berne. The movement had begun in 1843 in German-speaking cantons (Lucerne, Unterwalden, Uri, Schwytz, and Zug), but by the following summer the French-speaking Catholic cantons of Freiburg and the Valais joined the league. Attempts to nego-

tiate a settlement, assuring the local rights of the cantons, failed, and both the Sonderbund and the central government were preparing for war when, on the 20th July 1847, the Diet demanded the dissolution of the league. On the 29th October, after a last effort for peace, the Sonderbund deputies left the Diet, which six days later ordered the Federal army, under General Dufour, to take action. The brief civil war that followed was for the Catholics a fight against superior forces. Dufour seized Freiburg and marched on Lucerne. There was a pitched battle on the 23rd November around Gislikon and in the hills north of the city. It ended in the defeat of the Catholic army, the occupation of Lucerne, and the submission of the Sonderbund.

Its leaders might have made a stubborn resistance in the mountain land of the Forest Cantons, but besides their defeat, they recognized that the very existence of Switzerland as an independent nation was in peril. Guizot, on the part of France, had proposed to Austria and Prussia joint intervention to regulate the affairs of Switzerland and impose peace by an armed occupation, which might have ended in the partition of the little country.

In January 1848 there were protests against the changes eventually to be made in the federal constitution; they were disregarded, and the Diet modified the 1815 pact in such a manner that the twenty-two cantons, for the sake of national unity, increased the powers of the central government. In November the elections for the new Federal Council took place. During the second half of the nineteenth century the Federal State emphasized its tendencies towards centralization more and more and, as regards foreign relations, was able to maintain a strict observance of international neutrality.

70. GERMANY (1815-47)

In the Germany of Napoleon Bavaria had occupied an exceptional position. It was the only State of any importance in all the German lands that not only kept its continuity with its historic past unbroken, but actually bettered its position and

increased its territory. In the conflict with the French Republic it had been the first German State to make peace with the new France. In the earlier wars of Louis XIV, and his successors, it had been France's ally. The alliance was renewed with Napoleon. Bavarian troops fought under his leadership against Prussia, Austria, and Russia from the campaigns of Ulm and Jena to the war of 1812 with Russia. In 1805 Napoleon raised the Elector Maximilian to the dignity of King of Bavaria, and his daughter became the bride of Eugène Beauharnais, the Emperor's son-in-law and Viceroy of Italy. Its territory was enlarged by the cession to the Bavarian Crown of the lands of prince bishoprics and rich abbeys, and the suppression of the local rights of several Free Cities within its new frontiers. The French alliance and French influences generally made Liberal ideas popular with the court and the people. In the twelve years from 1801 to 1813 many useful reforms were adopted. The last relics of feudalism and serfdom were swept away.

After the catastrophe of Moscow, when the rising of Germany against Napoleon began, King Maximilian changed sides before it was too late, with the result that he retained nearly all his recent acquisitions. While the Congress of Vienna was organizing the new Europe there was some talk of reviving the Holy Roman Empire, but this was still only a dream of students and poets. The Germanic Confederation was formed. There had been some 300 independent sovereignties in the old Empire, but the number had been reduced to some forty by Napoleon at the Treaty of Luneville, and it was not thought wise to restore independence to those petty princes who had been deprived of it. There were, therefore, only thirty-eight members of the new confederation. The three chief members of the Confederation were Austria (in right of her German provinces), Prussia, and Bavaria. Its only bond of union was the Diet which met at Frankfurt-on-Main, chosen for the place of assembly as a central point, but in no sense a capital. The delegates to the Diet represented kings and cabinets. It was not a German Parliament, but much more like an international conference, usually acting only in an advisory capacity, but at times adopt-

ing resolutions that meant action. It lasted for fifty years, with a brief interval (after the revolution of 1848) when Frankfurt was the scene of an attempt to create a German Parliament.

Throughout there was a rivalry between Austria and Germany for the leadership of the Confederation. Both of these Powers cultivated friendly relations with Russia, with whom the partition of Poland had given them a wide range of common interests. Austria was in the peculiar position of being partly in and partly outside the Confederation. The Emperor Francis ruled over many races—German, Slav, Magyar, and Latin. As the heir of the Habsburgs, he had inherited the claim to a dominant part in the affairs of Germany and the tradition of rivalry with France in Italy, and with Russia for influence in the Balkan lands. The history of Germany in the thirty years after the Congress of Vienna is a record of the dominance of Austria at the outset, under the influence of Metternich,¹ the reorganization of Prussia, the beginnings of German unity in the gradual establishment of the customs union (the Zollverein), and the gradual growth of a Liberalism inspired by the literary and philosophic currents of the time, but giving much greater prominence to constitutional reform than to social betterment.

One cannot wonder that the peace of 1815 was followed by trying years in the German lands. There was the new freedom from long years of strife, foreign domination, and the terrible toll of ever recurring wars. There were optimistic hopes of long years of peace and prosperity. Many dreamed of a restoration of the old world that the Revolution and the victories of

¹ Metternich, in his earlier years, had seen the Liberal movement in France resulting in a collapse of law and order, that prepared the way for a military despotism and twenty years of war from one end of Europe to the other. Like so many men of his time this made him an advocate of 'strong government'. In his *Political Testament*, written in the last years of his life, he set forth a defence of his reactionary policy, interesting as a key to his ideals, though it would be easy to challenge his line of argument. 'To me,' he said, 'the word freedom has not the value of a starting-point, but of an actual goal to be striven for. The word "order" designates the starting-point. It is only on order that freedom can be based. Without order the word "freedom" means little more than the watchword of this or that party in pursuit of its own special ideals. In practice the outcry for freedom usually ends in tyranny. At all times I have been a man of order, but my object has always been true and not merely imaginary liberty.'

Napoleon had swept away. Others hoped that it was the beginning of freedom and ordered progress. Others again dreaded all change in the direction of constitutional liberty as heralding a renewal of the days of chaos and strife. The hopes and fears of the time found expression in an outburst of brilliant literary activity in Germany. Rejoicing over the new freedom from foreign rule was linked with a growing advocacy of national unity and progress. Metternich saw in the extravagances of extremists a peril to order and authority. He took a leading part in forming the Holy Alliance, a triple league of Austria, Russia, and Prussia to oppose the advances of Liberalism. The murder of Kotzebue at Mannheim by the student Sand (23 March 1819) was the isolated act of a hot-headed young man, but was regarded as the outcome of a widespread movement. Kotzebue had gained an exaggerated reputation as a dramatist and essayist. Born at Weimar in 1761, he had led a wandering life in many lands. He was in Paris in the first years of the Revolution. He had spent some years in Russia, where he had enjoyed the favour of the Tsars Paul and Alexander, and held various offices from that of controller of the theatres to Councillor of State. He had come to live at Weimar in 1817, and published a weekly review in which he assailed and ridiculed the Liberal movement in Germany. He was actually a Russian agent, drawing a salary of 15,000 roubles a year from Alexander I. Sand was executed, glorying in his deed, and the students hailed him as a martyr for freedom. The immediate result was the adoption in Germany and Austria of a rigid police regulation of the universities and an increased severity in the censorship of the press, while Metternich urged the German courts to safeguard their lands from a new outbreak of revolutionary lawlessness. The years from 1819 to 1824 were a period of triumphant reaction. After this, in many of the States, there was a subsidence of the alarm, and there was again some liberty to urge reforms, some freedom for the press, and even the right of political association and public meeting.

Of all the German States, Prussia had obtained the largest gains at the Congress of Vienna. Most important of these was

the cession of Westphalia and the middle Rhineland. In the new map of the Confederation there was little difference between the extent of the Austrian and Prussian territories. One of the first steps taken in the reorganization of Prussia was the assimilation of taxation throughout all the territories of the extended kingdom, and the abolition of a complicated system of tolls and customs duties within its boundaries. In 1819 the first steps were taken in a financial policy which had far reaching political and social results. It was practically a step towards the future unity of the German lands—outside Austria. In some twenty years from 1819 onwards the Berlin Government concluded a series of treaties by which the other States became partners in a German customs union—the 'Zollverein'. While duties were still levied on goods entering the territories of the Zollverein from foreign countries and German States that had not yet joined the union (often on a high protectionist scale), there was free trade between all the parties to the Zollverein. Austria held aloof from it, but by 1840 it included all the other German States. The result was not only a steady increase of imports and exports and material gains exceeding the most optimistic anticipations; but the moral and social results were even more important, for the closeness and frequency of intercourse increased, and local prejudices diminished or disappeared.

From 1815 until the death of King Frederick William III in 1840 there was an increasing tension between the Prussian Government and the Holy See. The annexation of Westphalia and the Rhineland had brought under the rule of the Hohenzollerns extensive territories in which the Catholics formed the largest part of the population. Almost immediately difficulties developed on both civil and religious questions. It was no easy matter to reconcile the Rhinelanders to the methods of Berlin bureaucracy.

Widespread discontent was aroused by the attempt to substitute Prussian police methods and procedure in the courts for the more modern regulations of the Code Napoléon, and eventually the Government had to make some concessions to its new subjects. The religious conflict was more acute and lasted

longer. Frederick William III took a keen interest in religious matters. He made an only partly successful attempt to arrange a union between the Lutherans and Calvinists, in the hope of forming a united Protestant State Church in Germany. He, of course, realized that the Catholic Church must stand apart, but he endeavoured to bring its activities under the control of the State, and reduce to a minimum all communication between Catholicity in his dominion and the Holy See. He did all that was possible to obstruct and restrict visits of the Bishops to Rome, and insisted that all communication with the Holy See and the Roman congregations should be made through the ministry of public worship in Berlin. His ideal was a Catholic Church in Germany under strict official supervision.

It is not likely that he anticipated any serious opposition. In the troubled times since 1789 Catholic life in Germany, especially in those districts in which the Catholics were a small minority, had been affected by the confusion of the time. The process of Secularization had led to the suppression of religious houses, seminaries, and colleges, and the rationalism that had become fashionable in the universities had affected even Catholic ideals. The action of the French Republic and the Empire against Pius VI and VII had for many years made any frequent communication with the Holy See intermittent or impossible, and many of the Bishops in Germany were as subservient to State control and interference as so many of their brethren in France had been under Napoleon. But a remarkable Catholic revival was beginning in Germany, gathering force as the years went on, especially in Bavaria, the Rhineland, Westphalia, and Prussian Poland (the province of Posen). There were a number of notable conversions, and amongst these converts were many of recognized scholarship. There were also returns to Catholic faith and practice of men who, in their earlier years, had abandoned the faith of their fathers and drifted for a time into rationalism or indifferentism. There was a new interest in education, and the beginnings of a Catholic literary activity, in which historical research played a notable part. With the progress of the Catholic revival, the conflict with Prussian

bureaucracy in the sphere of religion became more acute as the resistance to it became more earnest.

It began in the later years of Pius VII, and continued through the brief pontificates of Leo XII (1823-9) and Pius VIII (1829-31) and the first years of Gregory XVI. The chief point of contention was the question of Catholic law on mixed marriages. Pius VII directed that there should be an end of the laxity that had so long prevailed in this matter, and directed the Bishops to grant no dispensation for such marriages unless the non-Catholic party undertook that the children of the marriage should be educated as Catholics. The Prussian Government forbade the Bishops to insist on any such arrangements, and refused to recognize and enforce them when a non-Catholic party to such a marriage broke the promise he had given. It was suggested more than once that matters might be simplified by Catholics being content with marriage before a Protestant pastor. The Bishops were forbidden to communicate with the Holy See on the subject except through Berlin, and all negotiations were to be left to the Prussian ambassador in Rome. For some time it seemed that Frederick William would be able to impose his will on the Bishops. The see of Cologne had long been vacant. Pius VII had issued a bull reorganizing the hierarchy of the Rhineland in 1821, and three years later nominated Augustus von Spiegel as the first of a new line of prelates at Cologne. A man of weak character and lax ideas, he showed a strange subservience to the Berlin Government and disloyalty to the Holy See by entering into a secret engagement with the King to evade the decrees of Rome. It is a sign of the laxity of the time that he was able to induce four other Bishops to take the same course. But on his death in 1835 he was succeeded by a man of a more resolute and loyal type, Archbishop Droste-Vischering. One of his first acts was to insist on the loyal observance of the Church's law. The result was a crisis that reached its climax when, in 1837, Frederick William ordered the arrest of the Archbishop, and sent him as a prisoner to the castle of Minden. Archbishop Duthin of Posen had followed the example of the Archbishop of Cologne. In

1839 he was sent as a prisoner to a Polish fortress. These acts of violence led to a rally of the German Catholics to the support of the Holy See. Frederick William III died in June 1840. His successor, his eldest son, Frederick William IV, reversed his policy, renewed relations with the Holy See, and liberated the imprisoned archbishops. They had a triumphant welcome at Cologne and Posen.

The new King came to the throne at a time when the Chauvinist policy of Thiers in France was exciting alarm in Germany. The 'Wacht am Rhein' became a popular patriotic song. France was regarded as the traditional enemy, and Prussia as the champion of German independence. Louis-Philippe's break with Thiers, and the accession to power of Guizot ended the temporary tension. It had helped to win popularity for Frederick William IV, and this was increased by the concessions to Liberalism with which his reign began—relaxation of the press censorship, and recognition of the right of public meeting, with a promise to consider the convocation of the local Diets of the eight Prussian provinces as a central Diet of the nation at Berlin. He cultivated friendly relations with England, all the more readily because, since the death of William IV in 1837, the crowns of Great Britain and Hanover had been separated, and George, Duke of Cumberland, now King of Hanover, was a German Prince. Through his life-long friend Bunsen, now ambassador to England, Frederick William arranged for English and Prussian co-operation in founding a Protestant bishopric at Jerusalem. The first Bishop of this new joint Anglican and Lutheran see was Dr. Friedrichs, a German convert from Judaism. The most notable result of this step was that it was the final incident that broke down Newman's theory of Anglo-Catholicism, and was an important factor in ending the first period of English Tractarianism.¹

¹ In his *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (chapter iii) Newman, after telling of his protest against the co-operation of Anglicanism and Lutheranism in sending a Lutheran to be Bishop of Jerusalem, ends by saying: 'As to the project of a Jerusalem Bishopric, I never heard of any good or harm it has ever done, except what it has done for me; which many think a great misfortune, and I one of the greatest of mercies. It brought me on to the beginning of the end.'

Frederick William IV was in many respects a very able man. It would be a mistake to describe him as a mental weakling because, in his sixty-second year (1857), a stroke of paralysis ended in the breakdown that compelled him to hand over the government to his brother William (afterwards the first sovereign of the new German Empire). Until this collapse of his health the King had taken an active interest in public affairs, and had been a generous patron of art and literature. But all through his life he had been deeply influenced by the memories of his boyhood and youth, and his concessions to the Liberal movement in Germany were always limited by his fear of anything like government by a national parliament leading to a repetition in Germany of the Revolution of 1789. The triumph of French Liberalism in July 1830, the rising of the Belgians, the Polish revolt against Russia, had strengthened the Liberal movement in Germany. Its dominant ideals were not only the introduction of a constitutional régime, but also the union of all the States that the Zollverein had drawn together, in a new Germany, free from the influence of Austria. There was a Republican element in the movement, but the majority of those who championed it hoped to see the Diet of the Confederation at Frankfurt becoming a German Parliament. Prussia and all the other States would still have their local Diets, developed into State legislatures. Prussia would still be the leading power in the new régime, and there were many who dreamed of a new German Empire with the King of Prussia as its sovereign. 'Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles' became a popular cry. It did not mean that Germany was to lord it over the whole world, but that Brandenburgers, Rhinelanders, Saxons, Bavarians, every German race, should think of themselves as sons of the same German Fatherland.

On his accession Frederick William had given a vague promise of inviting all the provincial Diets of his kingdom to meet in Berlin as a Diet of Prussia. Such an assembly would not represent all classes of the people, for the workers had no part in electing the provincial Diets. But it might well be the first step towards constitutional government. Bunsen and other friends

of the King had repeatedly urged upon him that the time was come to take the first steps towards popular government, and there were high hopes that a new era of reform was in sight when, early in 1847, Frederick William at last convoked a general assembly of the Diets at Berlin.

But in his opening speech the King declared that the assembly was to be a mere consultative and advisory body, without any legislative functions. 'I will never allow,' he said, 'the writing on a parchment to come, like a new providence, between God our Father in Heaven and our country, and rule over us. The throne cannot and should not be dependent on the will of chance majorities, and I would never have called you together if I had the least idea that you dreamed of playing the part of representative rulers of my people.' There was now no room for further illusions. The leaders of the Liberal party in the united Diet declared that the time had come for the creation of a Parliament of the people and a central government for all the States of the Zollverein.

It was the eve of the storm of revolution that swept over Europe in 1848. Germany was soon to see an abortive attempt to realize the programme outlined in this protest at the Berlin Diet.

71. AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY (1815-47)

Austria kept her place by diplomacy backed by reliance on armed force. Ever since Joseph II's risky experiment, Austrian policy consisted entirely in smoothing down the rivalries between the various peoples which went to make up a monarchy formed haphazard by marriages and partitions. The future was sacrificed to the present; but it so happened that regional patriotism threw out such strong roots that these choked what little Austrian patriotism remained. If Metternich saw this and understood it, he did not try to counteract it; in the case of Francis I, any innovation disquieted him and disturbed his habits of routine. Both Emperor and Chancellor relied on a highly organized bureaucracy, and its machinery deluded them into thinking that everything was going well. The country was

suffocating under the weight of a stifling system. The police was the mainstay of the Empire, nobody was safe from spies; people knew this and were resigned to it. It became almost impossible to go abroad. There was a censorship of the press, and in the universities a rigid supervision of both professors and students. The finances of the Empire were embarrassed and industry was for a time almost at a standstill. Later there was a revival of business; many customs barriers were abolished, communications were improved, and the first railways constructed.

Metternich was at the zenith of his power from 1815 to 1824; thereafter it declined, and Europe was no longer under his control. When Francis I died (1835) he was succeeded by his son Ferdinand who was epileptic, and a kind of triumvirate, presided over by Metternich, was formed to take his place during acute phases of his illness. The only change was a gradual weakening of the central power. Official German Austria had to meet the rivalry of the Magyar and Slav peoples of the Empire. The movement began in Galicia where a peasants' revolt against the landowners broke out. The Government was surprised by the rising, and at first showed such slackness in suppressing the movement that it was even falsely accused of rousing the peasants to break the influence of the nobles. In the other Slav countries, in spite of abuses of the feudal system, the aristocracy and the people were united against absolutism. Czechs, Slovaks, and Illyrians all protested; in this revival the Slavs were following the example of Hungary.

For a few years after 1815 the Magyar nobility resigned themselves to Austrian absolutism, but from 1820 onwards the assemblies of the fifty counties of the Kingdom of Hungary protested against the fettering of thought and hampering of commerce. After Metternich's Government had resorted to violence and failed, the Diet was convened. The Diets of 1825 and 1830 dealt with preliminaries, and speeches in favour of equality were made. After delays caused by the cholera epidemic, the new Diet, 1833-6, set about founding the modern Liberal Hungary. The national language was revived, the bulletin of the sittings

of the Diet, edited by Kossuth, was published. Surrounded by a brilliant young group, he was the leader of the Liberal movement. He was arrested, condemned to several years imprisonment, and used by those in power as a hostage against the opposition. After long negotiations the political prisoners were released, and freedom of speech was recognized as a right (1840). The political press developed rapidly, but at the same time a serious symptom appeared—the racial antagonism of the Slavs to the Magyars and the despotic attitude of the radical Hungarians towards the Serbs, Slovaks, and Croats. In this way a situation which led to disastrous consequences began to take shape; Magyar democracy brought the weight of Chauvinist oppression to bear on the Slavs and Roumanians, while the moderate conservatives tried in vain to win them over, and Austrian absolutism successfully laboured to arm them against the Hungarian nation. Herein lay the germ of the revolution and civil war that followed.

72. THE CHURCH AND THE CONCORDATS (1814-47)

This period, from the fall of Napoleon to the accession of Pius IX, may be summarized as one of a general restoration of the Church throughout Europe, followed, after the revolutionary outburst of 1830, by acts of hostility and growing distrust of ecclesiastical power. However, its internal development was uninterrupted.

In France an attempt to replace the Concordat of 1801 by a new one ended in a kind of compromise reached in 1817. It was based on the earlier Concordat of 1516, but the 'organic articles' attached in 1802 by Napoleon to the Concordat with Pius VII were cancelled inasmuch as they were contrary to the doctrine and laws of the Church. The episcopal sees suppressed in 1801 were re-established 'in principle', and the number of French dioceses raised from 50 to 92; in 1822 a convention revised this arrangement and settled the number of French dioceses at 80.

In Italy the Kings of Sardinia and Naples also concluded Concordats with the Holy See.

In Germany, where the 'decrees' of Napoleon in 1803 had disorganized the ecclesiastical situation, a fresh start had to be made, and Cardinal Consalvi would have preferred a single Concordat, but negotiations had to be begun with each State separately, and the first agreement was reached with Bavaria (1817). But several of the Princes adopted a policy that deprived the Catholic Church of all real liberty. In August 1821 Pius VII published a Bull establishing 'The Ecclesiastical Province of the Upper Rhine' with Freiburg-im-Breisgau as its metropolitan see and Baden for its territory. In this same year Prussia concluded with the Holy See a Concordat, and Pius VII reorganized the Ecclesiastical Province of Cologne. In Hanover prolonged negotiations did not end in an agreement until 1824. In the German States which did not conclude Concordats the Catholics continued to be directed by Vicars Apostolic or else were attached to the nearest diocese.

Under Leo XII Concordats were concluded with the Netherlands and with Switzerland. In Holland King William negotiated a Concordat in 1825, signed it in 1827, but always evaded giving effect to it; this was one of the causes of the Belgian Revolution of 1830. In Switzerland a general Concordat was concluded in 1828 and amplified by several later conventions.

In France, in the reign of Charles X, the religious question divided the country into two parties: the Conservative and the Liberal. Towards the end of the reign the 'anti-clerical' party was gaining ground, and the July Revolution of 1830 bore a very irreligious stamp, with unfortunate results during the first years of Louis-Philippe's reign. But these years saw the beginning of a Catholic movement led by Lamennais, Lacordaire, Gerbet, and Montalembert, who claimed the freedom of the Church and its complete autonomy in the State. They founded *L'Avenir* (October 1830), but certain errors in its theories were condemned by the Holy See (15 August 1832). In spite of Lamennais' defection, the movement in favour of religious revival was continued in the pulpit and in the press, and Catholics claimed liberty under the common law.

These events had their effects beyond the frontiers. In 1831

Belgium, but recently made free, proclaimed freedom of worship and education.

Mention has already been made of the position of the Church in Switzerland and of the war of the Sonderbund which ended in the defeat and oppression of the seven Catholic cantons.

In Prussia and in Russia there was open persecution—in the former the imprisonment of the Archbishops of Cologne and Posen, in Russia an outbreak of savage cruelty. The Tsar Nicholas signed a Concordat in 1847, but treated it as a dead letter.

There was persecution also in Spain and Portugal when the Liberals came into power—outbreaks against the clergy and sweeping confiscations of church property. It was not until 1848 that peaceful relations were restored between the Holy See and Spain.

73. THE UNITED STATES (1817-48)

After the vicissitudes of the struggle against England (1812-15), the United States enjoyed a period of peace known as the 'Era of Good Feeling'. Monroe's presidency coincided with a period of continuous prosperity and rapid material progress. On the 22nd February 1810 Spain sold the two Floridas to the United States, and this territorial acquisition was the occasion for the formation of new States, whose number finally rose from thirteen to forty-eight. From 1789 to 1820 the number of immigrants was estimated at 250,000, and subsequently at the rate of rather less than 10,000 a year. Thus the actual occupation of central and western America was the result of immigration from the east, chiefly by Americans, but with an important proportion of Germans and Irish. In the north there was no protest against slavery until 1820, when the importation of negroes was put on a par with piracy, and this legislation roused strong resistance in the south. Nevertheless, the illicit importation of blacks continued, and even the federal capital became a slave market. From force of circumstances, slavery became more and more an established principle of the social and economic life of the south, but in spite of the wealth it derived

from cotton and tobacco, the south was surpassed in all else by the north. Here, even before European immigration assumed the large proportions of later times, the population was more numerous from 1820 onwards.

The Spanish colonies in Central and South America having definitely gained their liberty, the United States Government recognized them after some hesitation in 1822, and sent Ministers plenipotentiary to their capitals; in the following year, on the 23rd December 1823, in his annual message to Congress, President Monroe proclaimed the famous 'doctrine' which debarred European Powers from all intervention in America, and the declaration of these principles was very well received by public opinion. Though Congress took no measures and passed no law to give this doctrine a legal value, it became a keynote of American policy.

The Presidency of Andrew Jackson (1829-37) witnessed the beginning of a new era. On the first day the officials of the former administration were dismissed wholesale, and well-paid posts were given to the supporters who had been working for his election during the past four years. Politicians were divided into Jacksonians and anti-Jacksonians; later the terms 'Conservatives' and 'Whigs', and ultimately those of 'Democrats' and 'Republicans', were adopted. Economic questions played an important part in the trend of opinion which contributed to this change in the balance of parties; amongst them the question of a great public enterprise of national interest, that of the National Bank of the United States, assumed particular importance. This establishment had become unpopular; the Baltimore branch was accused of serious irregularities. Jackson determined to abolish the exceptional privileges of the institution, and a memorable struggle ensued. Jackson recommended to Congress the withdrawal of Government funds on deposit in the bank; this was done, and it provoked a financial panic and commercial crisis, the effects of which were felt for several years. The Senate passed a vote of censure on Jackson, with which the Chamber of Representatives refused to be associated. The bank's prerogative expired in 1836; it was not

renewed, and the national institution became once more a private bank.

The customs tariff question had kept the south in a constant and growing state of excitement for ten years. Industry had developed rapidly between 1812 and 1815 as a result of the war; when peace came English goods flooded the country, and America's budding manufactures demanded protection. The 1824 tariff put import duties on most of the goods produced by the manufacturers of the north; that of 1828 raised this tariff higher still. The business men of the south, hitherto protectionist, though depending largely on imports, became free-traders. Through its representatives in Congress and its newspapers the south began a fierce struggle against the north, asserting that one part of the Union was being favoured at the expense of the other and in disregard of the spirit of the Constitution.

The tariff of 1832 only very slightly alleviated that of 1828, and Jackson's popularity was seriously affected. At a convention at Columbia (12 November 1832) South Carolina declared the customs laws of 1828 and 1832 null and void. Jackson upheld the supremacy of the federal laws, and finally Congress adopted a compromise (1833).

Jackson was succeeded by Van Buren (1837-41), who represented the democratic party, and whose term of office was a period of crisis. Immigrants poured in, each year in greater numbers, rising from 23,000 in 1830 up to 84,000 in 1840. These figures were almost insignificant compared with those of the following years: 100,000 in 1842: 235,000 in 1847; 428,000 in 1850; nearly two and a half millions between 1847 and 1855. All these multitudes went to the States of the north-east, the centre, and the west, without any deviation towards the south, where the foreign element was lacking, except in Florida, Louisiana, and Texas. In ten years the population of Ohio had risen from 900,000 to 1,500,000, that of Michigan from 30,000 to 212,000, of Indiana from 343,000 to 685,000, of Illinois from 157,000 to 476,000, of the whole Union from 13 to 17 millions. The schools, especially in the north, blended the children of the immigrants with the mass of the nation. The

yield from the sale of State lands which, up to 1831, had never passed an average of 2 million dollars a year, reached 15 millions in 1835 and 25 millions in 1836.

When Texas declared itself free from Mexico, the dominant party in the Revolution, largely reinforced by immigrants from the United States, resolved on joining the United States and this gave rise to war with Mexico. Before resigning the presidency Tyler signed the decrees that gave Texas, Florida, and Iowa the full rights of States of the American Union (1 and 3 March 1845), and this led immediately to the Mexican war. When its capital was occupied and its resources exhausted Mexico signed the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which it yielded to the United States the whole of Texas (with the Rio Grande as the new frontier) and the two provinces of New Mexico and California, in exchange for the payment by the United States of a sum of 15,000,000 dollars and the liquidation by them of debts owing by Mexico to American citizens up to three and a half million dollars (2 February 1848).

In August 1846 Wilmot, a deputy from Pennsylvania, raised the question of slavery in Texas, which was not settled at the time of the presidential campaign in 1848. An agitation for its general abolition throughout the United States had begun, but for some years the chief matter of controversy was whether the new State of Texas and the new territories, that were being occupied as the tide of immigration was year by year pressing westward into lands beyond the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, were to be free or slave States.

74. THE REVOLT OF THE SPANISH COLONIES IN AMERICA (1810-25)

The example of the United States was not lost on the Spanish colonists in the four viceroyalties of Mexico, New Granada, Peru, and Buenos Ayres, of the captaincies-general of New Mexico, Chile, and Caracas, and also of Florida, Cuba, and Porto Rico.

The French Revolution, with its proclamation of the rights of the people to self-government, had considerable influence on the younger generation of the colonists in Central and South

America. Napoleon's invasion of Spain and Portugal interrupted communications with the home countries and weakened the colonial governments, and the peace in Europe after Waterloo led numbers of soldiers and sailors of many nations to seek a new field of adventure beyond the Atlantic. (Thus it was that a group of able British naval officers—Dundonald and his friends—improvised a navy for the Spanish Colonists who revolted against Ferdinand VII.)

The first rising came in 1810. It was not actually at the outset a revolt against Spanish rule. It was an armed refusal to recognize Joseph Bonaparte's usurpation of the Spanish throne. The insurgents declared for Ferdinand VII. The parish priest, Hidalgo, raised the Province of Guanajuato with the cry: 'Spain is no longer Spanish! Spain is French!' and marched upon Mexico City; he was captured and shot (1811); his friend, the priest Morelos, re-formed his troops and a congress proclaimed the independence of Mexico on the 6th November 1815; but Morelos was defeated and shot in December 1815. The revolt spread to South America. Bolivar raised Caracas on the 19th April 1810; he was conquered and forced to flee, but he reappeared in 1813 as a liberator, entered Caracas in triumph, and Carabobo as a victor. In 1815 he was again defeated and a fugitive and the insurrection was only definitely successful in the region of La Plata.

Thence the revolution spread to the neighbouring territories in South America. Barred out from trade with Spain during the Peninsular War by their refusal to recognize Joseph Bonaparte, the Spanish Americans had developed a considerable trade with England. Had Ferdinand VII, on his restoration in 1814, had the wisdom to recognize the new situation and permit this new trade, he might have kept his empire; but he attempted to restore the old commercial monopoly of the Spanish Crown. The Americans could hardly be expected to submit to the loss of their valuable English trade, and thus a movement that began as a revolt for Ferdinand was turned, by his own folly, into a revolt against him. Ferdinand aimed at subjecting the colonies to the same system of narrow despotism that he en-

forced in the capital, and dictated a policy of ruthless vengeance against Mexico and Venezuela. But the insurgents were encouraged by the United States, which began to show their opposition to all intervention by Europe in the New World.

When the colonists were convinced that there was nothing to be expected from Ferdinand VII, Bolivar reappeared at the mouth of the Orinoco, went up the river and established himself at Angostura (Ciudad-Bolivar) in an impregnable position (July 1817). Here a congress proclaimed the independence of Venezuela on the 15th February 1819. Bolivar crossed the Cordillera, and after a victory at Boyaca on the 7th August 1819, made a triumphal entry into Bogota. He proclaimed the union between Venezuela and New Granada. The 'indivisible Republic' of Colombia was proclaimed on the 17th December.

The southern colonies found another liberator. Appealed to by the colonists in Chile, San Martin crossed the Andes with 4,000 men, captured Santiago (February 1817), and proclaimed the independence of Chile on the 1st January 1818. A Spanish army from Peru was defeated at Maipú (5 April 1818). At the same time, the United States took advantage of some disturbances to intervene in Florida, which they proposed buying from Ferdinand VII. He refused their offers and war was declared. Seeing that he would obtain no help from the Holy Alliance, Ferdinand VII fitted out a fleet at Cadiz, but Riego turned it against the Government and compelled the King to grant a constitution. The Cortes showed no inclination to grant concessions which would diminish the Spanish empire, and the revolt spread in the Colonies.

Its first success was marked by the rising in Mexico. General Agostin Iturbide proclaimed the independence of the country on the 21st February 1821. He seized Mexico City, established a provisional regency on the 21st May 1822, and then had himself proclaimed Emperor. A republican insurrection drove him to flight; but after a short stay in Europe he returned and attempted to re-establish his power. His venture ended in defeat and he was shot on the 19th July 1824. Mexico was organized as a 'Federal Republic' in imitation of the United

States. Fired by this example, the whole of Central America drove out the Spanish troops and the former States of Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica formed the 'Republic of the United States of Central America'. Bolivar completed the liberation of the country by his second victory of Carabobo (24 June 1824). General Sucre drove out the Spaniards from Quito, Guayaquil, and all the country forming the Republic of Ecuador; and voted its union with the Republic of Colombia whereof Bolivar became President.

The Spaniards only retained Peru. It was not long before they were hemmed in by San Martin from the south and Bolivar from the north. A flotilla guarded the coast, and San Martin, seizing Lima, proclaimed the independence of Peru and declared himself dictator. After being driven out by the inhabitants and replaced by the Spaniards, Bolivar returned with a strong army and took Lima while General Sucre was defeating the Spaniards at Ayacucho (9 December 1824). The whole of Upper Peru was formed into an independent republic under the name of Bolivia, which it has since retained. The war of independence was over.

The United States had recognized the Republic of Colombia in 1822, and early in the following year the new governments of Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Mexico. In that same year the French intervention against the Liberals in Spain had encouraged Ferdinand VII to hope that the Holy Alliance might assist him to recover his American colonies. Rumours that such an intervention was being discussed by the Alliance, led Canning, then Foreign Minister of England, to suggest, through the American envoy in London, a joint declaration of England and the United States that they regarded the recovery of its American possessions by Spain as hopeless and, while themselves having no desire to annex any part of the disputed territories, would be hostile to such action by any European Power.

The suggested joint declaration was never issued. For President Monroe, while welcoming this friendly communication, decided to take independent action, and give a wider scope to his declaration, embodying it in his Presidential Message to the

coming session of Congress. He had already protested against a claim of the Tsar to assert Russian authority over the north-west coast of America, south of the limits of Alaska, and in a first draft of his Message he had also referred at some length to the policy of the Holy Alliance against the Liberals in Greece and Spain, as showing the general animus of the autocratic governments of Europe, and then proceeded to deal with their alleged projects against the freedom of the South American Republics. Monroe was fortunate in having as his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, who had had a most useful practical experience in the diplomatic service of the United States. Adams persuaded him that what the occasion demanded was a clear declaration against European interference in American affairs, with a justification of this policy by careful abstention from any pretence to meddle with the concerns of Europe. He argued that it would be a mistake to include in the Message references to the affairs of Greece and Spain, much as Americans might sympathize with Liberal movements in these countries. What was needed was simply an American declaration on the affairs of America. The President was convinced of the soundness of these views, and with the close co-operation of his Secretary of State, worked out a plain statement of the 'Monroe Doctrine'.¹

When he sent his annual Message to Congress on the 2nd December 1823, the President first referred to his protest against the Russian claim, and then went on to say that the negotiations on this question had suggested that it would be well to assert a principle 'in which the rights and interests of the United States were concerned', that the American continents must henceforth be considered as no longer 'subjects for future colonization by any European Powers'.

He pointed out that the United States had adopted the policy of abstention from any interference in the affairs of Europe, where the political system of the allied Powers was 'essentially different from that of America', and then proceeded to enunciate a general rule for the policy of the United States regarding

¹ For a detailed account of the evolution of the Monroe Doctrine see *John Quincy Adams*, by Bennett C. Clark (Boston, 1932), pp. 171-7.

the American continent, with incidental reference to the actual situation:

'We owe it [he said] to candour and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies and dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.

Such was the 'Monroe Doctrine'; and on the 1st January 1825 Canning declared his intention of concluding treaties of commerce with the former colonies now become independent.

At the same time, Brazil was drawn into the revolutionary movement. In 1808 Juan VI, King of Portugal, had taken refuge in Rio de Janeiro, which had already become a commercially active and very prosperous city. On the 16th December 1815 Juan VI declared Brazil a separate tributary to Portugal with his son Dom Pedro as regent. The latter encouraged the movement in favour of secession, and on being summoned to return to Portugal he had himself proclaimed Emperor of Brazil (12 October 1822). On the 29th August 1825 Juan VI resigned his rights to Dom Pedro who, in the following year, gave up Portugal in favour of his daughter, then Princess Maria, and left Brazil to his son Dom Pedro II.

At the Congress of Panama (7 December 1825), Bolivar had proposed to unite Latin America to the United States; but the suggestion received very little support. He hoped thus to secure union among the new republics of Spanish America. He died on the 17th December 1830, after living long enough to see the beginning of strife between the peoples he had done so much to liberate.

75. THE CONQUEST OF ALGERIA (1830-47)

In 1830 Algeria was a Turkish protectorate, nominally subject to the authority of the Sultan in Constantinople. The government of this protectorate rested with a militia of janissaries, or *Odjak*, whose chiefs elected the *Dey*. The Sultan merely confirmed this election.

The Algerines of the coast districts had numbers of hardy and skilful sailors in all the ports. Their swift, well handled and heavily gunned galleys carried on for some four hundred years a more or less active career of piracy and blackmailing at the expense of the commerce of the Christian nations in the Mediterranean, making at times daring raids into the Atlantic. The Franciscans and two religious orders founded for this special purpose laboured to alleviate the lot of the Christian captives in North Africa and to effect the ransom of numbers of them. The divisions and quarrels of the Christian Powers unhappily prevented any systematic and united attempt to end this system of piracy. There were some isolated efforts in this direction. The admirals of Louis XIV twice bombarded Algiers, and after this the Algerines showed more respect for the French flag. In 1816 Lord Exmouth with a British fleet, reinforced by a Dutch squadron, silenced the batteries of the port and burned the corsair fleet in the harbour of Algiers, and made the Mediterranean safer for peaceful trade.

Since the time of Louis XIV France had been for long periods on fairly amicable terms with the Regency of Algiers. Under the restored Bourbon monarchy these relations became strained, and in 1827 a dispute arose over the exaggerated claims made by the Dey Hussein against two Jewish corn-dealers in Algiers who were under French protection. On the 30th April, in an interview with the French consul, the Dey broke out into angry insults and struck him with the handle of his fly-whisk. The French Government insisted on an apology and heavy reparation, and sent a squadron to blockade the ports of Algeria. For more than two years direct trade with the country almost entirely ceased, though it was carried on on a reduced scale

through Tunis and Morocco. The Dey remained obstinate, and on the 3rd August 1829 the crisis became acute when the batteries of Algiers opened fire on a French warship that stood in towards the harbour flying flags of truce. After renewed attempts to negotiate, and the threat of more serious action, the Polignac Ministry decided on an expedition against Algiers and General de Bourmont was given the command; the fleet, under Admiral Duperré, landed 36,000 men at Sidi-Ferruch (13 June 1830) and the army arrived before Algiers on the 29th June. On the 4th July the old citadel, the Kasbah, was bombarded and captured; on the 5th the French army occupied Algiers. Then came the news of the July Revolution. De Bourmont wanted to take part of the army back to France to re-establish Charles X; but Admiral Duperré refused his assistance and the command passed to Marshal Clausel, a veteran of the wars of the Revolution and the Empire.

Louis-Philippe's Government at first hardly realized the opportunities of conquest and colonization thus offered to it. It had come suddenly into power on the morrow of the last victory won by the old Bourbon line, and had no plans for the future. To begin with, steps were taken gradually to extend the conquest to the coast districts and ports. This was known as the 'restricted occupation'; Blidah and Medeah, Bona, Mostaganem, and Bougie were captured; and the position on the coast was consolidated without penetrating inland. However, the Mussulmans planned to drive the French into the sea and, in order to do so, the Emir of Mascara, Abd-el-Kader, and the Bey of Constantine, Hadj-Ahmed, declared a Holy War.

Abd-el-Kader opened hostilities in the Oran districts; the French negotiated with him (26 February 1834); this heightened his prestige and enabled him to inflict a serious defeat at La Macta (28 June 1835). This disaster caused some anxiety in France. Marshal Clausel and the Duke of Orleans were sent to Oran; they reached Mascara, which was sacked and burnt, and went on to attack Constantine.

Hadj-Ahmed was trying to found an independent State and hoped to drive the French garrison out of Bona. Topographi-

cally Constantine occupied a formidable position. It was a walled town of solidly built houses crowded together on a rocky height surrounded by steep precipices and deep ravines. Clausel made the mistake of imagining that he could take it by a *coup de main* with a small army of about 9,000 men and the help of some native tribes. This badly planned expedition, which had no siege artillery, twice attacked the place and was repulsed with heavy losses and had to retreat under most difficult conditions (1836). The defeat had to be avenged and the prestige of France restored. General Bugeaud, the Governor of Oran, signed the treaty of the Tafna with Abd-el-Kader (29 May 1837), which granted the Arab chief 'the administration of the whole country', that is to say, of the uplands towards Constantine. Another attempt to take Constantine was now possible. General Damrémont went equipped for a siege, and bombarded the town from the 9th to the 12th of October. He was killed on that day, but on the following day, the 13th October 1837, the attack was made at seven o'clock in the morning, and by nine o'clock, after fierce street-fighting, the town belonged to France.

The credit for this final victory was due to Marshal Valée, who was now appointed Governor-General of Algeria. The failure of Hadj-Ahmed and the friendly arrangement with the French had now made Abd-el-Kader the most important of the native chiefs. He had become a tributary ruler of an extensive territory. His influence was felt through all the country except in the hill and mountain regions held by the Kabyles. Among the Arabs, as the representative of a family that claimed descent from Mohammed, and himself the son of a religious leader, and regarded as a marabout (a man of saintly life) thanks to his strict observance of the Moslem law, he was well fitted to assume the position of a national leader. He had been well educated; he had made the Mecca pilgrimage. He was eloquent in speech and courteous in his dealings with others. Then only about thirty years of age, his bodily activity was equal to his mental capacity. He was a splendid horseman, skilled in arms, and had something like a genius for irregular warfare. He formed a small army trained on European lines, and estab-

lished a system of regular taxation in his territory. For two years he was on good terms with the French, but he judged that sooner or later they would tighten their hold upon him, and he watched all their movements with suspicion. In view of eventualities he had concluded a secret treaty of friendship with the Sultan of Morocco.

In order to establish land communications between Algiers and Constantine, Marshal Valée sent a small army through the pass of the 'Iron Gates' (28 October 1839). Abd-el-Kader denounced this advance as a breach of the treaty of the Tafna and proclaimed a Jihad—a Holy War—against the French on the 18th November. He immediately attacked Mazagran, where 123 soldiers held him at bay for four days, and were relieved by the garrison from Mostaganem.

But the opening months of the war were a time of 'unfortunate incidents' for the French, indecisive engagements or actual failures, during which tribe after tribe joined Abd-el-Kader. General Bugeaud, a soldier trained in Napoleon's armies, was sent to Algeria as governor and director of the campaign. He adopted sound plans for warfare in Africa. There must be rapid movement, continual attacks on the Arabs, relentless pursuit after victory. Wagon convoys and caravans of camels were replaced in the transport by pack mules. Nearly 100,000 troops were in Algeria. Bugeaud left most of the line regiments for the garrisons and lines of communication, and formed columns only a few thousands strong, composed of light troops, such as the lately formed 'Chasseurs de Vincennes' (the only French regiment yet armed with the rifle), the 'Chasseurs d'Afrique' (French cavalry formed for service in Algeria), the Zouaves, and the native cavalry and infantry, the spahis and 'turcos' led by French officers. For his column commanders he had men whose names were to be famous, such as Lamoricière, Pélissier, and Canrobert.

Despite more than one serious defeat, Abd-el-Kader kept the field for some four years. Trampled out at one point, the flame of Arab resistance blazed up on another, and the Emir was able always to rally large numbers to his main force. He would

probably have been successful if he could have rallied the Kabyles to his cause, and left in security in their mountains the host of dependants and non-combatants that in the latter stage of the campaign embarrassed his operations. He was leading a nomad life, moving from point to point with his *smalah*, an immense band of servants, herds, hostages, treasures, defended by his horsemen. On the 16th May 1843 the Duc d'Aumale took the *smalah* by surprise near Taguin, and, with 600 Chasseurs d'Afrique, flung himself on this band of 40,000 tribesmen and camp followers and 6,000 warriors, scattered it, and compelled Abd-el-Kader to take refuge in Morocco.

Shortly afterwards Bugeaud had to deal with raids on the western frontier and demanded the expulsion of Abd-el-Kader. The Sultan of Morocco refused and, thereupon, the Prince de Joinville bombarded Tangier, while 45,000 Moroccans took up a position on the banks of the Isly. On the 14th August 1844 Bugeaud marched against them with 10,000 men and, with this little army drawn up in the shape of a lozenge, drove a wedge into the hordes of Moroccan cavalry; then the two wings of the French cavalry, formed of Spahis and light cavalry, closed in on the camp of the Moorish Sultan's son and captured all his artillery and standards. This victory had cost the French only 27 killed and about 100 wounded. The Prince de Joinville bombarded and occupied Mogador. On the 10th September the Sultan of Morocco signed the Treaty of Tangier by which he undertook to expel Abd-el-Kader and to recognize French Algeria with the boundaries that had existed in the days of the Turkish protectorate.

Abd-el-Kader retired into the Oran mountains, and his desperate resistance lasted another three years. This was the time of the tragic incident of Sidi-Brahim, when a detachment of 350 light infantry were killed fighting to the last man. Still a fugitive, continually pursued by superior forces, Abd-el-Kader fled towards Figuig; he was driven back by the Moroccans and having no way out he surrendered to Lamoricière on the 23rd December 1847. He was interned at Pau, then at Amboise; during his Presidency of the French Republic Napoleon III

liberated him and allowed him to reside near Paris; and in 1852 he retired to Damascus.¹

Abd-el-Kader's surrender put an end to Arab dominion in Africa; the Berbers or Kabyles in the hill country still had to be subdued; this was effected in a series of campaigns during the Second Empire. The conquest of Kabylia was the crowning episode of a brilliant achievement. In later years the conquest and colonization of Algeria proved to be the first step in the formation of a great French colonial empire in Africa.

76. THE BRITISH COLONIES AND INDIA (1815-60)

The years after the peace of 1815 were a period of expansion and consolidation for the British overseas possessions. In the second half of the eighteenth century Britain had lost her older American colonies by the mistaken policy of overriding the colonial legislatures, and imposing on them a policy dictated from Whitehall and Westminster. In the nineteenth century there was the gradual evolution of a new policy, the broad features of which were the concession of self-government to the colonies, their association in Dominion groups, and the first step towards substituting for the ideal of Empire that of a free Commonwealth of sister nations.

In 1815 England restored to France the few places she had held in India before the war, several of the West Indian islands, and her island outposts and fishery rights in Newfoundland. Java and the other Dutch possessions in the far eastern seas, occupied during the war, were restored to Holland. The Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius in the Indian Ocean remained British, and Malta became a base for the navy in the Mediterranean.

Canada. The capitulation of Quebec in 1760 and the Treaty of Paris (1763) had transferred Canada from French to English

¹ When an outbreak of fanaticism led to the massacres of the Christians in and around Damascus in 1860 Abd-el-Kader, at risk to his own life, saved and protected large numbers of them. More than once he advised his co-religionists in Algeria to live peacefully under French rule and collaborate in the development of the country. He died at Damascus in May 1883.

rule.¹ England loyally respected the rights conferred on the French in Canada. They kept their language and their local laws and customs, and were not merely assured of religious toleration, but (at a time when in Great Britain and Ireland Catholics had not the rights of citizens and much of the Penal Code was still in force) the Catholic Church was fully recognized in French Canada, and the bishops and the religious orders were left in secure possession of their property and endowments. In England the Quebec Act of June 1774, guaranteeing these rights, excited much anti-Catholic opposition. In several of the Puritan New England colonies there was an outcry of protest against what was denounced as an 'act of apostasy'. When the colonies revolted in 1776 some of the New England volunteer levies took the field with 'No Popery' inscribed on their banners. In the American War of Independence the French Canadians, at the call of their bishops, rallied to the defence of their faith as well as their country when they opposed attacks from the States.

After the War of American Independence some 40,000 'loyalists', mostly English and Scots, had left the United States to find new homes in Canada, where they were given lands west of the Ottawa river. Thus a mainly British Canada came into existence with Toronto for its chief centre. In 1791 the colony had been divided into the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, each with its legislative assembly, which, however, had very limited powers. There were disputes between the provinces, and between their assemblies and the Colonial Government. These troubles culminated in 1837 in a serious revolt of the French Canadians in Lower Canada, and a less important movement under Mackenzie, the leader of the Reform Party, in Upper Canada. American sympathizers and annexationists sent arms to the French Canadians and even ventured on some filibustering raids to help them. But the insurgents had no wish to see their country Americanized. What they demanded was real local freedom for the colony. The revolt was easily suppressed,

¹ Nova Scotia and Newfoundland had already been ceded by France to England by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

but the situation that resulted was a perilous one. To deal with it the Whig Government in England sent out, as High Commissioner with unlimited powers, Lord Durham, who had been a leading champion of Reform, Catholic Emancipation, and better government for Ireland, the most advanced of the English Liberals—known to many of his admirers as ‘Radical Jack’. He adopted a policy of conciliation and reform so far as his recommendations for the future government of the country went, but acted in a high-handed fashion in deporting some of those who had been engaged in the past rebellions to West Indian Islands over which he had no authority. His action led him to a dispute with the Home Government, as a result of which he resigned. When Parliament met at Westminster in 1839 he presented to it a voluminous ‘Report on the Affairs of British North America’, an able State paper in which he urged the necessity of uniting Canada under a single legislature, with a free Parliament and ministry governing the country with a minimum of interference from Whitehall. Next year Lord Grey’s Cabinet introduced a Bill to give effect to his proposals,¹ and Canada became a self-governing colony. This was a precedent for similar reforms in other colonies in the years that followed, a prelude to the later union of British North America (except only Newfoundland) in the great ‘Dominion of Canada’.

South Africa. When the French Republican armies overran Holland, and the Batavian Republic was founded, a British fleet landed an expeditionary force at Capetown and occupied the Colony in the name of the Prince of Orange. It was evacuated and restored to Holland at the Peace of Amiens (1802) but again seized by the British (1806) when Holland was annexed to Napoleon’s Empire. In 1814 England negotiated the per-

¹ The Bill met with strong opposition from the Tory party. In the House of Commons its leading champion, Lord Stanley (afterwards as Lord Derby the leader of the Conservatives and Prime Minister when they came into power) described the Bill as a surrender to rebellion, and predicted that it would lead to the loss of Canada. ‘It is divided from the United States’, he said, ‘only by a river line, from England by thousands of miles of stormy sea. The Americans have twice endeavoured to annex it, and are bent on this new conquest. If this Bill passes, I feel sure that within another twenty years Canada will be parcelled out into new states of the American Union.’

manent cession of the Cape by the restored King of Holland, paying some millions of indemnity as part of the bargain. Its use as a station on the long sea route to India made it a valuable possession. This was at first the chief importance attached to it.

The Dutch Government had forbidden emigration to Africa since 1707. Capetown was the only place of importance, and the country had a sparse white population of Boer farmers and hunters, living in their widely separated farms and few villages, and relying mostly on native labour for tillage and cattle raising. They had long been all but isolated from Europe, and clung stubbornly to their ancestral traditions and customs. The new British Government was entirely in the hands of the Governor at Capetown, who was also the officer commanding the garrison. He took his orders from the Colonial Office in London, but frequently acted on his own initiative. The first of this line of viceroys became very unpopular with the Boers, by making a new valuation and levy of taxes on their farms, and still more by organizing a native police, to the disgust of the Boers, who felt insulted by being supervised and ordered about by 'black fellows'. In 1816 a resistance to arrest by a Boer led to a local rising, soon suppressed and followed by executions that are still remembered by the Dutch and Huguenots in South Africa.

There were few British settlers until, in 1820, the Home Government organized an emigration that in one year sent 5,000 to the Cape. They founded new settlements at Grahams-town and Port Elizabeth. A few settled at the port of Natal (afterwards known as Durban). The country of Natal was in native hands till the Boers, to escape British regulations and taxation, began to trek across the Drakensberg. They became involved in disputes with the native chiefs, and their short-lived 'Republic of Natalia' came to an end when the Governor of the Cape sent an expedition to annex the country. Most of them joined the 'Great Trek' which began in 1833. Thousands of Boers, with their families, native servants, their cattle, and wagons heaped with their possessions, moved across the Orange and Vaal rivers to found the Dutch Republics of the Orange

Free State and the Transvaal. These were recognized by conventions with the Cape Government, the former in 1854, the latter in 1852.

Frontier disputes with native chiefs led to a series of wars, and some extensions of the territory were claimed as British. One of the Zulu tribes, the Basutos, hard pressed by native enemies on the one side and the Boers on the other, placed their mountain land—the 'Switzerland of South Africa'—under British protection, and to this day enjoy a prosperous semi-independence, white immigrants being excluded from their territory, and their own chiefs governing it under the supervision of a British resident.

Australia and New Zealand. The first English occupation of Australia was the landing of some hundreds of convicts, with their keepers and a few free settlers in January 1788, on the site where Sydney was soon after founded. Many of the convicts sent to the penal station were not criminals, but political prisoners, with numbers of Irish rebels among them.¹ They were under life sentences, but good conduct obtained freedom for many as settlers in the colony. The Swan River Settlement in the west was founded in 1829; then Melbourne in 1835, to become in 1851 the capital of the new colony of Victoria. In that year the discovery of gold attracted a rush of immigrants. The diggings were all the more attractive because the gold was to be found in the gravel of the streams, and poor men with a pick and shovel and a rough sifting and washing equipment might make fortunes. The Government tried to check the 'gold rush' that drew workers from farms and sheep runs and left ships that arrived at Melbourne short of crews. Instead of taxing the gold obtained by the diggers the Government decreed a system of monthly mining licences, to be taken out in advance by every digger and prospector and used only in a limited area. It cost its holder from 30s. to £3 a month, levied before he could earn anything. The result was endless harrying of the diggers by the

¹ The first Mass ever said in Australia was celebrated in secret by a convict priest from Ireland—a political prisoner. The chalice and paten were of tin, made in a convict workshop. In the first years of the colony of New South Wales Catholicity was under a ban even for the free settlers.

police, many arrests and imprisonments. This led to an agitation not only for a fairer code of taxation and control, but also for a colonial legislature to replace arbitrary officialism. In the winter of 1854 organization for an armed rising began. In November the miners were mustering their forces and a few hundred entrenched themselves on Eureka Hill near Ballarat. On the 3rd December, after a sharp fight, the hill was stormed by a column of regular troops and armed police supported by a naval detachment with four guns. It was the first and only battle in the history of Australia, a small affair that had great results.¹ For the agitation continued, and in the following year the colony of Victoria was given a local legislative assembly, and a ministry to act with the Governor. It was the prelude to constitutional government being granted to the other Australian colonies.

New Zealand had been some years the resort of whalers and traders from Australia, when in 1840 the British Government declared it a Crown Colony, guaranteeing the rights of the native chiefs to all the lands actually occupied by the Maori tribes. Between 1845 and 1848 there were some local disputes with the chiefs. Peaceful years followed, and in 1852 an elected legislature was established.

India and Ceylon. India became a British possession through the agents of the East India Company, who came as traders, gradually securing direct or indirect control of huge territories. It never had the status of a colony, but at each renewal of the Company's Charter a larger and larger control of its affairs was assumed by the British Government. The company raised large native armies and also enlisted regiments from the home country, and in the eighteenth century obtained the further support of British troops of the Royal army.

The Dutch settlements in Ceylon were occupied by an expedi-

¹ A monument marks the site of Australia's only battle. The leader of the insurgents, Peter Lalor, an Irish civil engineer, lost an arm in the fight but escaped capture though a reward was offered for his arrest. He held office in the new Legislature and was for some years Speaker of the Assembly. When he retired he was given a grant of £4,000 'in recognition of his eminent services to the colony'. He died in 1889 and was honoured with a public funeral.

tion from Madras in 1795, and were attached to the Madras Presidency till 1802, when the island was declared a Crown Colony. The hill country of the interior was ruled by the Rajahs of Kandy until, in 1815, British troops intervened in a local rising against the reigning king, and the whole island came under European rule. In 1823 it was given a legislative council, with official and unofficial members, the latter representing all sections of the people, under an electoral law by which each group sent its leading men to the Council. In the period here dealt with (1815-60), and since that time, the island has been peaceful and prosperous. Religious liberty was substituted for the intolerance of the Dutch in 1815, and the result has been a remarkable growth of the Catholic missions, which had been all but destroyed under the Calvinist Dutch régime.

The record of India in these forty-five years after the Congress of Vienna cannot be set forth in a brief summary. Only some salient points can be noted. It was a time of many wars, but also a period of important internal developments and of the final disappearance of the East India Company's part in the government of what was becoming a vast eastern Empire. A series of wars began in 1817 and were brought to a successful close in 1824. They were waged against the Mahratta princes and the leaders of the Pindaris, irregular bands of brigands that harried wide tracts of country chiefly in the Deccan. At one time the Indian Government had some 200,000 men, European and native troops and allies, engaged in operations over an immense extent of country, much of it roadless and unsurveyed mountain and forest land. One good result was that the villagers of southern India were freed from a reign of terror and brigandage.

While the south was at peace there were wars in the north—the conquest of Scinde, the Afghan wars, the conquest of the Sikhs and the annexation of the Punjab, intermittent warfare with the Border tribes of the North-West Frontier and oversea expeditions in the interests of trade—the conquest of southern Burmah, and the Chinese wars, the annexation of Hong-Kong as an outpost in the eastern seas. It would be anything but easy

to establish a good case for the justice of some of these adventures in empire-making and the extension of trade.

The India Act of 1833, one of the earliest results of the Reform of Parliament in England, extended the powers of the British Government, and further diminished those of the East India Company. A committee of the Governor-General's council elaborated a common code of law for all India, and the judicature and magistracy were reorganized. Macaulay, a member of the Council, prepared a code of education, making the English language and literature the prominent feature of study in the higher schools and the universities. He ventured to predict that the native study of the progressive ideals and the science of Europe would make the legends and mythology of India obsolete among the educated classes in fifty years. There was a result he never imagined: English became for India what Latin was for medieval Europe—a common language for all who had passed through the higher schools. It became a factor in evolving the ideal of a common nationality. Within fifty years it was the language of native newspapers that sought more than a mere local circulation, and later the language of the Indian Congresses.

The long career of the East India Company came to an end after the suppression of the mutiny of the Bengal native army in 1858. It was a military revolt restricted to the north. The great part of India remained at peace, and even in the Ganges districts numbers of the civilian natives held aloof from it. The Sikhs, though only lately annexed to the Empire, proved helpful allies in its suppression. The wild deeds of the rebels led to a merciless severity in the suppression of the revolt. But better times followed under the new régime that began within a few years after this terrible crisis.

77. THE EASTERN QUESTION (1832-41)

It was the naval victory of Navarino in 1827 that secured the independence of Greece. The united Mediterranean squadrons of England, France, and Russia destroyed the fleets of Turkey and Egypt. In 1828-9 the Russians crossed the Pruth and the

Danube, imposing a humiliating peace on the Sultan, when the Turkish power was reduced to a low ebb. In 1832 a new crisis in the East began with the revolt of Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, against his suzerain, and an Egyptian invasion of Syria. The Sultan Mahmoud II appealed for help to the European Powers, but the rival policies of the allied victors of Navarino, Russia, France, and England, led ultimately to a critical situation, which at one time brought France and England to the verge of war. For years to come the Eastern Question was a constant menace to the peace of the world.

Meheмет Ali was an Albanian, born at Kavala in 1769. Until he was thirty years of age he had lived in his native village, growing and dealing in tobacco, and taking his share at times in the petty warfare of local clans. When Napoleon invaded Egypt he joined the Turkish army as a leader of an Albanian levy. In the battle at Aboukir Bay (1799) he and his followers were driven into the sea; however, British bluejackets saved him from drowning.

He was in 1801 one of the leaders of the Albanian force that joined the British in their victorious march on Cairo, and after the war he came to the front in the struggle between the Turkish troops and the Mamelukes for the control of Egypt. In 1806 he headed a mutiny of 5,000 Albanians, expelled Kurshid Pasha, the Sultan's representative at Cairo, and, thanks to friends at Constantinople, was recognized as Pasha of Egypt. He was the strong man in possession and the Sultan accepted the situation. He was popular with the people, for he posed as their deliverer from the military rule of the Mamelukes. He destroyed the power they had long exercised by inviting most of their chiefs to a banquet in the citadel of Cairo and treacherously massacring them. The few that escaped were with their followers driven southwards into the Sudan (1811).

Then, with the help of his three soldier sons, he began a series of conquests. A dangerous rival to the Turkish power had grown up in Arabia, since, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Abdul Wahab had preached a reform of Islam and declared that the honours paid to Mohammed were contrary

to the supreme honour due to God. He founded a dynasty that conquered the greater part of Arabia, and a sect that professed to restore the pure religion of Islam. In 1802 the Wahabi Sultan captured Mecca, suppressing the pilgrimages to the Kaaba in the city, and to Mohammed's tomb at Medina as superstitious follies. The Wahabis had already for some years been attacking and looting the pilgrim caravans. In 1811, at the invitation of the Sultan of Turkey, Mehemet Ali declared war against the Wahabi power, and next year the Egyptian army recaptured Mecca and the pilgrimage was restored. Conquests in the Nile Valley followed. The tribes and chiefs of a great region beyond the First Cataract were subdued. Dongola, Sennaar, and Kordofan became Egyptian provinces, and in 1823 the new city of Khartum was founded at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles to be the capital of this vast region. Unhappily it soon became a centre for the slave trade.

He cultivated friendly relations with France, taking into his service a number of French officers, engineers, and administrative experts. He organized an army and navy on European lines, improved the port of Alexandria and developed its trade. He introduced the cultivation of cotton and, by a revision of the land laws and the system of taxation, became practically the landlord of the whole country. His wealth and power and his popularity gave him almost an independent position.

As the price of his intervention in Greece he had been promised the Pashaliks of Morea and Crete. After Navarino and the withdrawal of his son Ibrahim's army from Greece, he claimed that some extension of his territory was still due to him. When the Sultan steadily rejected his claim, he sent an Egyptian army into Syria (November 1831) and Ibrahim seized Gaza and Jerusalem and besieged Acre, which held out till May 1832. Two Turkish armies were defeated, the pass of Beilan was forced, and Asia Minor invaded. The main Turkish army was routed at Konia on the 23rd December, and the invaders began to move towards the Bosphorus. The Sultan had appealed to the European Powers for help, but while they were debating the Tsar took vigorous action. On the 20th

February 1833 a Russian fleet anchored off Constantinople. In April 12,000 Russian soldiers occupied the city and 24,000 more marched into Moldavia. England and France, dreading protection might develop into permanent Russian possession, urged the Sultan to make peace with Mehemet Ali, and the rebel Pasha agreed to evacuate Asia Minor and acknowledge the Sultan's suzerainty on being given the Pashalik of Syria with his position as Pasha of Egypt declared hereditary in his family. The Russians retired from Constantinople only after securing a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the Sultan, including a proviso that the Dardanelles should be closed to foreign warships under all flags except that of the Tsar (Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, 8 June 1833).

Egyptian rule was not popular in Palestine and Syria. In 1834 there was an unsuccessful revolt in the north. The Sultan was hoping to recover the lost province and was reorganizing his army with the help of European officers. In 1838 the Arabs of the Hauran, east of the upper Jordan, were in arms, and Syria was seething with excitement and discontent. Sultan Mahmoud declared he must come to the help of 'his oppressed people in Syria', and began to concentrate troops in Asia Minor and on the border of Kurdistan and north Syria, while Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mehemet Ali, was collecting an army at Aleppo. In the early summer of next year Hafiz Pasha, with the 'Army of Kurdistan', crossed the Syrian frontier. He was defeated and his army utterly routed in the battle of Nisib, the 23rd June 1839. There was a panic in Constantinople when news came of the collapse of the new army in its first battle. From Egypt came further ill tidings. A squadron of the Turkish navy sent against Alexandria had hoisted the Egyptian flag.

Sultan Mahmoud died on the 1st July and was succeeded by his son, Abdul Medjid, a boy of sixteen. The government was in the hands of the Grand Vizier and his council. The Five Great Powers (to use a diplomatic phrase that long included England, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia) on the 27th July informed the Vizier that they would insist on his making no peace settlement without acting in concert with them. They

were really united only in name; four of them feared Russia would take separate action. France had encouraged Mehemet Ali and sent officers to serve in his army. England was anxious about French influence in Egypt. Palmerston, the English Foreign Minister, held that the Ottoman Empire would not be safe unless the new Egyptian Power could be kept beyond the isthmus of Suez.

There was a virtual armistice while the negotiations at Constantinople dragged on into the following year. In March 1840 Thiers became Prime Minister and also Minister of Foreign Affairs in France. He counted Egypt as a valuable field for French influence in the East and he had already championed the cause of Mehemet Ali. Presently an acute crisis developed. English agents at Constantinople discovered the French envoy at Constantinople was secretly arranging an agreement by which the Sultan would yield up Syria to Egypt. Palmerston took prompt action. As an effective counterstroke he convoked in London a meeting with the ambassadors of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and without informing Guizot, the French ambassador, a treaty was signed on the 15th July by which the four Powers undertook to unite in supporting the Sultan and present a summons to Mehemet Ali, offering him, if he submitted within ten days, the confirmation of his position in Egypt, and for his lifetime only Palestine and the fortress of Acre. If he held out against this ultimatum, armed action would follow, and he would be liable to deposition as a rebel.

Thiers declared that this was a 'mortal insult' to France. He pushed on the war preparations he had already begun, and there was such excitement in France that the peaceful-minded Louis-Philippe felt he might have to choose between war with England or a revolution in Paris. Encouraged by the news from France, Mehemet Ali assumed a defiant attitude.

But the Allies proceeded to vigorous action. The English Mediterranean fleet under Sir Charles Napier, reinforced by Russian and Austrian warships, appeared before Beyrout, where Mehemet Ali's son was in command. When he rejected a

summons to evacuate the place it was bombarded. The Pasha withdrew before the surrender of the town on the 3rd October. On the 8th Thiers sent a message to England through Guizot, which might easily have been treated as an ultimatum. Palmerston tactfully explained that the Allies were anxious to act in a friendly spirit towards France. Though the Sultan's Government had declared the deposition of Mehemet Ali, the Powers had no wish to deprive him of his Egyptian Pashalik. Louis-Philippe did not want war with England and on the 29th October Thiers resigned office and Guizot, who was anxious for peace, took over the Foreign Office in a ministry presided over by Marshal Soult.

On the 3rd November Acre was captured by the Allied fleet, and the Egyptian army was evacuating Syria. When the fleet appeared off Alexandria Mehemet Ali asked for terms of peace. At the settlement that followed he was confirmed in the government of Egypt and its African conquests, abandoning all pretensions to Syria.

By a convention signed in the summer of 1841, Russia agreed to cancel the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, which had involved almost a protectorate of Turkey, and it was settled that she also resigned the exceptional privilege of sending her warships through the Dardanelles, which were now to be closed in time of peace to the ships of all navies but that of the Turkish Empire.

So this perilous crisis came to an end. When the Eastern Question became once more acute a few years later, France and England were allies.

78. THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN EUROPE (1848-50)

Louis-Philippe and Guizot were firmly determined to resist the Reform in favour of a wider franchise movement in which they saw nothing but an artificial agitation. Feeling ran high on the occasion of the King's Speech at the opening session of the Chambers. The Government declared that it would not yield an inch and forbade a Reform banquet announced for the 22nd February. That evening there was some excitement,

and on the 23rd barricades were put up in the eastern districts of Paris. The National Guard was called out but it could hardly be relied on, for in its ranks there were some cries of: 'Long live Reform! Down with Guizot!' Louis-Philippe, who regarded the National Guard as the expression of public opinion, accepted Guizot's resignation and promised a ministry under Molé. This looked like a victory without a struggle and revolution checked at the outset. But during the evening of the 23rd, a crowd passed the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and hooted Guizot; a shot was fired, the officer of the guard gave the order to reply, and there were 23 killed and 30 wounded. The bodies of the dead were carried round Paris all night by torchlight to the cry of: 'Long live the Republic!' On the morning of the 24th there were barricades all over Paris, Molé's ministry was already impossible and what was wanted was one under Thiers and Odilon Barrot. Early in the day the Tuileries were surrounded. Louis-Philippe abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris, and left the palace, which was invaded by the crowd who smashed everything and finally burned the throne. The Duchess of Orléans had gone to be present at the proclamation of her son by the Chamber, but the mob broke into the hall shouting: 'Down with royalty!' Meanwhile a party of Republicans had seized the Hotel de Ville, where they were joined by their friends from the Chamber of Deputies and united in proclaiming the Republic.

The Revolution was not confined to France, although she did not, as in 1789, seek to spread propaganda beyond her frontiers. 'The Republic', said its supporter Lamartine, 'realizes that the only lasting freedom is bred on its own soil.' True as this may be, the February Revolution had widespread echoes throughout Europe and seemed to be a signal for the opening of a new era. In Vienna the people rose on the 13th March, made a good stand against the troops, and demanded Metternich's resignation; he fled and joined Guizot and the Orléans princes in London. The Emperor Ferdinand I granted a constitution which the people refused; they put up barricades and exacted a promise of universal suffrage and the convocation of a consti-

tuent assembly. In Prague on the 2nd June, a Slav congress demanded the foundation of an independent Czech State. At Pesth, the Hungarian Diet demanded a nationalist ministry to take control on the 15th May.

The whole of Italy rose up. Milan gave battle to the Austrians for three days and drove them out (19-21 March). Venice successfully revolted and proclaimed a Republic with the Jew, Daniel Manin, as President. In Piedmont, Charles-Albert thought that the moment had come to unite Italy in his own interests; he came to the aid of Milan and reinforcements arrived from Naples and Rome. Radetzky concentrated the army where he had the support of the fortresses of the Quadrilateral.

In Germany, the people rose in Berlin on the 17th March, and fought all night and on the next day. The King promised to summon a national assembly. A preliminary parliament sat in Frankfurt from the 31st March to the 4th April and decided on the meeting of a German Parliament elected by universal suffrage. It first met in Frankfurt in May; the Diet was dissolved on the 12th July; it appeared as though the German Empire was about to be formed by peaceful methods.

But it was only a flash in the pan. Two months after leaving Prague, the Austrians entered the town once more. In Hungary discord spread amongst the different peoples; Transylvanians, Roumanians, and Croats all refused to recognize the government of Buda-Pesth and declared war on it. In Vienna, where the Constituent Assembly was proceeding with its task, the people rebelled on the 6th October, murdered the Minister for War, and drove out the Imperial troops; the Emperor took refuge at Innsbruck, where he could rely on the loyalty of the Tyrolese. He returned with two armies, bombarded his capital, and took it by storm (1 November 1848); he then dissolved the Constituent Assembly and re-established Imperial rule. On the 2nd December he abdicated in favour of his nephew Francis-Joseph who, having himself taken no oath, did not consider himself bound by any of his predecessor's undertakings. The revolution had already been checked in Italy. The King

of Piedmont had seen the departure for home of contingents from Rome and Naples. He had captured the fortress of Peschiera but succumbed to a vigorous offensive of the Austrian invasion. Radetzky defeated the Piedmontese army at Custozza and then reoccupied Milan. Charles-Albert had to evacuate Lombardy and agree to an armistice. Thus by November 1848 the counter-revolution had won the day in Prague, Milan, and Vienna.

But, despite these failures of the Revolution, the conflict continued. November 1848 saw the Pope in flight from Rome, and the proclamation of a Roman Republic. Pius IX had been in favour of peaceful reform in Italy long before his election by the conclave of 1846. His first act after his accession had been to proclaim a general amnesty. He trusted to the gratitude of those he thus released from prison and recalled from exile. In his first Encyclical (November 1846) he had uttered a warning against those who regarded freedom and progress as objects that could be pursued only in combination with hostility to the faith and the rights of the Church. But he was anxious, while safeguarding these, to make all possible concessions in the sphere of civil government in his States. In 1847 he successively agreed to the formation of a Consultative Council of State, including lay representatives of Rome and the provinces; the organization of a Civic Guard, and finally, in December, the creation of a cabinet with Rossi, a moderate Liberal, as its Prime Minister. When Milan revolted and Charles-Albert took the field, Pius IX, in reply to those who urged him to declare war against Austria, replied that he could not take such a step against any Christian State or people. There had been already riotous demonstrations in Rome, and he could not refuse his consent to volunteers, including numbers of the Papal army, going to the help of Charles-Albert. The extremists in Rome, among them many whom he had restored to freedom, were denouncing him as a traitor to Italy. Riot followed riot, and on the 15th November the Prime Minister, Rossi, was assassinated. The Pope was residing at the Quirinal. Next day the palace was surrounded by armed crowds, which opened fire

on the windows of its façade. Mgr. Palma, one of the Papal secretaries, was killed by this fusillade. The palace would have been stormed and sacked had not Pius IX yielded to duress and agreed to the grant of a democratic constitution. He was now practically a prisoner, with Rome in the hands of the extremists. Late in the evening of the 24th November, with the help of the Bavarian and French ambassadors, he escaped from the Quirinal in disguise, and next morning reached the Neapolitan fortress of Gaeta. A Roman Republic was proclaimed. Before long Mazzini arrived to preside over the Government, as the chief of a 'Roman Triumvirate'. The Grand Duke of Tuscany had always been a Liberal ruler. He had sent his troops to assist Charles-Albert, but on the 9th February 1849 he had to leave Florence, and a Republic was established.

The Hungarians revolted again and their Diet proclaimed the overthrow of the Habsburgs and the independence of the 'Hungarian Republic' under the presidency of Kossuth (14 April 1849). Kossuth declared the country to be in danger, raised 50,000 men, and in May 1849 the Hungarian republic was triumphant.

Germany only achieved national unity for a while. On the 5th December 1848, Frederick-William IV granted the constitution which he had promised in March, and thanks to this Prussia won the support of the German Liberals. The German Parliament in Frankfurt continued its debates and refused to admit Austria to the new German Empire in order to exclude foreign races. The Parliament vested legislative power in a national assembly to be elected by universal suffrage with a federal head who was to bear the title of German Emperor. On the 28th March 1849 Frederick-William IV was elected, but refused the title of Emperor, and in the spring of 1849 the leaders of the counter-revolution formed a powerful reactionary league, a new kind of Holy Alliance.

Austria, with Prince von Schwarzenberg, who had replaced Metternich, became closely bound to Nicholas I of Russia, who specialized in quelling revolutions. The first result of this new Austro-Russian league was the annihilation of Kossuth's Hun-

garian army at Temesvar (9 May). Charles-Albert had rashly ventured to break off the armistice. The renewed war with Austria lasted only a few days. Radetzky invaded Piedmont and on the 23rd March 1849 routed the Piedmontese at Novara. That night, at the first halt in the disorderly retreat from the lost battle, Charles-Albert abdicated, handing over the command of the broken army to his son and successor, Victor-Emmanuel II, who had been with him in the brief campaign. 'I hope', he said to him, 'you will be more fortunate than I have been.' He at once left the army and travelled alone to Portugal, where he entered a monastery near Oporto, to spend there the last months of his life. He died on the 28th July 1849.

Piedmont signed a peace with Austria on the 6th August 1849. The reactionaries were victorious throughout the peninsula. The French occupied Rome in June. Venice surrendered in August. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was escorted back to Florence by Austrian troops. The revolution in Italy had ended in utter failure.

Such, too, was the fate of the Liberal movement for German unity. Urged by his brother, Prince William and by Count Bismarck, Frederick-William IV had refused the imperial crown because, as he himself said: 'The crown of the German nation is bestowed by me and by my equals; it does not depend on the vote of a parliament; but it can be won on battle-fields.' The Parliament, driven out of Frankfurt by Prussia, took refuge in Stuttgart, but it was scattered by the Württemberg Hussars. German hopes of a democratic unity did not recover from this blow. The King of Prussia invited the Princes to a conference, and with them formed a restricted confederation under the presidency and authority of Prussia; this 'restricted confederation' did not include Austria, Bavaria, Württemberg, Luxemburg, Hesse-Homburg, and Lichtenstein. Saxony took part in it, but with important reservations. Beust, the Saxon Minister, dreamed of the constitution of a 'Middle Germany' between Austria and Prussia. On the 27th February 1850 he signed the 'Treaty of the Four Kings' with Bavaria, Württemberg, and Hanover which placed the Germanic confederation under a

Directorate of seven members supported by a parliament of 300 deputies divided between Austria, Prussia, and the rest of Germany. On the 20th March Frederick-William IV summoned the Parliament of the restricted Union to Erfurt, but when he saw how many defections there were, he gave up the idea. In December Prince Schwarzenberg attempted to found an executive Directorate in Germany to include all the provinces in the Austrian Empire and with himself in control. The minor Princes took fright and drew closer to Prussia. The former federal Diet resumed its sittings in March 1851. The system of the time before 1848 was again in force, and the German Confederation established in 1815 was almost unchanged.

79. THE SECOND REPUBLIC AND THE SECOND EMPIRE (1848-52)

On the 24th February 1848 a provisional government of seven members was formed in Paris and the Republic was proclaimed. Trees were planted throughout France in honour of liberty, and blessed by the clergy. On the 5th March a decree convoked a Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage in each Department; decrees were issued proclaiming the freedom of the press and of public meetings and the right of all citizens to join the National Guard which, in a few weeks, rose from 50,000 to 200,000 men. All this might appeal to the crowd, but the leaders had divergent policies in view. Some were moderate republicans, others socialists; the former displayed the tricolour, the latter the red flag. Hence arose the strife which caused all the difficulties of the coming time and was one of the main reasons for the failure of the Second Republic. Lamartine's magnificent eloquence set aside for a time the menace of the red flag (25 February); though that same day the government recognized the 'right to work' of each citizen and ordered the establishment of 'national workshops' which were given a semi-military organization, a possible source of danger in times of discontent. Useful work was soon lacking and it was possible to guarantee only two days' work a week at two francs a day, with four days of unemployment at one

franc. This was not a living wage, and men who found that the 'right to work' meant more than half the week unemployed with a mere pittance of relief soon began to mistrust the government. In order to provide this franc, an extra levy of 45 centimes in the franc was added to all direct taxation. The peasants accused the government of paying the working men in the towns and cities to be idle.

The National Assembly met on the 4th May; there was a Republic and it entrusted the government to a committee of five members, from which the Socialists were excluded. On the 15th May the Assembly was invaded by a riotous mob. It was dispersed, and two leaders, Barbès and Blanqui, were arrested. On the 21st June the national workshops were suppressed. Three days later there was insurrection in Paris. Within a few hours the rues Saint-Denis, Saint-Martin, Saint-Antoine and, on the left bank, the rue Saint-Jacques and the place du Panthéon were a network of barricades. The Assembly entrusted the defence of order to General Cavaignac. He suppressed the rising at the cost of nearly a week of hard fighting, and heavy loss of life. Four generals were among the dead, and also Mgr. Affre the Archbishop of Paris, shot dead while making a heroic effort for peace.¹ Cavaignac retained executive power pending the voting of the Constitution. A state of siege was maintained, with strict censorship of the press, and 4,000 prisoners were transported to the penal colonies. This meant a complete rupture of the Republican Government with the socialist party.

The Constitution was adopted on the 12th November 1848; it proclaimed universal suffrage, gave legislative power to a single assembly, with executive authority vested in a President

¹ It was on the last day of the street battle that the Archbishop obtained Cavaignac's permission to attempt to save further bloodshed by arranging a truce for a surrender on generous terms. In order to get in touch with the insurgent leaders he went with two workmen displaying green boughs as friendly ensigns, to the barricade at the head of the Faubourg St. Antoine. Firing ceased and he had begun a parley with the chiefs at the barricade, when either by mistake or in protest against any negotiation a random shot was fired and the Archbishop fell mortally wounded and died in a few minutes. The fighting began again immediately.

elected for four years and not eligible for re-election, aided by ministers who were to be his nominees. Jules Grévy proposed that this president should always be subject to dismissal by the Assembly; 'Are you quite certain', he said, 'that in the succession of men who will follow one another every four years on this presidential throne, there will be none but sincere Republicans, willing to lay down their office? Are you sure there will never be an ambitious man tempted to retain permanent power?' But the Assembly set aside such fears and decided that the president should be elected by universal suffrage. There was thus to be an Assembly of 700 members divided into groups and parties and one man, elected by the nation, in command of the army, and controlling all the officials, and perhaps liable to ambition for lasting power.

The presidential election was fixed for the 10th December; two candidates offered themselves for election—Cavaignac and Louis-Napoleon. The latter was elected by 5,434,226 votes against 1,498,000 in favour of Cavaignac. On the 20th December he took the oath of office and added spontaneously: 'I will consider as enemies of the country all those who try by illegal methods to alter the form of government which you have established.'

It was not the least surprising occurrence of those times to see the French Republic sending an expedition to Rome to fight and overthrow the Roman Republic and to restore Pius IX to the government of the Patrimony of St. Peter.¹ The

¹ Louis-Napoleon acted from mixed motives when, in the spring of 1849, he sent the French fleet to land a small force of only 8,000 men under General Oudinot (the son of one of the First Napoleon's marshals) to occupy Cività Vecchia, the port of Rome. Like the temporary occupation of Ancona under Louis-Philippe it was meant to obviate Austria having the sole control of Italian affairs. After Radetzky's victory of Novara, it was certain that, if France did not act, the Austrians would soon be marching on Rome. The French President was also anxious to secure the support of the Conservative Catholic parties in France. It would seem that when Oudinot advanced on Rome on the 30th April 1849 he hoped to be allowed to enter the city and open negotiations with the Republican government, who would be safeguarded against the danger of an Austrian attack in the near future. The French did not advance in battle order. They had no advanced guards or cavalry scouts in front of their columns. Garibaldi's attack on them thus came as a surprise and this element of surprise led to the defeat of

Legislative Assembly was about to disappear and the elections were carried out under the influence of those who had brought Louis-Napoleon to the presidency. The elections were fought on the questions of property, the family, and religion, and the result was a crushing defeat for the Republican party. When the siege of Rome began, Ledru-Rollin, the leader of the Left in the Chamber, moved on the 12th June that Louis-Napoleon and his Ministry should be impeached and brought to trial. He was defeated by a large majority. Next day Ledru-Rollin headed a demonstration in the streets, which the Government broke up and described as an attempt at insurrection. He fled to London. Paris was declared in a state of siege, several of his colleagues were arrested and some of the newspapers were suppressed. The Republican Left found itself powerless.

The general election gave a large majority to the moderates and conservatives. On the 25th March 1850 a new education law was passed—known from the name of its chief promoter as the *loi Falloux*. It broke the State monopoly of the primary and secondary schools by legalizing the creation of 'free schools'. This opened the way to the foundation of a large number of schools and colleges directed by the religious orders. In May, in order to increase the voting power of the middle and upper classes, by disqualifying large numbers of the workers, the Assembly passed a law altering the qualification for the vote, with the result that in an electorate of nine millions three millions were disqualified. Louis-Napoleon accepted the change, actually seeing the advantage which a President elected by universal suffrage would have over an Assembly elected by a restricted franchise.

In the session of 1851 the Chamber rejected several measures he proposed through his ministers, the most important being a the French. Indignant eagerness to wipe out this defeat rallied all France, except the extreme Republicans, to Louis-Napoleon, Oudinot was reinforced, and provided with a siege train. When he again advanced in June and besieged the city the Republicans made a stubborn defence. On the 29th June the French stormed the southern fortifications, and next day were masters of all the city. Their success had come just in time to give them undisputed control of Rome, for an Austrian army had entered the 'Papal States'. Pius IX did not return from Gaeta to Rome until April 1850.

suggested revision of the Constitution (July 1851). Under the Constitution of 1848 the President had no power to dissolve the Assembly and appeal to the electors. His own term of office was nearing its end and he could not be a candidate for the Presidency. On the 2nd May 1852 he would have to resign his power and become a mere private citizen. The First Napoleon had made a prolongation of his consulate a stepping-stone to the Imperial Crown. His nephew now began to prepare for a prolongation of his Presidency of the Republic by a *coup d'état*.

In the autumn he made a tour of the great cities. He was well received everywhere. France was prosperous and he pointed to the steps he had taken to prolong and increase this peaceful prosperity. The Constitution gave him the right of choosing his ministers. He reorganized the Ministry (October 1851). There were some of his old friends of the years of exile among the new ministers, but he had also found new allies, including some of the ablest men of the time. This chosen group now became his fellow conspirators. The first law proposed by it the Assembly rejected, thus unconsciously increasing Louis-Napoleon's chances of success. In November rumours circulated in Paris that a critical time was at hand. There were predictions that the President might take action against the Assembly, but it was said this would be early in the New Year. The Republicans were planning a counter-stroke; they were, however, in a minority in the Chamber and in the popular mind associated with the terrors of Red revolt. More serious were the deliberations of the Orleanist and Legitimist leaders, who counted on the majority in the Chamber making a successful appeal against any irregular attempts of the President and his friends. But Louis-Napoleon struck his blow unexpectedly on the 2nd December, the anniversary of Austerlitz.

The evening before he invited guests of all parties to a dinner and social gathering at his official residence. It broke up early, and shortly after midnight parties of police arrested some sixty leading members of the assembly and other prominent politicians, Republicans, Legitimists, Orleanists, and Socialists.

Thiers and General de Lamoricière were among the prisoners. Before dawn the troops occupied every point of importance in the capital. On the walls there appeared in the morning a proclamation signed by Louis-Napoleon declaring that the Chamber had become a hot-bed of conspiracy, had 'tampered with the constitution', and was ready to plunge France into civil war. He had acted to save the State. He appealed to the nation to approve his conduct. If there were an adverse vote he would resign. On the 14th December all the citizens would be asked to give their verdict by a plebiscite with universal suffrage and approve of a revised constitution, the leading features of which would be a prolongation of his Presidency for ten years; a Chamber of Deputies elected by universal suffrage; a Council of State which would submit any needful laws to the legislature; an upper house or Senate composed of the most notable men in France.

No newspapers were allowed to appear; the Chamber of Deputies was prevented from meeting; the judges of the High Court were ordered by a detachment of troops to suspend their sittings. There was a hopeless attempt at resistance, and barricades appeared in the eastern quarters of Paris in the afternoon, and for the next two days there was local street fighting. All resistance ended on the 4th.

In France there were thirty-two departments in a state of siege, about 15,000 deported, exiled, fugitives, or in prison. On the 14th December the plebiscite took place and Louis-Napoleon was approved by 7,439,216 votes in a total poll of 8,116,773.¹ A month after the plebiscite on the 14th January 1852 there was a new Constitution which amounted to personal government thinly disguised as a representative system.

The re-establishment of the Empire was now in sight. The Prince-President made a prolonged journey through the Departments, which vied with one another in their welcome. At

¹ To the Commission that had carried out the plebiscite, when it formally reported the result on the 31st December, the President said: 'I went beyond the limits of legality to re-establish lawful right. More than seven million votes have absolved me, thus justifying an act which had only one object, that of saving France and perhaps Europe from years of disorder and misery.'

Bordeaux he spoke openly of a possible restoration of the Empire, and pronounced his famous formula: 'The Empire means Peace' ('L'Empire, c'est la Paix'). On his return, Paris gave him an ovation (16 October) and he was hailed as 'Napoleon III, Saviour of Modern Civilization. *Ave, Caesar!*' On the 21st November a new plebiscite voted the 'Re-establishment of Imperial power in the person of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte' by 7,839,000 Ayes to 253,000 Noes. On the 2nd December 1852 the new Emperor entered Paris in triumph and took up his residence in the Tuileries.

80. THE AUTOCRATIC EMPIRE AND THE CRIMEAN WAR (1852-9)

The opening years of the Second Empire were a period of autocratic government thinly veiled under constitutional forms. Through all the changes since 1789 France had retained no small part of the centralization inherited from the old monarchy. The fate and fortunes of the whole nation depended on events in Paris. Local government in the Departments was largely under the control of the Prefects appointed by the Ministry of the Interior. When the Prince-President Louis-Napoleon became the Emperor Napoleon III he took over a ready-made system for regulating all the activities of the French people.

In the preceding period of some sixty years France had lived under at least twelve different systems of government: Republicanism of various kinds, Legitimism, Orleanism, and Imperialism.¹ There were men living in 1852 who had sworn allegiance to six or eight different governments. It was a time of instability. Every government suspected the opposition parties of aiming at its destruction. Political agitation was liable to be counted by officialdom as veiled conspiracy. Hence came the frequent recourse to a press censorship. Most of the changes of government had been the result of defeat in war, or of armed insurrection in time of peace. It is no wonder that large numbers of all classes from bankers, manufacturers, and landowners

¹ The longest of them had lasted for only eighteen years. When Louis-Napoleon was tried for the attempted revolution of 1840 and sentenced to 'imprisonment in perpetuity', he asked, 'But how long does perpetuity last in France?'

down to the small shopkeepers and workmen of the city and town and the peasants and farmers of the country were ready to welcome the coming of a strong government under a prince whose presidency had been a time of prosperity and good business, and who promised the Empire would mean peace abroad and order at home. A considerable proportion of the seven millions who supported him by their votes were not party men, but hopeful optimists who looked forward to quiet times and continued prosperity.

The name of Napoleon was also popular with many. Thiers had won his position as a leader of French Liberalism by his history of the soldier-emperor—history mingled with legend to display his greatness both in peace and war and present him as the most splendid figure in the records of France. It was Thiers who persuaded Louis-Philippe to bring back the body of the great emperor to be enshrined in the chapel of the Invalides, as in a sanctuary of national patriotism. Only one of Napoleon's brothers still survived, Jerome, who had for a while been King of Westphalia and had commanded a division at Waterloo in the attack on Hougomont. As President Napoleon III had made him commandant of the Invalides, where many of the old soldiers were also 'veterans of Waterloo'. As Emperor he gave Jerome promotion to the rank of Marshal of the restored Empire.

On the 26th January 1853 the Emperor married, at Notre Dame, Eugénie de Montijo, Countess of Teba, the daughter of a Grandee of Spain, the Count de Montijo. She was American on the mother's side, for Montijo had married a daughter of William Fitzpatrick, the United States Consul at Malaga. The Count was a soldier, who had taken the French side in Napoleon I's Spanish venture and served as a colonel in the Spanish war. He followed Joseph Bonaparte to France, and was one of his staff officers in the defence of Paris against the Allies in 1814. His daughter was in her twenty-sixth year when her marriage made her 'Empress of the French'.¹ She was a singularly

¹ Unlike her husband, whose habitual laxity of morals was notorious, Eugénie was a devout Catholic, and generous in all charitable works. When she was told

beautiful woman, and had inherited a fortune from her father. With her widowed mother she was a welcome guest in the court circle of the Prince President. A woman of some ability and of graceful and kindly manners, she was deservedly popular with the French people. Her son, the Prince Imperial Louis-Napoleon, was born on the 16th March 1856.

The opening years of the Second Empire were a prosperous time for France. The Emperor posed as a generous patron of art, science, and literature. Authors, artists, and men of science were welcomed at the brilliant court of the Tuileries, and in its holiday season at Compiègne. The traders and shopkeepers of Paris enjoyed a period of profitable activity. The International Exhibition of 1855 attracted crowds from all western Europe. Trade, industry, and agriculture were encouraged by State patronage. Augustus had rebuilt Rome. Napoleon III remodelled and to a large extent rebuilt central Paris, and provided it with a good water supply and better lighting. There was a remarkable development of the railway system. Commercial treaties with England opened new avenues for trade. In ten years the exports of France rose from 3,000 to 8,000 millions of francs. For seven years the opposition hardly existed.

Though 'the Empire meant peace' special attention was paid to the army and navy. The new Minié rifle, hitherto only supplied to a few special units, became the weapon of all the infantry regiments. The great camp of Châlons was organized as a training centre for a complete army corps. The dockyards of the navy were busy building warships, and Cherbourg was

that her wedding present from the Paris Municipality would be a set of diamonds valued at more than half a million francs, she said that she did not wish for diamonds, but would be grateful to the representatives of the city if their generosity took another form, and it would be a pleasure to her if the value of the jewels was devoted to some work of permanent benefit to the poor folk of Paris and its suburbs. With her approval the money was expended on founding and endowing an orphanage. Among her husband's gifts to her was a sum of 250,000 francs. She arranged for it to be given to the poor by various agencies that were in touch with them. When, not long after her marriage, there was an epidemic of cholera, she insisted on visiting the hospitals. To a soldier courtier who remonstrated with her for taking such risks, she replied that she hoped her visits would give pleasure and encouragement to the nurses, and as for any danger, men were ready to go into battle, and for a woman this was 'a way of going under fire'.

developed into a strong maritime fortress and arsenal. Russia and the central European powers were not very friendly and their rulers expected the new Empire would not last long. But Napoleon III cultivated amicable relations with England, that soon developed into an alliance. In Algeria Marshal Randon was completing the conquest of the hill country of the Kabyles, but irregular warfare with hillmen and border tribes was a normal condition of the colony. The Empire had been a little more than two years in existence, when Napoleon III engaged in war with a European power, and French and English armies went eastward to encounter the soldiers of the Tsar.

The war was the result of a reopening of the Eastern Question. While Napoleon was still President of the Republic, the Tsar Nicholas I had obtained from the Sultan Abdul Medjid exclusive Greek and Russian rights for pilgrims in some of the Holy Places of Palestine, hitherto under French protection. The Prince President protested, and on the 9th February 1852 he secured from the Sultan the recognition of 'the immemorial rights of France' in the Holy Land. The Tsar regarded this as a check to his influence in the Ottoman Empire. He was hoping in one way or another to obtain a commanding position at Constantinople and he had in mind the precedent of the partition of Poland when, in January 1853, in a personal discussion of the Eastern situation with the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, he remarked that in the East, when a wealthy old man was dying, his kindred would talk together about a possible division of his property. Turkey, he said, was 'the sick man of Europe'. The Ottoman Empire would soon break up. If the three Powers acted together England might have Egypt, Russia the Balkan lands, and France might occupy Syria. This was suggested as a possible friendly settlement in the near future. Nicholas was already preparing a first step towards realizing his hope of dominating Turkey.

A Russian army was concentrated in the south-west, and Prince Menschikoff was sent on a special mission to the Sultan.¹

¹ Menschikoff was not a civilian diplomatist, but a General in the Russian Army. He had served against the French in the campaigns of 1812-14, and against the

On the 5th May he presented a demand that the Tsar should be recognized as the protector of the Greek and Orthodox Churches in the Ottoman Empire. In return for this Russia was ready to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with Turkey. It was thus proposed that some twelve million of Abdul Medjid's subjects should become protégés of his powerful neighbour. The proposal was rejected and the envoy left Constantinople after using decidedly menacing language to the Sultan. The Russian army crossed the frontier, and occupied without resistance all the Turkish territory up to the Danube except three fortresses on the river held by Turkish troops.

An English and French fleet passed through the Dardanelles and anchored in the Sea of Marmora. But it was not till the end of February 1854 that the Allies declared war against Russia. Meanwhile there were negotiations and a conference of the Powers at Vienna that gave no result. During this period of doubtful peace the Russian fleet from Sebastopol attacked and destroyed the Sultan's fleet in the Bay of Sinope.

The Allied declaration of war in 1854 was followed by a series of ill-directed operations. A small force landed in the Gallipoli Peninsula and fortified the isthmus that connects it with the mainland. The Russians were besieging the Danube fortresses which made a gallant resistance. The French and English armies were transferred to Varna, to act against the enemy's left. They had hardly arrived when the Russians began to retreat under the menace of an Austrian army massed on their right. The Austrians occupied Moldavia and Wallachia as the Russians withdrew, but took no further part in the quarrel.

Meanwhile the Allied troops in the region of Varna were suffering heavy loss of life from the malarial fever of the Dobrudja swamps, followed by an outbreak of cholera. The Western Allies had not so far fired a shot but, after six months, it was decided that Sebastopol, the Russian naval base in the Black Sea, should be attacked. Men were dying of

Turks in the campaign of 1829. In the coming Crimean War he commanded the Russian army at the battle of the Alma, and then for months was in command of Sebastopol during the siege.

cholera in the warships and transports while the Allied armada made the voyage from Varna. On the 14th September the landing began on an open beach about 30 miles north of Sebastopol. The force landed was made up of some 30,000 French, 20,000 British, and 7,000 Turks.

On the 20th September the Allies defeated a Russian army holding the heights on the Sebastopol road where it crossed the little river Alma,¹ and then marched round the fortress to begin their siege operations against its south front. Its defences were very incomplete, but the opening of the attack was so dilatory that a famous engineer, Todleben, was able to convert it into a strong line of fortifications. The Russian Black Sea fleet had

¹ The losses in the battle of the Alma were over 9,000 killed and wounded (British 2,964, French 1,346, Russians 5,065). The wounded fared badly. Elaborate organization for the care of war victims was still in the future. In the British army each regiment had a surgeon attached to it, with an untrained orderly told off to assist him. Aseptic surgery was as yet non-existent. The handful of doctors did what they could, and the wounded were collected in rows on the battle-field. There were neither ambulances nor stretcher-bearers. The wounded lay all night on the ground, many of them dying. Next day seamen landed from the fleet and improvised stretchers with oars and sail-cloth, and the survivors were taken on board ship. The Russians were sent to Odessa under flag of truce. The Allied wounded were taken to Scutari on the Bosphorus opposite Constantinople, and huddled together in old Turkish barracks, with a few doctors and no trained nurses to care for them. Happily there were newspaper correspondents with the army and the tidings of the wretched fate of the wounded reached England. A valiant woman, Florence Nightingale, who had studied hospital work in Germany and under the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul in Paris, offered the War Office to take out a party of trained nurses to the East. Her offer was accepted. She chose her assistants from the Catholic Sisters of Mercy in Southwark, and accepted also a few more from an Anglican convent. She said she would only have women who had thus consecrated their lives to good deeds. With her party of 38 nuns she left London on the 21st October 1854 and reached Scutari on the 4th November. In the face of endless difficulties she reformed the hospitals, and in the summer of next year carried out the same work in the hospital at Scutari. She remained in the East until the last of the sick and wounded had left the hospitals in July 1856. The death-rate in the Scutari hospitals was 42 per cent. in February 1855. Her reforms had by that time become effective, and in the following June the rate had fallen to 2 per cent. She died in 1910 after years of useful work in England. In 1856 she devoted to the foundation of a nurses' home and training school in connexion with St. Thomas's Hospital the £50,000 presented to her as a national tribute. The nuns went back to their nursing work in connexion with their convents. Of these heroic women the last survivor, a Sister of Mercy, died in London in the first year of the Great War. She was the only one to whose funeral the Government sent a military escort.

been sunk to bar the entrance of the port against the Allied fleets. The crews reinforced the garrison and landed large numbers of the heavy guns. The entrance to the port, protected by huge granite forts with a double tier of guns in their casemates, was attacked by the Allied fleets on the 17th October at close range, but the wooden ships suffered such heavy loss from the shell fire of the forts that the attack was abandoned. Sebastopol was never invested. By its north side the garrison received a steady stream of supplies and reinforcements. On the 25th October a Russian field army attacked, pushing towards Balaclava, the supply base of the British. As the final advance was checked it was reckoned a victory for the Allies, but the bells of Sebastopol rang out peals for a victory, the Russians having captured redoubts held by the Turks and closed the one good road from the port of Balaclava to the British lines. On the 5th November a great sortie of the garrison was defeated in the battle of Inkerman.

The siege dragged on through the winter, with heavy losses for the Allies from exposure to bitter cold with shortness of supplies and winter clothing. In the spring Piedmont joined the Allies, and sent a division under General La Marmora to the Crimea in the early summer.

Nicholas I had died on the 2nd March 1855, but so long as Sebastopol held out there was no chance of peace. In June the Allied trenches had been pushed close up to the Russian front, and it was decided that on the 18th June, the anniversary of Waterloo, French and English should storm the defences side by side. But the attack was a costly failure. On the 16th August an advance of the Russian field army against the Allied right was repulsed by the French and Piedmontese in the Tchernaya valley. On the 8th September, after two days of bombardment, an attack was made on two points in the Russian front—the Redan and Malakoff bastions. The Malakoff was stormed by the French under MacMahon. The English took the Redan, but were driven out by an enemy counter-attack. In the night that followed the Russians withdrew to the defences of the north side, after setting fire to the arsenal and

dockyard. The ruined city on the south side was abandoned to the Allies.

After this there was not much fighting. The Turkish fortress of Kars, on the frontier in Asia Minor, surrendered to the Russians after a six months' siege. The fortress of Kherson at the mouth of the Dnieper was captured by the Allied fleets in an hour. It was the anniversary of the failure of the 'wooden walls' against the sea forts of Sebastopol. This rapid success at Kherson was due to the shell fire of three French armoured floating batteries, built at the suggestion of Napoleon III. The victory was important, for it heralded the coming of the iron-clad navies. Both the Tsar Alexander II and the French Emperor were now anxious for peace. Early in the winter an armistice was signed and a Congress assembled at Paris. The Treaty of Paris was signed on the 30th March 1856. The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed. The fortifications of Sebastopol were to be demolished and Russia agreed to have neither warships nor naval establishments in the Black Sea. Thanks to the Piedmontese expedition to the Crimea, Cavour sat among the representatives of the European Powers at the Congress, and was allowed to present to it a statement on the Italian question. This proved to be the prelude to another war.

81. THE FORMATION OF THE KINGDOM OF ITALY (1859-61)

Victor-Emmanuel II became King of Piedmont in the night after the lost battle of Novara. He retained the Constitution of 1848 and the tricolour flag; but he gave to the policy of Piedmont an openly anti-religious character. In 1850 he suppressed the privileges of the ecclesiastical courts and brought clerical questions under the jurisdiction of the civil tribunals. Himself a ruler of no great ability, he found in Count Cavour a man capable of planning the way for and realizing the aspirations of the *Risorgimento*. On the 4th November 1852 Cavour became his chief minister and worked for the prosperity of Piedmont, and its predominance in Italy, and he subsidized the foreign press to draw the attention of Europe to the Italian question;

at the same time he strengthened the army and the fortresses and kept the arsenals busy. His anti-religious policy, which included the suppression of monasteries and convents,¹ stirred up the Court of Rome against him. During the debates on the law of suppression three members of the royal family died, and Pope Pius IX wrote to Victor-Emmanuel that this might be a divine warning. The law was passed by the Chamber of Deputies, but the King hesitated. Cavour resigned, but was recalled to office, and the law was passed by the Senate (29 May 1855).

During a visit to Paris in 1851 (when Louis-Napoleon was still only President of the Republic), Cavour had talked over Italian affairs with him. In the first year of the Crimean War he arranged with Napoleon III that some 15,000 Piedmontese troops should reinforce the Allies in the Crimea. In January 1855, in the face of strong opposition to the project, he carried the necessary resolutions authorizing it in the Parliament at Turin. This intervention in the war gave Cavour a seat at the Peace Congress of Paris and the right of calling attention to the question of Italy during its sessions. He was now able to count on French assistance in a war against Austria. He organized a propaganda against the 'foreign intruders' throughout Italy, and entered into secret relations with the discontented nationalists in Hungary, in the hope of internal troubles dividing the forces of Austria in the event of war. There was as yet no definite arrangement between Cavour and Napoleon III, but there was an understanding that when the time was ripe they would act together. It has often been suggested that the French Emperor was startled into preparing for action against Austria by the attempt on his life in January 1858, the attempt of a handful of Italian refugees to assassinate him as a traitor to his youthful devotion to the Italian movement (when he had fought in the rising of the Romagna) and as the destroyer of the Roman Republic in 1849. He was biding his time, while he re-armed the French artillery with the new rifled cannon, that would

¹ All religious orders that were not engaged in education or active works of charity were suppressed as 'useless'.

outrange the old-fashioned smooth-bore field guns of any other army of the time in Europe.

In July of 1858 he invited Cavour to Plombières. At this conference it was settled that there would be war against Austria next summer and the resulting territorial adjustments were outlined. Piedmont was to have Lombardy and Venetia and the Romagna; Tuscany, Modena, and Parma were to form a Kingdom of Central Italy under Prince Jerome Napoleon,¹ and Pope Pius IX was to receive the nominal presidency of an Italian Confederation. So far there was mention only of Italian independence and a federal union.

At the New Year Day reception of 1859 Napoleon III surprised the ambassadors by saying to the Austrian envoy that he regretted that his relations with the court of Vienna were not as friendly as in recent times.

On the 10th January, at the opening of the Turin Parliament, Victor-Emmanuel declared that he would not turn a deaf ear to Italy's cry of pain, and from that moment war with Austria in the spring was openly predicted. The Piedmontese gave Vienna a series of provocations; the press urged the Lombard and Venetian soldiers serving in Austrian regiments to desert 'when the moment for action arrived'. At the last moment Napoleon showed signs of losing his nerve, and Cavour was preparing to face an inevitable abandonment of all his schemes. But the Austrians made the blunder of precipitating matters by sending an ultimatum to Turin. They demanded explanations and a cessation of the armaments in Piedmont; Cavour rejected the ultimatum (26 April).

On the 1st May an invading Austrian army crossed the Ticino. On the 3rd May Napoleon III issued a proclamation announcing the intervention of the French army. Henceforth, he said, France would have as its neighbour a friendly nation grateful for the aid to which it owed its independence. Piedmont had put 60,000 men into the field. The Austrians hoped

¹ He was the son of Napoleon I's youngest brother Jerome. A Radical in politics, he had been expelled from France by Louis-Philippe as a dangerous promoter of disaffection and disorder.

to defeat them before the arrival of their allies. But two French army corps made a rapid march by the pass of Mont Cenis, and four more (including the Imperial Guard) disembarked at Genoa. Napoleon's arrival at Genoa was a day of triumph. Amid the peal of bells and the roar of saluting cannon, he landed from a gilded barge, that was rowed to the shore over flower-strewn waters. He took command of the Allied armies, a larger force than had been seen in war since the campaigns of the first Napoleon. Outnumbered by the Allies, the Austrians retired into Lombardy. On the 3rd June the Allies were across the Ticino. Next day they won the battle of Magenta, and Napoleon III entered Milan as a conqueror.

At the news of the French intervention, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma and the Romagna were in revolt. Prince Napoleon, with an army corps, occupied the Duchies, establishing his head-quarters at Florence, which he hoped would soon be the capital of his promised Kingdom of Central Italy. But Cavour took care that throughout the Duchies and Romagna there should be an agitation for union with Piedmont and Napoleon III had soon to abandon the idea of forming tributary States of his Empire in Italy. The Austrians retired from Lombardy to the strong positions of the Venetian Quadrilateral. They were heavily reinforced and the young Emperor Francis Joseph took command. Large reinforcements arrived also for the French. As the Allies advanced towards the frontier river of Venetia, the Austrians recrossed the Mincio, hoping to engage them in battle while their forces were divided at the crossings of the Chiese. On the 24th June came the great battle of Solferino, in which more than a quarter of a million combatants were engaged. It ended in one more victory for the Allies. Though the Austrians had lost heavily they made an orderly retreat across the Mincio. The next steps for the Allies would have to be the siege of Peschiera and Mantua and the conquest of Venetia. The French fleet appeared off Venice.

But then the war suddenly came to an end. The rapid success of the French Emperor had excited anxious alarms in Germany, where it was feared that the new Napoleonic Empire meant not

peace, but a succession of wars. The Prussian army, now directed by Von Moltke, was mobilizing. Napoleon decided that it was better not to risk a war with all Central Europe. On the 7th July he met the Emperor Francis Joseph at Villafranca, and an armistice was arranged. Negotiations followed and the Treaty of Zurich was signed on the 10th November. Austria retained Venetia, but ceded Lombardy (except the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera) to France, which at once handed the province over to Piedmont. But Napoleon, disappointed as to Central Italy, secured the cession of Savoy and Nice to France by Piedmont. After a well-managed plebiscite, which was declared to express the wish of the people of Savoy to be 'reunited to France',¹ the cession was confirmed by the Treaty of Turin (24 March 1860). The House of Savoy thus abandoned the mountain land which, by its control of the western Alps and the ways to Italy, had for centuries made the princes of Savoy a power to be reckoned with.

On the 2nd April 1860 Victor-Emmanuel presided over a national Parliament at Turin to which the Romagna and the revolutionized Duchies of Central Italy sent deputies. There were some regrets expressed at Venice being left to Austria, and Savoy and Nice handed over to France. Garibaldi was actually preparing to employ some of the Redshirt volunteers (at whose head he had fought against Austria) to make an armed protest against the French in Nice, his native city. Cavour found other occupation for him and sent him off with two thousand of his Redshirts in two steamers from near Genoa, to support a rising against the Bourbons in Sicily. To the Neapolitan ambassador, who protested against this warlike expedition in time of peace, Cavour explained that he had been unable to prevent the enterprise and two warships which he had sent in chase of the steamers; had failed to find them. Garibaldi landed at Marsala and captured Palermo, thanks to the feeble defence made by the Neapolitan troops while the Neapolitan fleet, instead of

¹ Savoy had been an independent state for centuries, and only *united to France* as a subject territory for eighteen years (1796-1814) under the First French Republic and Napoleon I.

opposing him, declared for him. He overran all Sicily, the Redshirts with reinforcements from Genoa being the rallying centre for the insurgents. He crossed the Strait of Messina, spread the rising through the mainland, and on the 7th September 1860 entered Naples.

King Francis of Naples had embarked for Gaeta, while the loyal regiments of his army held Capua, making a successful defence. Cavour had seen Napoleon III again at Plombières. It was agreed that the Emperor would not object to the Piedmontese army invading the Papal States and occupying Umbria and the March of Ancona, provided there were no attempt to create a revolution in Rome itself, or to enter the adjacent district of Latium. This would enable Victor-Emmanuel with his army to take control of the movement in the south, instead of leaving the conquest of the Neapolitan Kingdom to Garibaldi and his Redshirts, whose ultra-revolutionary and Republican antecedents might affect their loyalty to the House of Savoy.

'*Frappez vite et frappez fort*', 'Strike quickly and strike hard', said Napoleon to Cavour. He was haunted by the fear that not only this invasion of the Papal States by his Italian ally would alienate large numbers of his own Catholic subjects but also that anything like a prolonged war in central and southern Italy might lead to hostile action by Austria and Prussia. Vienna had been for some time a recruiting centre for the volunteers who were answering the appeal of Pius IX for aid from the Catholic world. After the war of 1859 there had been prolonged discussions and negotiations for a settlement of the affairs of Italy on a federal basis. Pius IX had actually given Cardinal Antonelli his credentials to represent him at a Congress proposed by Napoleon III, but the Congress never met, for Pius IX withdrew from the negotiations when the double-dealing policy of the French Emperor was revealed by the circulation of a pamphlet *Le Pape et le Congrès*, the work of one of the propagandist pamphleteers of the Emperor. It was an indictment of the Papal Government and an argument that the time had come for getting rid of an 'obsolete system'.

This ended Gioberti's dream of a federated Italy under the

honorary presidency of the Pope with a soldier King of the House of Savoy as the chief of its confederated armies. The Papal States were now to be broken up. Napoleon III stipulated only that Rome was not to be attacked—this because he feared to outrage the feelings of his Catholic subjects and hoped that, as the protector of a small Roman territory, he would still maintain French influence in Italy. The Italian nationalist press was preparing the way for an invasion of the Papal States by a campaign of invective against the Holy See. There were attempts to provide a pretext for the coming invasion by sending bands from the Romagna and Tuscany to organize local revolts in Umbria and the district of Ancona. On his way to Sicily Garibaldi had landed a small party of Redshirts on the Roman coast. But the failure of this and all other attempts only showed that the country folk had no wish for a rising against the Papal Government. The little Pontifical army, almost entirely composed of Italians, and recruited by voluntary enlistment (for Pius IX had refused to hear of conscription) was being reinforced by volunteers from several Catholic countries and General de Lamoricière (who had refused to serve in the French army after the *coup d'état*) had taken command of it. It was still in process of reorganization. The inspired press of the new Italy was denouncing the Papal volunteers as 'foreign mercenaries' and the ultimatum to Pius IX from Cavour echoed the insult.

The conscience of King Victor Emmanuel [he wrote] does not permit him to remain an impassive spectator of the sanguinary repression whereby the foreign mercenaries are suffocating in Italian blood every manifestation of Italian sentiment.

The ultimatum was a declaration of war. It reached Rome on the 10th September. On the 11th the Piedmontese army, already massed in the Romagna, crossed the frontier in three columns. Cialdini, who commanded the main force, issued an order of the day which began thus:

I am leading you against a band of drunken foreigners whom thirst for gold and a desire for plunder has brought into our country.¹

¹ A proverb of the Rhineland says that 'When there is war in the land lies

The invasion had not been expected so soon. Lamoricière's forces were only some 12,000 against the 60,000 invaders. The new volunteer corps of the Papal army were only beginning their training and were badly equipped. About half of the small army were doing garrison duty, and Lamoricière was able to concentrate for his field force only some 6,500 officers and men. His only hope was that he might prolong the resistance till perhaps some of the European powers would intervene. But all was over before the end of the month.

He concentrated his mobile force and made a difficult march across the Apennines hoping to reinforce the garrison of Ancona. On the 17th September he reached Loreto, and found his advance barred by the left column of the invaders holding the heights of Castelfidardo.

In Umbria the right column of the Piedmontese had captured Perugia, and on the 17th attacked Spoleto, where during the day Major O'Reilly, the commandant of the Irish Brigade, made a gallant defence of the old citadel. In the evening, the ammunition of the small garrison being nearly exhausted, O'Reilly arranged a capitulation on honourable and generous terms. On the 18th Lamoricière was defeated at Castelfidardo in an all but hopeless attempt to force a way for his army to the left of the invaders. He reached Ancona with a mere handful of his staff officers and his escort. The place held out for ten days, until the Italian fleet destroyed the defences of the port and further resistance was impossible. The capture of Spoleto had ended the fighting in Umbria. The Piedmontese army was now able to continue its march southwards.

Victor-Emmanuel joined the army, met Garibaldi before Capua, and received a pledge of his loyalty. A sortie in force of the Neapolitan garrison was defeated, and in the first week of October the Piedmontese army occupied the city. Francis II

come like drifts of sand'. At least two-thirds of the Papal army were Italians. Among the rank and file of the volunteers from other countries many were men of wealthy families and many young men from the Catholic colleges of Ireland. They were hardly attracted by the pay of 3*d.* per diem. There was a small mounted corps, 'The Guides', who provided their own horses and equipment and drew neither pay nor expenses. They were all sons of the old French noblesse.

held out in Gaeta where the siege began on the 6th November. The attack could be made only on the land side. The Italian fleet could not act against the sea front, for Napoleon III kept a squadron of his navy in the harbour for three months. Under its escort King Francis and his Queen with their suite left Gaeta, in the first week of February 1861, and the fortress surrendered on the 13th February.

On the 18th February 1861 the Parliament at Turin proclaimed Victor-Emmanuel 'King of Italy by the grace of God and the will of the people'.

82. THE WAR OF SECESSION IN THE UNITED STATES (1861-5)

The first half of the nineteenth century was, for the United States, a period of wide territorial expansion and growing prosperity. The purchase of Louisiana from the First Consul in 1803 gave the Republic a vast region beyond the Mississippi, as yet only partially explored, a virgin land of prairie and forest. There soon began a steady flow of immigrants into the new lands beyond the Mississippi, and the frontier of territory thus settled moved gradually westward. There was also an infiltration of United States citizens into the border provinces of Mexico, the greater part of this movement being into Texas. Taking advantage of the internal troubles of Mexico, the American settlers in Texas proclaimed an independent republic in 1845, and a few months later declared the annexation of the country to the United States. Hence came the war with Mexico, which ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (2 February 1848), by which Mexico ceded a large extent of territory to the United States.¹

The boundary between Texas and Mexico was fixed at the Rio Grande river, and west of Texas continued to the Pacific on a line which gave to the United States the present States of New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, a part of Colorado, and California (with the exception of the peninsula of Lower California). In the very year in which the treaty was signed, the

¹ The area ceded by Mexico covered over 529,000 square miles, and for this the United States agreed to pay approximately fifteen million dollars.

discovery of gold in California led to a rush of fortune-seekers from the United States, partly by wagon trains across the western plains and the Rockies, but chiefly by sea to the Isthmus of Panama¹ and a further voyage to the Bay of San Francisco, where in a few months the old Spanish settlement developed into a great city. In 1850 California was promoted to the dignity of a State of the American Union.

In the twenty years before 1850 the population of the United States had increased from 17 to nearly 31½ millions. There had been a great influx of emigrants from Europe during this period, over four millions in all.² These new-comers had mostly found new homes in the northern States, already the most populous part of the whole country. The north, besides having a large agricultural population, was the only part of the United States in which manufactures had developed. In the southern States factories were all but unknown. Their wealth was drawn from the cultivation of cotton and tobacco, by the labour of negro slaves. Of these, in 1860, the census showed there were very nearly four millions. Slavery had never been permitted in the northern States. It was, however, argued that without black slave labour the cotton fields of the south could not be tilled.

With the growing disparity in population between the northern and southern States the situation became increasingly

¹ Some few went up the San Juan river, across Lake Nicaragua, and thence to the Pacific. Before the construction of the Panama Canal there were many advocates of this route as a better line for an interoceanic canal.

² The United States are often referred to as a great Anglo-Saxon Republic. In 1860 there was a considerable French element in the population of New Orleans and the state of Louisiana, and some overflow of French-speaking immigrants from Lower Canada into the north. There were Spaniards and people of mixed Spanish and Indian descent in Florida, Texas, New Mexico, and California. There were families proud of their old Dutch origin in New York. Chiefly in the north there was a considerable Irish element. There had begun the great flood of Irish immigration after the famine of 1846-7 in Ireland and the wholesale evictions that followed. Numbers of immigrants from Germany arrived after the failure of the revolution in central Europe in 1848. Later came the large immigration from Italy, and then from Poland, the border province of Russia, and from Hungary and Scandinavia. The census of 1920 showed that 14 per cent. of the total population were 'foreign born' (not merely of foreign parentage or descent). Chicago is a city of many nations. When its Archbishop, Cardinal Mundelein, issued his pastoral in the year before the Eucharistic Congress of 1926, dealing with that Congress, it was published in eighteen languages.

strained. The Southerners, who lived by the export of cotton to Lancashire, were opposed to the tariff, which they blamed for the high domestic prices and their own consequent impoverishment. Outvoted in the House of Representatives, to which members were elected in proportion to population, they became doubly determined to preserve an equality with the north in the Senate (to which each State sent two members irrespective of its population), by keeping the number of slave States equal to the number of free States. They were determined also to admit of no denial of what they thought to be the State's infeasible right of secession.

The question of negro slavery had presented itself to the United States in a variety of forms. *It was an economic question*, not only because staple agriculture based upon slave labour was the only important industry in the south, but also because slave labour and free labour were inherently hostile and free labour would not go where manual labour was regarded as dishonourable for whites. From the days when the Constitution was being framed slavery had been also a *Constitutional question*, and the existence of a slave population and of the foreign slave trade had forced the adoption of two of the most important constitutional compromises in the Convention of 1787. *It was a political question*, committing the south to invincible advocacy of State rights and strict construction for the protection of its labour system, and dividing political parties in their struggles for national support. *It was an international question*, for while the African slave trade had been prohibited by law it had not been prohibited in fact, and the abolition of the traffic by European Governments left the United States the only power which more or less openly tolerated it. *It was a sectional question*, for the Ordinance of 1787 had excluded slavery for ever from the territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio river, and the Missouri compromise had drawn an east and west line north of which no more slave States were to be erected. *And it was a moral question*, for the atrocious conditions under which the African slave trade was carried on, the separation of families in the domestic slave trade or in the settlement of estates, the

denial to the slaves of legal rights or assured recognition of the family relation, and the generally ignorant and degraded condition of the slaves throughout the slave-holding area bred a moral revolt against the system among many to whom economic, legal, or constitutional difficulties made no strong appeal.¹

In 1850 a new impetus was given to the abolitionist movement, by the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law, which legalized the pursuit and capture of escaped negroes even in free State territory.

The elections of 1860 gave a majority to the Republican party. During the long election campaign the leaders of the Democratic party in the south had resolved that if their opponents came into power they would secede from the Union. Abraham Lincoln had been elected as President in 1860. In accordance with the Constitution Lincoln was installed as President of the United States on the 4th March 1861. In February, led by South Carolina several of the southern States had seceded from the Union and proclaimed the formation of a new power, 'The Confederate States of America'. In his inaugural address Lincoln declared the Union was perpetual and denounced secession as a futile act of rebellion. The civil war began on the 21st April, when a Confederate force bombarded Fort Sumter—a federal fortress, in Charleston Harbour—and secured its surrender.

Most people expected that the war would be a short one, but it lasted for four years and cost nearly a million lives. Its story may be very briefly told, if we note the essential facts. The Confederates had no naval power, and though the United States navy had been long neglected it was strong enough to blockade the southern ports on the Atlantic, and in the Gulf of Mexico. This cut off all direct oversea supplies for the Con-

¹ It may be noted that on the American Continent north and south only in the U.S.A. was what might be called the domestic or moral side of the negro disregarded. South of the Rio Grande to Patagonia no such scene would have been possible as that witnessed by Lincoln on his first trip down the Mississippi to New Orleans, where in the slave market he saw husband and wife sold away from each other and from their children and these from their parents and from each other. Of that scene Lincoln never forgot the horror.

federates, except what little was brought by the blockade-runners. In the first period of the war, munitions, arms, and supplies were landed in Mexico and reached the Confederate army by transit across the lower Mississippi. But in 1862 Admiral Farragut, with a flotilla of light craft, secured control of the lower reaches of the great river, after using his heavier ships to run past the forts at its mouth in the dark, and then enforcing the surrender of the city of New Orleans. Meanwhile the Federals were obtaining control of its upper course with an improvised flotilla and an army detachment.

The operations of the main land forces were carried on, until towards the close of the war, in a relatively small region where Virginia, Maryland, and southern Pennsylvania meet. Here were the national capital, Washington, and the Confederate capital of Richmond in Virginia, only ninety-five miles apart. The Federal armies had the advantage of unlimited sources of supply and the possession of ironworks and factories that could be converted into arsenals. On neither side were there any large number of trained officers and soldiers. At the outset it was a war between improvised armies. The first battle of the war (Bull Run, 21 July 1861) was fought close to Washington and ended in the rout of the Federals. Until the summer of 1863 fortune swayed now to one side now to the other, but there was no decisive result. But in June 1863 Lee, with the main Confederate army, made a surprise invasion of Maryland, crossing the Potomac well to the west of Washington, making his advance through the Appalachian hill country, and swinging round to march on the Federal capital from the northward. The Federal troops were hurried by forced marches to meet him, and the three days' battle of Gettysburg ended in his defeat (3 July 1863). He regained Virginia by a retreat as well conducted as his advance. But it was the day when the fortune of war definitely turned against the south.

On the same day, the 3rd July, Vicksburg, the Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi, surrendered after a long defence against Farragut's river flotilla and Grant's army. This event closed the whole line of the Mississippi against the Confederates.

Henceforth they were cooped up between the enemy front on the north, the line of the great river to the west, and the sea blockade on the south and east and cut off from all adequate supplies. The Fourth of July 1863 was a day of wild rejoicing in all the cities of the north.

But for nine more months the south made a brave but hopeless fight. The Confederates were heavily outnumbered in the field, and the civil population was patiently enduring hardship and impoverishment. Richmond fell, and with the surrender of Lee's army the long war came at last to an end (9 April 1865).

At its outset Lincoln had declared that his chief object was to maintain the Union, whether slavery was abolished or survived. On the 22nd September 1862 he decreed the emancipation of the slaves in any states that remained in rebellion against the Union till next year, and on the 1st January 1863 he proclaimed the abolition of slavery through all the United States, a step ratified by an Act of Congress immediately after the war.

83. THE MEXICAN EMPIRE (1861-7)

In the first years of the civil war in the United States there were in Europe not a few believers in the eventual triumph of the south. While the conflict lasted the Washington Government was powerless to offer any opposition to European intervention in Latin America. The Monroe doctrine was for the time being a dead letter. The defeat of the north and the rise of a new power in the south might well mean that it would never be revived. Amongst those who regarded the success of the south as a probable, almost a certain, result of the war was Napoleon III. His mistaken forecast of the future led him into his ill-fated attempt to found a new empire in Mexico.

For some years Mexico had been the scene of party strife between leaders who had no hesitation in attempts to reverse the results of an election by an appeal to armed force. Civil war had begun in 1858. There were two governments in Mexico—that of the Conservatives under General Miramon in Mexico City, and that of the Liberals under Juárez at Vera Cruz. In

the spring of 1859 the United States recognized Juárez and allowed him to obtain arms and volunteers from the United States. He promised in return special privileges for Americans in Mexico and future concessions for trade rights and railway making when he gained control of the country. Both sides were requisitioning property held by Europeans on the plea of the necessities of a state of war—Juárez issued decrees confiscating all church property and suppressing the religious orders. Thanks to the help he received from American sympathizers and speculators he defeated Miramon's forces in the winter of 1860 and, on the 11th January occupied Mexico City, and at once expelled the Archbishop, the Spanish Ambassador, and the Papal Legate. He convoked a Liberal Congress. His government was in desperate straits for money. A huge national debt had accumulated, and Spain, France, and England were pressing claims for the losses of their nationals during the war. Juárez could no longer look for help from his friends in the United States, for in April the War of Secession had begun with the bombardment of Fort Sumter. In July the Juárezist Congress voted a suspension of all payments on the debt account to foreign creditors for the next two years.

After ineffectual remonstrances the British, French, and Spanish Governments signed, in London (30 October 1861), an agreement for intervention in Mexico. Warships of the three Powers appeared before Vera Cruz, and landed troops to occupy the city and take over the collection of the customs. The alliance did not last long. When French reinforcements arrived and it was discovered that Napoleon III was negotiating with the leaders of the Conservative party in Mexico for their help in the conquest of the country, the British and Spanish forces were withdrawn from the adventure. On the 16th April 1862 the French plenipotentiaries issued a declaration of war 'not against the Mexican people, but against the Republican Government of Juárez'.

General Lorencez, with a force of 7,500 men, had already occupied Cordova. On the 19th he began a projected advance on Mexico City, hoping for help from the opponents of the

Government. Next day he drove a Mexican detachment out of Orizaba. A few miles westward the Mexican army held the pass of the Cumbres, where the road to Mexico City rose by steep zigzags from the lowlands to the plateau of the interior. On the 28th Lorencez stormed the pass, meeting with no very stubborn resistance. The Mexicans retired to La Puebla, the largest city of Mexico next in importance to the capital. On the 5th May Lorencez unsuccessfully attacked the outlying defences on a bold ridge north-west of the city. There was now much sickness among the French, they could collect no supplies from the country, and there was no sign of the expected help from the opponents of Juárez. Lorencez retired to Orizaba, and the march on Mexico was deferred till next year.

Napoleon III decided that the next campaign must be a more serious operation. Reinforcements of 30,000 men were sent to the army in Mexico; Ismail Pasha of Egypt supplied two native battalions to guard the lines of communications through the torrid lowlands, and in the autumn General Forey took command at Orizaba. In December he reoccupied the Cumbres Pass. In February 1863 he set out on his advance against La Puebla. On the 23rd March a regular siege began. General Ortega, who commanded the defence, made a stubborn resistance. Even when the outlying forts had fallen and the breach in the rampart was stormed, there was hard fighting in which each block of stone houses, each narrow barricaded street was held as if La Puebla were another Saragossa. It was not till the 17th May that Forey was in possession of the place.

After the fall of La Puebla Juárez abandoned his capital and retired northwards before French detachments and the Mexicans who now rallied to them. At San Luis, on the south bank of the Rio Grande (here still the frontier between the United States and Mexico), he established his local government. Forey entered Mexico City on the 7th June 1863; a provisional government was formed; and a congress assembled which represented only the Conservative party. Napoleon III persuaded the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, the brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph, to accept the crown of the projected Empire

of Mexico. The docile congress voted for the abolition of the Republic and the creation of the new Empire, and offered the crown to Maximilian, or, failing his acceptance, to any prince nominated by the French Emperor.

On the 12th June 1864 Maximilian made his state entry into Mexico City. He soon realized that, though the greater part of the country was under the control of the French army of Marshal Bazaine, there was still war in the land. He was the Emperor of a party, and his power depended on foreign allies. Juárez held his last fragment of Republican territory in the north, but in the west and south there were guerrilla leaders in the field, and there were also many centres of conspiracy and covert opposition to the Empire. A small imperialist army was formed, but it took its orders from Bazaine. In the vain hope of conciliating the Liberals Maximilian offered various concessions to them, and refused to restore the confiscated property of the Church. The only result was to divide his Conservative supporters and alienate large numbers of them.

In April 1865, when the new Empire was still in its first year, there came the surrender of the last army of the Confederate States. Juárez could now count on support from Washington, and even before the United States took action he received abundant financial help from American speculators who looked forward to future business concessions. The guerrilla outbreaks were developing into a formidable rebellion, and this irregular warfare became a ferocious conflict marked by executions and reprisals when Bazaine ordered that captured leaders of the Republicans should be court-martialled and shot. Early in 1866 the United States Government sent to Napoleon III a dispatch that was practically an ultimatum, calling on him to withdraw his troops from Mexico. The Mexican adventure had become unpopular in France; it had been a heavy drain on the finances, it had proved to be a discreditable failure, and there was the shadow of impending war in Europe. A conflict with the United States would be sheer madness. Napoleon agreed to withdraw his army gradually from Mexico within a year.

Bazaine, with the last of his troops, embarked at Vera Cruz

in March 1867. Maximilian had been advised to abdicate and go with them. He replied that he must remain at all risks, and share the fate of his followers. With the remnant of his Mexican army he made a brave attempt to hold his own against the rising tide of insurrection. His last stand was in the small fortress of Quéretaro. A traitor among his officers opened a gate to the besiegers. The unfortunate Emperor was tried by court-martial, condemned, and shot on the 19th June 1867. Two of his generals, Miramon and Mejia, were executed with him. On the 21st the capital was occupied by the Republicans.

Mexico was for Napoleon III what Spain had been for Napoleon I—the beginning of his downfall. The Second Empire was discredited by a wretched failure.

84. ITALIAN UNITY AND THE ROMAN QUESTION (1861-70)

The French intervention of 1859 and the events that followed had created a united Italy, still lacking its two most famous historical centres, Rome and Venice. As for the latter the advocates of Italian unity regarded Austria as a decadent power and counted on discord amongst its subject nationalities and the rivalry of Prussia in the German Confederation sooner or later giving an opportunity for the acquisition of Venetia, and perhaps also Istria and Dalmatia, so that Italy would have the control of the Adriatic. Inspired by these hopes, the Italian Government not only extended the Piedmontese military system to the whole kingdom but also began to construct an ironclad navy, though there was a heavy national debt and high taxation, and for a country that possessed neither coal-mines nor ironworks naval armaments on up-to-date lines were a costly luxury.

The question of Venice was thus adjourned to the future, but the Roman question was an actuality of the present. Rome was the ideal capital, and a government installed at Turin seemed to suggest little more than a new Italy subjected to Piedmont, and a French force in Rome and Civita Vecchia might mean that the domination of Austria had merely been replaced by that of France. Napoleon III suggested to Pius IX

that he might accept some compromise and 'associate the Papacy with the triumph of Italian patriotism' with a guarantee of the freedom of the Holy See by all the Catholic Powers. The Pope's reply was *Non possumus*—the proposal could not even be discussed. Romagna, Umbria, and Ancona had been wrested by open force from the Pontifical States. He could not bargain away Rome and the small territory that remained. Recent events had shown how little value could be attached to international guarantees, and he might well doubt if the freedom of the Holy See would be secure under a government which had made the spoliation of church property, the suppression of religious orders, and the secularization of the schools features of its policy.

Garibaldi had been elected to the Turin Parliament and denounced Cavour as a leader who had left the making of united Italy incomplete, and truckled to the French Emperor, to whom he had sacrificed Savoy and Nice. Cavour died after a short illness in June 1861, Rattazzi, a veteran of the Revolution, came into power in the spring of 1862, and Garibaldi formed a project for forcing the Roman question to the front. Hoping to repeat his exploit of 1860, he landed in Sicily with a few comrades, announcing that he had come to organize a march on Rome, with the watchword *Roma o Morte*, 'Rome or Death' (19 July 1862). Some 1,500 volunteers joined him, and he crossed the straits into Calabria. On the 27th August, on the hill-slopes of Aspromonte, he found his way barred by a column of Italian regulars. He realized that there was no hope of their disobeying their orders and joining him, and a skirmish had hardly begun when, as he gave the order to cease fire, he dropped with a bullet in his leg. His followers were disarmed and he was sent under escort to his island home at Caprera. But there was soon an amnesty for all concerned. Rattazzi had acted on a menacing summons from the French Emperor. He was so bitterly attacked in the Parliament at Turin that he resigned office.

On the 15th September 1864, without consulting or even informing the Holy See, the Emperor signed a convention with

the Italian Government, by which it was agreed that the French troops should be withdrawn from Rome within two years, during which time Pius IX was to reorganize the Papal army for the maintenance of order in his States. Italy undertook to prevent any attacks from Italian territory, and it was understood that the capital was to be transferred from Turin to Florence. General La Marmora, who came into office at Turin when the convention was already drafted, added a note that Italy reserved full liberty of action on the Roman question. The French Emperor was anxious to cultivate the goodwill of the Italian Government, for the prospects of his Mexican venture had become doubtful, and after the campaign in the Danish Duchies in the opening months of the year, in which the Prussian army had played the leading part, there were signs of increasing friction between Berlin and Vienna. There would soon be a great war in central Europe.

In 1865 the friction became more acute, and before the year ended Bismarck was negotiating secretly with La Marmora for an alliance between Prussia and Italy against Austria. This was already settled when Bismarck, on the pretext of a rest cure, paid a visit to Biarritz—then the most fashionable seaside resort in France—met the Emperor there, and told him that war between Prussia and Austria was inevitable and that Italy would be the ally of the former. Without entering into any definite engagement he led Napoleon to expect that, if he stood neutral, he would receive valuable ‘compensation’—probably an extension of French territory towards the Rhine. This secured Napoleon’s agreement to the alliance of Prussia and Italy. The treaty of alliance was signed at Berlin on the 18th April 1866. War preparations began at once, including a gradual concentration of Italian troops in Lombardy and the Romagna.

The war began on the 20th June. The Italian Government had mobilized a quarter of a million men. Austria, after providing for the main army that was to oppose Prussia, could leave for the Archduke Albert, who commanded in Venetia, only about 150,000 men. After deducting the garrisons for the

fortresses he had 75,000 for his field army. The Italians counted on an easy victory. Some 120,000 under the King and La Marmora were to cross the Mincio and deal with the main Austrian army, while Cialdini with 80,000 was to advance from the Romagna and march on Padua and Venice. Admiral Persano, with the new ironclad navy, was to blockade the enemy's fleet in its harbours, or destroy it if it ventured out to the open sea.

On the 24th June the Archduke inflicted a crushing defeat on the Italians at Custozza, and on the news of this disaster Cialdini suspended his advance into Venetia. But the Prussian victory in the north in the great battle of Sadowa, on the 3rd July, changed the situation, for the Archduke was ordered to leave garrisons in the fortresses, and hasten with all available troops to the defence of Vienna. He withdrew from Venetia with about 100,000 men. As soon as the Italians discovered that the Austrian field army was going north, Cialdini was ordered to advance on Padua and, in the hope of a naval success in the Adriatic as some compensation for Custozza, Admiral Persano was directed to put to sea from Ancona and capture the fortress on the island of Lissa as a useful base for operations in Dalmatia.

Persano was a timid and utterly incompetent commander. The only success so far on his record was the destruction of the little Telegraph Fort when he blockaded the Papal army at Ancona in 1860. Tegethoff, the young and enterprising admiral who commanded the Austrian fleet, had a relatively inferior force at his disposal. He had concentrated in the roadstead of Fasana, near Pola, every available ship new and old. He had seven ironclads; two of them had only out-of-date smooth-bore guns, the five others were armed with fourteen or sixteen of the new rifled guns, but these were only light 24-pounders. Persano had twelve ironclads. The newest of them had just been delivered from Armstrong's works at Elswick—the armoured ram, *Affondatore*, with two 300-pounder guns in her turret. The other ships carried rifled guns of which the lightest were 74-pounders, but they had also guns throwing shells of 100, 150,

and 300 lb. weight. Against such odds victory for Tegethoff's weak force seemed hopeless.¹ Yet in the first days of the war he had appeared before Ancona offering battle, but Persano, on the plea that his fleet was not yet ready, would not leave the harbour. When the news reached Pola that the Italian fleet was bombarding Lissa Tegethoff put to sea, ordering his captains to come to the closest of close action, and 'ram away at everything painted grey' (the colour of Persano's ironclads). Shortly after dawn on the 20th July he attacked the Italian fleet off Lissa. Closing under a heavy fire, Tegethoff held the fire of the Austrian guns till the range was only 300 yards. He broke through Persano's line and, in the close-fought mêlée, with his own flagship, the *Ferdinand Max*, rammed and sank the *Ré d'Italia*. Another ironclad, the *Palestro*, drew out of the fight in a blaze and blew up as the action ended. Tegethoff steamed triumphantly into the harbour of Lissa, while Persano rallied his disordered fleet and steered for Ancona. He was deprived of his command, court-martialled, and dismissed in disgrace from the navy.

On the same day that Lissa was fought the Prussians, without consulting or informing their Italian ally, signed an armistice with Austria and peace negotiations began. The Austrian Emperor ceded Venetia to Napoleon III, who handed it over to the Italian Government. Venice had been won by the victories of Prussia. Italy had been defeated by land and sea.

On the 11th December 1866 the last of the French troops left Civita Vecchia. Since the Convention of September 1864 the Papal army had been reinforced by volunteers from many countries. It was organized not to repress any revolt of the Pope's own subjects (for of this there was no danger) but to deal with any attempt of outsiders to raid and produce disorder in the Papal State. Half of it was made up of natives of the Papal territory, recruited by voluntary enlistment, the other half of volunteers from various Catholic lands. Its total strength

¹ The gun power of the opposing armoured squadrons has been thus compared: Italian fleet: 12 ironclads against 7 Austrians; rifled guns 208 against 74; weight of projectiles in the aggregate, at one discharge from each gun, 20,392 lb. against 1,776 lb.

in 1867 was only 9,000.¹ There were also a couple of thousand gendarmes, recruited in the Roman territory. The little army was commanded by a Bavarian officer, General Kanzler. His second in command was Zappi, a Roman. Rattazzi was now Prime Minister of Italy. In 1867 there were the first signs of a dangerous friction between France and Prussia. Speaking in the Parliament at Florence Rattazzi declared that it was impossible for Italy to choose between two beneficent powers, to whom she owed such good service. Like all politicians of the time, he realized that war between these two Powers was an event of the near future, and he counted that the rivalry between them would, even before the final rupture, serve as a check on French intervention, if there could be an organization of disorder in the Papal State and riots in Rome. The Italian army would then cross the frontier to restore order and 'protect' the Holy Father.

Steps were accordingly taken to sow the seeds of disturbance in the Papal territory, and the party of action under Garibaldi and Crispi began to prepare to 'reopen the Roman question'. In the spring of 1867 Garibaldi paid a visit to Geneva, and declared to a gathering of his local sympathizers that the time was coming when there would be a move on Rome. Alluding

¹ Organization and strength of the Papal army, September 1867:
Recruited in Roman territory:

Dragoons	442
Artillery	878
Infantry of the line	1,595
Cacciatori (Rifles)	975
Squadriligieri (Peasant militia)	625
	<hr/>
	4,515

Volunteers from other countries:

Papal Zouaves	2,237
Swiss Rifles	1,233
Légion d'Antibes	1,095
	<hr/>
	4,565
Total	<hr/> 9,080

The Zouaves were commanded by the Swiss Colonel Allet. The nations most largely represented in the regiment were Dutch, Belgians, and French. There were a number of Irish and English, and some Americans. Captain Delahoyd, who commanded the Zouave detachment that held the Porta Pia on the 20th September 1870, is often described as a French officer. He was Irish, of a Norman-Irish family in the south of Ireland.

to the term used by his partisans to describe the supporters of the Holy See—'*neri*', i.e. 'Blacks', he exclaimed—'Death to the black race! Let us go to Rome and dislodge this generation of vipers.' During the summer his agents were enrolling volunteers all over Italy. Rattazzi only made a feeble show of checking this agitation.

In the latter part of September Garibaldian bands crossed the Papal frontier at several points. On the 24th Garibaldi was arrested by the Italian troops who were concentrating on the border. He was sent to Caprera, and a warship was detailed to watch the island. His son, Menotti Garibaldi, and Colonels Acerbi and Nicotera were directing the movement in the Papal territory. Volunteers were receiving free tickets on the railways and passing the Italian cordon on the frontier and joining the three columns that were carrying on a guerrilla warfare against the defenders of the Holy See. Crispi, the veteran organizer of the Garibaldian forces, was in correspondence with Rattazzi's Government, and the documents he published later showed that Rattazzi was more than conniving at the invasion. In one of his letters Crispi noted that too many recruits were being sent in to him, more than the leaders could as yet usefully employ. Some of these were soldiers from the Italian frontier guard. The arrest of Garibaldi was a mere mask for Rattazzi's action. He was allowed to escape from Caprera and appeared in Florence on the 20th October. He had left the city on his way to the front when an order for his arrest was issued. He passed the frontier guard, took command of the invasions, and issued an order for a concentration and a move on Rome itself.

On the evening of the 22nd, after sunset, there was an attempt at a rising in Rome. It was the work of Garibaldian emissaries, who had already made their way into the city, and a few local partisans. On the left bank of the Tiber a mine, driven under a barrack from a neighbouring house, was exploded, wrecking a corner of the building and killing or wounding some thirty of the troops, mostly Italian musicians of the Zouave regimental band. A small party was repulsed by the guard of the capital, another failed in an attempt to surprise a city gate. In an hour

all was quiet. On the 26th Garibaldi captured Monte Rotondo, a day's march north-east of Rome. The columns of Acerbi and Nicotera had occupied Velletri and Viterbo, but there were no signs of the popular insurrection that Garibaldi had expected. At several points Italian troops were crossing the frontier.

But Napoleon III at last yielded to the outcry for intervention by France. A brigade of infantry embarked at Marseilles, about 2,000 men in all. Landing at Civita Vecchia on the 29th, they entered Rome next day.

On the 2nd November it was reported that Garibaldi was moving from Monte Rotondo and drawing nearer Rome, and Kanzler decided to assume the offensive. In the following night he marched out north-eastward along the old Nomentan Way, with about 3,000 Papal troops (half of them Zouaves), followed and supported by a French brigade under General Pohlès. The united force was 5,000 men with ten guns. There was a halt after sunrise, and the scouts reported that Garibaldi was at Mentana, a small village on the same road with an old castle for its citadel. The advance was resumed, and soon after noon the Papal troops were in action with the first line of the enemy, holding a strong position in the vineyards and hilly ground on both sides of the road, and in two farmsteads, about 1,000 yards from Mentana. The position was stormed and with hard fighting the Garibaldians were forced back towards the village. They made a counter-attack on Kanzler's left to outflank his advance, and the French, till then in reserve, came into action and the counter-attack collapsed under the deadly fire of the new breech-loading rifles with which Pohlès's brigade was armed. When the battle ended, after sunset, the allies were in the outskirts of the barricaded village, and in the night they surrounded it; but Garibaldi had slipped away with some 5,000 of his men. Soon after dawn nearly a thousand, left to hold the village, surrendered. They were disarmed and allowed to recross the frontier, where Garibaldi had already surrendered to the Italian troops. Acerbi and Nicotera's forces also withdrew on hearing of the defeat of their chief, and the Italian regulars, who had crossed the border line, evacuated the Papal territory.

In France the intervention in defence of the Holy See was popular not only with the Catholics, but also with the moderate Liberals. In the French Chamber of Deputies on the 5th December, Thiers, the leader of the Liberal opposition, denounced the double dealing of the Italian Government and its breach of the September Convention, declared that the Imperial Government had set up an enemy Power beyond the Alpine frontier, and expressed the hope that there would not be any future attempts to yield Rome to Victor-Emmanuel. Rouher, the Prime Minister, replied that France would never 'submit to such a violation of her honour and dignity'.

Mentana, though a little battle, had important results. The victory secured the assembly of the Vatican Council. In the spring and summer of 1864 Pius IX had sent out to the Bishops of the Catholic world requests for their opinions as to convoking a General Council. Their replies were mostly favourable and for a while he hoped it might be assembled in June 1867, on the occasion of the eighteenth centenary of the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul. The French withdrawal from Rome, the war in central Europe, and the doubtful outlook for peace and safety for Rome led to its being deferred, but at the centenary of June 1867 he spoke of it as an event of the near future. The autumn brought the Garibaldian invasion, the return of the French troops to Rome, and the victory of Mentana. On the 26th June 1869 Pius IX issued the Bull convening the Council and naming the 8th December 1869 for its first meeting. It was in session till the 18th July 1870, when it held its last general assembly, and defined the dogma of Papal Infallibility. Next day war was declared between France and Prussia. Napoleon III, hoping to obtain the alliance of Italy, withdrew the French troops from Rome. The last detachment left Civita Vecchia on the 4th August. The same day saw the first of the French defeats. Then defeat followed defeat, and after the catastrophe of Sedan and the fall of the Empire in the first week of September the Italian Government prepared to seize Rome. General Cadorna issued an order to the invading army in which he mendaciously declared that it was marching on

Rome to deliver the Holy See 'from the hands of foreign mercenaries'. When Cadorna arrived before Rome on the 19th September Pius IX ordered that there should be only such resistance as would make it plain that he yielded only to armed violence. Next day, when the Italian guns had breached the old wall near the Porta Pia, the Papal troops ceased fire and the invaders marched in through the breach and the adjoining gate (20 September 1870). It was the day on which the German armies completed the investment of Paris and the siege of the French capital began.

85. GERMAN UNITY (1859-70)

Since the time when Frederick the Great won for Prussia a place among the Great Powers of Europe there had been a rivalry with Austria for the leading part in the affairs of Germany. The final stage in the rise of Prussia to a predominant place in central Europe began in 1859. Napoleon III inflicted a series of defeats on Austria in northern Italy, but a fact, of which the full significance was not realized at the time, was that within a few days after Solferino the French Emperor made a sudden offer of peace to Austria under the menace of a Prussian intervention.

In 1858 King Frederick William IV, stricken by the illness that ended his life two years later, had resigned the government of Prussia to his brother, Prince William. The Prince Regent's memories of boyhood were recollections of the years when his country was under the military rule of the first Napoleon. As a young officer he had taken part in the revolt of Germany against Bonapartist militarism. It was not any affection for Austria, but dread of a new period of Bonapartist conquests, that inspired his action when, in the summer of 1859, he ordered the mobilization of the Prussian army and on the morrow of Solferino warned the Foreign Office in Paris that, if the French advance were pushed into any German lands of the Austrian Empire, there would be a declaration of war. Prussia thus took the attitude of the champion of German nationality and the armistice of Villafranca followed.

Despite this important result of the mobilization, the Regent was disappointed at finding that it had taken a considerable time and did not supply the hoped-for number of reservists. The fact was that during a long peace, with small numbers of recruits called up each year, the military system of Prussia had fallen far below the ideals of its founders. On the death of his elder brother, Frederick William (2 January 1861), Prince William became King of Prussia. He had already formed a scheme for reorganizing the army, largely increasing its strength and securing more rapid mobilization. General von Roon, the Minister of War, presented it to the German Parliament. It was largely the work of one of the ablest soldiers of the time, von Moltke, who had become chief of the general staff in 1857. The Liberals were in the majority in Parliament, and von Roon found himself faced with a determined opposition, for the army plan entailed heavy financial burdens and a large increase of the annual levy of recruits. He suggested to the King that the man who could best deal with the situation was Bismarck, who for several years had been the representative of Prussia in the Diet of the German Confederation at Frankfurt, and then for three years ambassador to Russia.

Bismarck had long held that eventually there would be war with Austria. In a report to the King from Frankfurt in 1856 he had argued that the dual leadership of Germany by rival Powers was out of date. It had led to war in century after century and the course of events pointed to the necessity of 'setting the clock of German development to the correct time'. He expressed his strong conviction that 'before long we shall have to fight for our lives against Austria'. Recalled from Russia to become King William's chief minister, he carried on the government in defiance of hostile votes, and levied taxes and put the new army scheme into operation without parliamentary warrant. 'Your votes of censure are of no effect', he said to the Liberal opposition. 'You imagine that you are in England and that I am your minister, but you are in Prussia and I am the Minister of the King.'

Bismarck had said that the unity of Germany was to be

achieved not by speeches and dispatches, but by 'blood and iron'. The reorganized army was used in three successful wars to found the Prussian Empire of Germany—war with Denmark in 1864, with Austria and her German allies in 1866, and with France in 1870-1. In the war with Denmark Austria was the ally of Prussia. The southern territories of the little Danish kingdom, the Duchies of Holstein, Schleswig, and Lauenburg, had a large German element in their population, and especially in the two last there had long been an agitation for union with Germany. This nationalist factor in the situation was complicated by rival dynastic claims, when in 1863 the death of Frederick VII of Denmark and the succession of the younger branch of the Danish royal house in the person of Christian IX was made the occasion for a German prince, Frederick of Augustenburg, asserting his title to the Duchies. In the winter the Frankfurt Diet claimed that these were lands of the German Confederation and voted that contingents from the minor German States should occupy Schleswig-Holstein. Bismarck persuaded Vienna to override this decision, and arranged that Austrian and Prussian armies should occupy the Duchies and settle their future status. The Danes, hoping in vain for help from France and England, made a brave but unsuccessful resistance when, on the 1st February 1864, the allies (36,000 Prussians and 20,000 Austrians) crossed their frontier.

Then came the conflict between the victors as to the fate of the occupied Duchies. Bismarck meant that they should become a province of Prussia. Austria, supported by most of the minor States in the Frankfurt Diet, insisted on their becoming an independent Duchy of the German Confederation. Bismarck decided that the time had come for the fight to the death with Austria which he had predicted in 1856. To divide his opponent's forces he concluded the treaty of alliance with Italy, lulled Napoleon III into a hopeful neutrality by vague suggestions of 'compensations' to France, and called on Austria to withdraw from the Duchies.

The small Austrian force in Holstein retired as the Prussians advanced, but the Austrian representatives at Frankfurt called

for a vote of the Diet condemning the arbitrary action of Prussia and for the mobilization of all the armies of the Confederation against her. There was an all but unanimous response, Hanover, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Saxony, and most of the smaller States voting for Austria. The war began on the 16th June 1866 with the march of a Prussian vanguard into Saxony.

It lasted for only seven weeks. Austria had nearly 400,000 men under arms, but of these some 150,000 had to be left to face the Italian army in Venetia. The armies of her German allies numbered about 120,000. Prussia had mobilized 340,000. Von Moltke concentrated 290,000 men in three armies for the march into northern Austria, and detached some 40,000 to deal in detail with the Hanoverian and south German armies. Everything depended on the result of the march into Bohemia. It culminated on the 3rd July in the great battle of Sadowa—except Leipzig (1813), the greatest battle of the nineteenth century. In mere numbers the opposing forces were nearly equal.

The three Prussian armies that converged in a front and flank attack on the Austrians numbered a little over 220,000 men. To these Benedek, the Austrian commander, opposed 215,000 (including the little Saxon army of 23,000). But the Austrians were armed only with the old muzzle-loading weapons, the Prussians had Krupp's steel breech-loading artillery and the breech-loading rifle. After eight hours of hard fighting the Austrians were in full retreat. The Prussian losses were about 2,000 killed and nearly 7,000 wounded. The Austrians had lost more than 23,000 killed and wounded and 9,000 taken prisoners, and besides this more than 12,000 'missing' never rejoined the colours.

The defeated army retired on Vienna, and Venetia was abandoned to bring 100,000 men to the rescue of the capital. But after the slaughter and rout of Sadowa further resistance was hopeless. The Prussian victors were within a day's march of Vienna when an armistice ended the fighting.

By the Treaty of Prague Prussia became mistress of Germany and Austria withdrew from the German Confederation. Prussia

annexed Hanover and several of the minor States, and became the head of a new North German Confederation. The southern States, Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, and Saxony, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia and the Prussian army system was extended to them all.

Napoleon III asked for the expected 'compensations' and suggested that France should be given the Bavarian Palatinate and Hesse as far as the Rhine with the Prussian fortress of Mainz, a stronghold famed in many earlier wars as the guardian of the entrance into the valley of the Main, a highway for armies into the heart of Germany. When this wild proposal was set aside he consulted his trusted military adviser, Marshal Niel, as to the possibility of armed action, only to be told that the French army must be reorganized and rearmed before venturing on a challenge to Prussia.

Bismarck was now acclaimed as the national hero of Germany. The four years that followed were marked by the beginning of a period of new developments in trade and commerce in Germany, but side by side with these there was further development of the military power of the nation, for France was arming, and it required no special foresight to predict that before long there would be one more great war. All over Europe armies were being rearmed and reorganized more or less on the model of Prussia's victorious forces. A race of armaments had begun. The next great trial of strength was to result in the disappearance of the French Empire and the proclamation of a new German Empire, with the Hohenzollerns taking up the lost imperial sceptre of the Habsburgs.

86. THE LIBERAL EMPIRE (1860-70)

As Napoleon III had no particular inclination to play the despot he gradually gave up some of the obnoxious measures which marked the beginning of his reign. On the 16th August 1859 came the amnesty decree which reopened France to almost all those who had been exiled; on the 24th November 1860 there were free debates in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies on the address in reply to the speech from the

throne, and the censorship allowed the full publication of parliamentary debates in the Press. The parliamentary opposition had at one time dwindled to five members; but after the 1863 elections it numbered thirty-five, of whom seventeen were Republicans. Even the majority showed signs of becoming less submissive to official control.

After the war of 1859 a succession of failures in the foreign policy of the Empire undermined the popularity of the Government and steadily increased the strength of the opposition. Napoleon had failed in his project of establishing French influence in Italy. The disastrous failure of the costly Mexican adventure was not compensated by such minor successes as the intervention in Syria for the protection of the Christians after the massacres of 1860, nor by the march of a French force into Peking as the allies of the British.

Faidherbe was laying the foundations of the future French conquests in West Africa; Lesseps was slowly carrying out the enterprise of the Suez Canal, and Egypt was regarded as a field for French influence in the Near East; but all these African projects could only give serious results in far-off years. Napoleon III had consented to the alliance of Italy with Prussia in the expectation that the war with Austria would be a long-drawn conflict, in which he could intervene as the arbiter when the opposing forces were exhausted and push the frontier of France to the middle Rhine. The swift and tremendous success of the Prussian arms left him pleading in vain for some compensation for France, while his generals were warning him that the army was unready to risk a challenge to the victorious Prussian power.

Like the first Napoleon in 1815, the Emperor on the morrow of Sadowa sought to strengthen his position by a policy of conciliation and concession to Liberal ideas. Émile Ollivier was forming in the Chamber of Deputies during the session of 1866-7 what was known as the 'Third Party', a group of moderate adherents of both the Right and the Left, with the programme of a 'Liberal Empire', and a constitutional régime. On the 19th January 1867 the Emperor issued a decree granting the mem-

bers of the Legislature 'the right of interpellation', that is to say, the power of demanding from the ministers of the Crown information and documents on public affairs, a step that considerably enlarged the possibilities of criticism and debate. At the same time a promise was made of concessions to the freedom of the Press and the right of public meeting, and early in 1868 this promise was fulfilled.

Marshal Niel had been occupied with a project for the reorganization of the army, based to some extent on the Prussian system, and including among its leading features the introduction of universal liability to military service and the abolition of the right of wealthy men whose names were drawn for the annual levy of recruits paying substitutes to take their places in the army. The new military law was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on the 1st February 1868, but in a modified form, numbers of the Deputies being influenced by the dread of supplying the Government with a largely increased military force, and disregarding the necessity of placing the French army on something like an equality with the immense military power of Prussianized Germany.

In the session of 1869 the Third Party mustered 116 members, and with the support of the Left Ollivier carried a resolution calling for the creation of a ministry responsible to the nation and asserting the right of the Legislature to regulate its own procedure. At the elections in the autumn the official candidates secured an aggregate of 4,600,000 votes, but the vote for the opposition of all shades of opinion, from the moderate reformers of Ollivier's party to the avowed Republicans of the Extreme Left, secured 3,300,000 votes. When the Chamber met on the 29th November the Emperor announced the coming of a constitutional régime; on the 28th December he invited Ollivier to form a ministry. On the 2nd January 1870 the leader of the Third Party had formed a cabinet of four members of the Right and four of the moderate Left. He had to face the bitter opposition of the Extreme Left, but could count on a working majority with the help of the Right. An imperial decree and a vote of the Senate approved the new constitution of the Liberal

Empire, and it was decided to obtain its further confirmation by a plebiscite. The declaration submitted for the acceptance of the voters was that 'The French people approves the Liberal reforms introduced into the Constitution since 1860'. The result was a vote of 7,358,786 'Ayes' against 1,571,939 'Noes'. Optimists counted on an assured future for the Imperial dynasty. But its downfall was near at hand.

87. THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR (1870-I)

In the first week of July 1870 Lord Granville, the Liberal leader in the House of Lords, was appointed Foreign Secretary in Gladstone's Cabinet on that office becoming vacant by the death of Lord Clarendon. On the 11th he assured the Lords that the outlook for peace in Europe was most hopeful. He told how on taking office he had been assured by Hammond, the permanent chief of the staff of his department, that 'he had never known so great a lull in foreign affairs'. A week later, on the 18th July, there came the French declaration of war against Prussia.

Since 1866 both the French and Prussian Governments had been preparing for war, the latter with the help of the splendidly organized General Staff of the Army, directed by Moltke, the former with an army organization that was out of date, counting on new weapons to secure victory, and cherishing false hopes that the South German States, which had fought against Prussia in 1866, would stand neutral or even welcome the French armies, and making efforts to secure the alliance of Austria and Italy. In the first week of June 1870 Napoleon III had sent General Lebrun to Vienna to arrange an Austrian alliance. A month before, on the 6th May, Moltke had sent out, to the generals in command of military districts in Germany, a confidential memorandum setting forth a revision of the plan circulated in the same way in 1868 for the mobilization and concentration in the event of war with France. All that Lebrun could obtain in Vienna was a vague assurance that Austria might be able to help in case of an attack by Prussia, but would require six weeks to prepare for war before taking any overt

action. The French Emperor hoped to conciliate Italy by withdrawing his troops from Rome when the crisis came.

It came with the suddenness of a thunderstorm on a summer day. In September 1868 a military and naval revolt at Cadiz began the revolution that dethroned Isabella II. Under the control of Generals Prim and Serrano a provisional government was established at Madrid. Nominally Spain was a Republic, but neither the soldiers nor the mass of the people wanted a Republic, and in the following summer the Cortes declared for a constitutional monarchy, and Prim, now practically dictator in Spain, offered the crown to Prince Leopold, who was of the junior and Catholic branch of the Hohenzollern line, and ruler of a small State in South Germany. In the first week of July 1870 the French Government learned of this negotiation, and appealed to King William to veto the proposed establishment of a Hohenzollern kingdom in Spain. On the 12th July this was agreed to. Instead of being content with this diplomatic success Napoleon III directed Count Benedetti, his ambassador to Prussia, to secure a pledge from King William that the candidature of Prince Leopold would not be revived at any future date. Both the King and the ambassador were at the health resort of Ems, and on the 13th July they met on the public promenade. Benedetti expressed a hope that the required pledge would be given. King William replied that he could not discuss the matter there and then; it must be settled with his ministers, and the conversation ended.

That evening the King sent an account of the incident to Bismarck, then at the Foreign Office in Berlin. Long after, Bismarck admitted that he had 'slightly edited' the message from Ems, when he sent a communication to the German press which gave the impression that Benedetti had rudely tried to force a diplomatic discussion upon the King in public. In the French Chamber the Foreign Minister, the Duc de Grammont, declared that war was inevitable, for the King of Prussia had publicly insulted the French ambassador, refusing to reply to him and turning abruptly away, and Ollivier asked the Chamber to vote a credit of 500 millions of francs for the army, 'to

carry on the war which had been forced upon France'. The formal declaration of war was sent to Berlin on the 18th. Germans and Frenchmen had been roused to excited hostility by two official lies.

Marshal Leboeuf, the Minister of War, assured the Emperor that the army was ready 'down to the last gaiter button'. It was utterly unready. No large reserves were available. Only some 250,000 men could be sent to the front, while the Germans were rapidly mustering 384,000 on the Rhine for the armies of invasion. In France there was no system of real mobilization. Regiments were hurried from their barracks to the front, and received after that their war equipment and reservists. For the main army in Lorraine with the Emperor's head-quarters at Metz, about 180,000 men were got together, and MacMahon commanded some 50,000 in Alsace, where his force was to be the vanguard of the intended push across the Rhine. There was endless confusion at the front, parties of men moving here and there to join their regiments; at one great junction 5,000 men were left for days without rations, with the result that they plundered supply trains. The intelligence department could get no reliable information, and there were rumours of German armies on the frontier before any of the enemy had moved up to their starting line. Moltke concentrated three armies with an aggregate strength of 380,000 men on the line of the Rhine. The South Germans were as eager for the war as the Prussians. The 3rd Army, on the German left, was, with the exception of one corps from Silesia, made up of South German troops, commanded by the Crown Prince of Prussia. In the first fortnight of the war there were only small German detachments watching the actual frontier and sending their cavalry scouts raiding into France. To allay popular impatience Napoleon III, on the 2nd August, deployed some 30,000 men to drive one of these outpost forces, only a few hundred strong, out of Saarbrück.

On the 4th August the Crown Prince's army crossed the frontier and gained a first victory over one of MacMahon's divisions at Weissenburg. On the 6th, after a hard-fought battle, he defeated MacMahon at Woerth. MacMahon made

no attempt to hold the line of the Vosges, and retreated on Châlons. On the same day the Germans defeated a French army corps at Forbach on the left. That evening Napoleon III sent the news of the double defeat to the Empress, closing his message with the words 'All can be regained'—an admission that much had been lost. The French main army retired on Metz, where the Emperor handed over the command to Marshal Bazaine. The marshal was to join hands with MacMahon and fight a great battle in the plains of Châlons, where Napoleon arrived on the 15th August. The Germans, with their armies of the centre and right now united, crossed the Moselle, cut in upon Bazaine's line of retreat, defeated him at Gravelotte on the 18th and blockaded him in the fortress. After being reinforced, MacMahon, under orders from Paris and against his own judgement, attempted to come to the aid of Bazaine by a march along the northern frontier. On the 1st September he found himself surrounded by the invaders at Sedan, an old fortress on the Meuse, in a hollow of the hills that now bristled with German artillery. Next day all that was left of his army, and the Emperor, who was with him, were prisoners in the hands of the invaders.

On the 4th September, on the news of the disaster of Sedan, Paris was in revolt, the Republic was proclaimed, and a provisional 'Government of the National Defence' was established. The Germans marched on the French capital, and on the 20th September the siege began. Paris held out till the following January. Improvised armies of half-trained men under D'Aurelle de Paladines, Chanzy, Bourbaki, and Faidherbe made gallant but hopeless efforts to come to its relief. Metz was starved into surrender on the 27th October and the Germans thus took an army of 173,000 prisoners—20,000 of them were in hospital. By the capitulations of Sedan and Metz the invaders had, in three months, captured all the survivors of the armies that France had sent to the front at the outset of the war.

Paris surrendered on the 28th January 1871, after a siege of 133 days, and on the same day an armistice was signed. The

French Government had moved first to Tours and then to Bordeaux. Under the terms of the armistice a National Assembly was elected to conclude peace. It met at Bordeaux on the 12th February and on the 15th preliminaries of peace were signed at Versailles; in accordance with these conditions the definite treaty of peace was signed at Frankfurt on the 10th May. Alsace and part of Lorraine, with Metz and Thionville, were ceded to Germany, and a war indemnity of 5,000 million francs was to be paid, German armies occupying a number of departments until this payment was completed. On the 18th January the new German Empire had been proclaimed in the palace of Versailles.

From first to last the Germans had sent in all more than a million men into France. Their battle losses were over 100,000 killed and wounded, but losses by sickness and exhaustion were still heavier, especially in the hard winter months. When the armistice was signed their armies in France numbered about 600,000 men.

88. FRANCE AFTER THE WAR (1871-82)

After the disasters of the war with Germany France had to face the perils of a formidable revolt in Paris, and minor outbreaks at Lyons, Marseilles, and some other centres. These latter local disturbances were quickly suppressed, but the insurrection in Paris entailed two months of civil war and a second siege of the capital.

Thiers had been elected by the Bordeaux Assembly as 'Chief of the Executive Power', practically President of the new government. After the acceptance of the peace preliminaries he transferred the Government to Paris. One of the first problems he had to face was the disbandment and disarmament of the National Guard, a force of citizen soldiers, about 120,000 strong. During the siege they had been detailed for months to the duty of guarding the ramparts, which were never attacked. Several of the battalions had been taken into action for the first time in the last sortie from Paris when the resistance was near its end. Some of them showed dash and courage, but

others broke down badly under the test of war in the open and their lack of training led to disastrous blunders. Extremist and Socialist agitators had been busy among them, denouncing the Government as incompetent and ready to betray Paris to the Germans. In the autumn there had been an abortive attempt at revolt by the leaders of the doubtful element in the National Guard.

After the surrender there was a movement for the federation of several battalions to keep the Guard under arms. The programme of the leaders was to use it to organize 'the Commune of Paris' which was to play the part the old municipality had taken in the great revolution, and establish a Radical Republic in France by an alliance with the municipalities of the chief cities. There were Communists in the present sense of the word among the leaders, but the watchword of *Vive la Commune* was not a cry for the establishment of Communism. The first step to the coming insurrection was the formation of a directing committee and the seizure of 60 or 70 cannon, which were dragged up to the heights of Montmartre, where the headquarters of the movement had been established. Thiers directed General Vinoy, commandant of the Paris garrison, to seize and remove the guns. At dawn on the 18th March a detachment marched into the main street of the hill suburb, and met with no opposition when it seized the guns. But by a bad blunder the troops had to wait hour after hour for the promised arrival of the artillery drivers and teams to bring them away. Meanwhile the soldiers were standing idle, and crowds of National Guards and civilians gathered, talked to the men, gave them drink, and told them they hoped that as good Frenchmen they had not come to fire on the people. When at last an armed force of the National Guard appeared and announced they would not allow the guns to be removed, numbers of the troops refused to obey orders and fraternized with the Guards. A few shots were fired on both sides, but the officer in command with the men who stood by him withdrew from a hopeless position. Two generals who fell into the hands of the insurgents were tried by a drumhead court and shot in one of the gardens of

Montmartre. The revolt spread through eastern and northern Paris, battalion after battalion turning out in arms to support it. Thiers and Vinoy, after the proof that they could not count with any certainty on the troops, decided to avoid a battle in the streets and in the afternoon began to withdraw the garrison from Paris, and removed the Government and the army of Paris to Versailles. The insurgents established the government of the Commune at the Hôtel de Ville.

The Germans held the northern forts; of the rest the Communists were able to occupy the fort of Vincennes, and the two southern forts of Issy and Vanves, both badly damaged by the German bombardment. All the other forts were held by the Government forces. Germany was interested in a speedy victory over the insurgents, and to reinforce the army at Versailles liberated at once some 80,000 of its prisoners, mostly officers and soldiers of the old Imperial army, with Marshal MacMahon to take command of the coming siege of Paris. Military operations began on the 2nd April, but it was not till the 22nd May that the Versailles troops, after having driven the Communists from the two adjacent forts by artillery fire, surprised the defenders of the south-west angle of the ramparts, and began to push into Paris by the line of the Champs Elysées. During the German siege several of the thoroughfares of Paris had been solidly barricaded in the hope of making Paris a new Saragossa even if the ramparts fell. The Communists were thus enabled to prolong the defence for another week, during which, day by day, the Versailles troops made steady progress till, on the 29th May, the fort of Vincennes in the Far Eastern suburbs was captured. During this week of street fighting there was a pandemonium of slaughter and destruction. As the Communists were driven back they fired houses and public buildings and the night skies were red with the glare. The victorious troops shot some hundreds of their prisoners. The Commune had arrested as 'hostages' the Archbishop of Paris, some of his priests, the President of the Court of Appeal, and some sixty officers and men of the Gendarmerie. These were all executed by firing squads of the National Guard. Thousands of prisoners

were marched out of the city by the victors and several hundreds of these were sent to penal servitude in Cayenne.

The Treaty of Frankfort was signed on the 10th May and after the new elections in July Thiers exchanged his title of 'Chief of the Executive Power' for that of President of the Republic. He was in office for about two years, during which his chief tasks were the liberation of the nine departments occupied by the Germans by paying off the war indemnity, the commencement of a complete reorganization of the army, and the restoration of the peaceful routine of internal government in France. The credit of the country was sound, a series of national loans was easily subscribed, and by the summer of 1873 the final instalment of the war indemnity was paid and the last German soldier crossed the new frontier.

In 1871 Bismarck had told the French Ambassador at Berlin that he feared that as soon as the last instalment of the indemnity was paid and the German occupation of the eastern departments ended France would venture to attack Germany. When this was reported to Thiers he sent the reply that France looked forward to a policy of peace. Peace with Germany lasted for forty-three years. There were for some time outbursts of wild talk of an early *revanche*. There were minor frontier incidents that led to rumours of coming trouble, and orators and poets talked of the deliverance of Alsace as soon as France had recovered her strength. But even the military policy of France was long directed only to providing for the defence of the country. Millions were expended on creating a zone of fortifications along the new eastern frontier, with an inner line of strongholds from Besançon and Langres by Rheims and the heights of Champagne to Lille. Paris was refortified with a far-flung circle of outer forts. But the chief effort of France was directed not to any military adventures in Europe but to the development of a colonial empire in Africa, which led to minor campaigns against Moslem Sultans and negro chiefs. These little wars were intended to be the way to good business and increasing trade. There came a time when it seemed that the hope of ever regaining Alsace had been abandoned.

Though the Third French Republic had come into existence, it was for some time doubtful whether it would last very long. The majority in the National Assembly, though it included a number of sincere Republicans, was mainly made up of monarchists in feeling and tradition. The Bonapartists were a mere handful, mostly elected by Corsica. There was a strong Legitimist element and a still stronger Orleanist group. Thiers himself, the ex-Minister of Louis-Philippe, was strongly inclined to the side of the monarchists.

The Legitimist claimant was 'Henry V', the Comte de Chambord, the last surviving representative of the elder Bourbon line. He was a childless widower, and if he became King the next in succession would be the head of the Orleans line, a grandson of Louis-Philippe. In January 1872 a group of Royalists, in the hope of uniting the monarchist forces in the Assembly, urged him to waive his claims in favour of the Duc d'Orléans. He refused, but the union of Legitimists and Orleanists was effected by the Duke and his uncle, the Prince de Joinville, visiting the Comte de Chambord in Austria in July 1873, and declaring that they would support his claim to the throne. The monarchists were now united. In May Thiers had resigned the Presidency on an adverse vote of the Assembly on a constitutional question. Marshal MacMahon was elected as his successor. He was understood to be favourable to a Royalist restoration, and his first ministry was formed by an avowed monarchist, the Duc de Broglie. The monarchist movement now made rapid progress so that in the autumn preparations were begun for the reception of 'Henry V' at Paris. In October two representatives of the monarchists went to Austria to obtain from him a final declaration of the terms on which he would accept the crown. On their return they reported that he accepted the liberal principles of the Revolution and the tricolour as the flag of France. But all hope of his accession was shattered by his publishing, on the 27th October, a declaration that there had been a mistaken meaning attached to his conciliatory words at the interview, for he could never consent to become 'King of the Revolution' or substitute for the white standard of Joan

of Arc and Henry IV the flag that had waved over the guillotine when Louis XVI was put to death. Vain attempts were made to save a hopeless situation. In the summer of 1874 the Assembly rejected a motion for restoration of the monarchy and proceeded to discuss the definite Constitution of the Republic which became law in the following year.

The elections of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, established by the new constitution, resulted in a strong majority for the Left in the latter and a small majority for the Right in the former. MacMahon tried with the help of the Senate to keep the Radicals of the Lower House in check. In the early summer of 1877 he wrote a note to Jules Simon, the chief of the ministry formed by the Left, censuring his action, and the Simon Cabinet resigned and was replaced by a ministry under the Duc de Broglie. Gambetta, who as delegate of the Government of the National Defence at Tours had organized the French resistance after Sedan, was the most energetic and influential of the Republican leaders. In his newspaper and his speeches he denounced MacMahon as attempting to play the part of an autocrat and capable of attempting a *coup d'état*, and added a wild charge that he was plotting with the Catholic Right to involve France in war with Italy to restore the Pope's temporal power. 'Clericalism is the enemy', he exclaimed. MacMahon, after a vote in support of his policy by the Senate, dissolved the Chamber of Deputies. After an excited electoral campaign the Left won an increased majority. MacMahon had to accept a Liberal ministry. The relations between the Lower House and the President became more strained, and in the Senate the Left won the support of a Right Centre Group. In 1879, on the Chamber calling upon him to remove from their commands a number of generals and colonels believed to be of royalist opinions, MacMahon resigned the Presidency and went to spend the rest of his life in peace at his country home.

Gambetta was offered the succession to the Presidency, but refused it, and promoted the candidature of a moderate Republican, Grévy. Elected under the new Constitution by a joint meeting of the two Houses, Grévy declared that his policy

would be inspired by 'a conservative Liberalism', but the new ministry of the Left, with Clemenceau and Ferry taking the lead in its action, began a campaign of reprisals against the Right, of which a main feature was an attack on the Catholic Church in France. There was an amnesty for the Communists of 1871. Under an addition to the Falloux Law the National Assembly had broken with the monopoly of the Paris University by authorizing the establishment of 'Free Universities' and of this the Catholics had taken immediate advantage. The new universities were now deprived of the right of conferring degrees. A law was passed establishing compulsory education, and free schools in which no religious teaching was to be given. The teaching orders of the Catholic Church were suppressed and their members driven into exile.

Since the fall of MacMahon and the succession of Grévy Gambetta had acted as President of the Chamber of Deputies. In the autumn of 1881 he resigned this position, and formed a new ministry. He was attacked not only by the minority of the Right but also by the extreme Left, who accused him of aiming at a dictatorship. In May 1882 he resigned office. His predecessor in the ministry, De Freycinet, had directed the French seizure of Tunis, and this had led to friction with Italy. On the armed intervention of England in Egypt in 1882, when at the last moment the French squadron was withdrawn, Gambetta was in favour of French co-operation with England. During his brief ministry he had begun an effort in this direction. Had his life been prolonged he would no doubt have been restored to power, and resumed his efforts for a policy of peace in the field of foreign affairs, though his action in France left a legacy of internal strife. But his career was cut short by what was publicly represented as the accidental discharge of a revolver during a quarrel with a woman with whom he lived in his country house near Sèvres. Seriously wounded on the evening of the 27th November, he lingered more than a month, and died on the 31st December 1882.

89. CENTRAL EUROPE—GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
(1871-1900)

In the years after the Franco-German War there began a rapid increase in the armies of Europe, soon followed by a beginning of a competitive increase of the navies of several of the Great Powers. The burden of armaments even in the years of peace soon became far heavier than the cost of many earlier wars. Moltke, the chief organizer of Germany's war power, wrote, shortly before his death in 1891, that 'the nations of Europe were piling up huge masses of explosives and sooner or later some spark would create a general conflagration'. Germany long kept the lead in this 'race of armaments'. The demobilization of her army in 1871 was followed by a steady increase of the numbers called up for service and accumulated in the reserves. In 1893 the peace service of all but the cavalry and horse artillery was reduced to two years of intensive training in order to supply an annual increase of nearly a quarter of a million to the reserve. In 1893 the peace strength was raised to 550,000 men, and it was estimated that in a few years the available reserves would be four millions. By this date the formation of the new German navy had begun, and the 'race of armaments' extended to the sea.

While the experts of the General Staff were developing the armed power of the new empire, Bismarck was completing its civil organization and encouraging the progress of industry and trade. Germany was given a uniform coinage and system of weights and measures; the code of commercial law occupied a prominent place in the new imperial code of laws, which introduced a uniform procedure in the law courts of all the States. Directly through subventions from the treasury, indirectly by large Government orders, and the encouragement of generous co-operation by the banks, commercial enterprise was liberally assisted. In 1873-4 the hasty optimism of speculators, who hoped for immediate results from the new developments, led to a financial crisis, but after this there was steady progress. The ports were improved, the cities extended their

boundaries, there was a reorganization of the railway system. When the great summit tunnel of the St. Gotthard (begun in 1872) was completed in 1881, and the Rhineland railways linked up with Italy by way of northern Switzerland, Germany had a new outlet to the Mediterranean; Genoa became almost the southern port of the Empire, and often there were more liners and large cargo boats in the harbour flying the German black, white, and red flag than those that flew the Italian tri-colour. State grants and guarantees helped in the establishment of ocean passenger lines. In 1875 Bismarck had opposed the proposal that Germany should build up a colonial empire. 'Colonies', he said, 'would be only a source of weakness, because they could be defended only by powerful fleets, and Germany's geographical position does not necessitate her development into a first-class maritime Power.' But thanks to the enterprise of traders the first German colonies in Africa were secured in 1884 and colonial expansion began.

In the first years of the Empire Bismarck had begun what was the greatest mistake in his career—a conflict with the Catholic Church in Germany. Until the opening years of the nineteenth century Prussia had been regarded as a Protestant State. Except in Silesia the Catholics were few in number until the Congress of Vienna handed over to Prussia the Rhineland and Westphalia, including the territories of the Prince Bishops that had been suppressed in the wars of the French Revolution. In these new provinces there was a strong Catholic majority. In 1848 the increased freedom of the press and the concession of the right of public meeting gave the Catholics of Prussia and Germany the opportunity of drawing together in united action, and the first Catholic Congress was held, and later became an annual event. Attempts had been made to form a Catholic group in the Landtag, the Prussian Legislature, to deal with questions affecting the freedom of worship and religious education. But it drew together only intermittently to meet some special emergency, and it was not till the eve of the Franco-German War that the nucleus of a permanent parliamentary organization was formed—the 'Centre Party'—so called from

its taking its place between the Conservatives of the Right and the Liberal parties and groups of the Left. The two main features of its programme were religious freedom and social reform. Non-Catholics were sometimes, though not frequently, found among its members. Practically it was the Catholic party in the new Germany, though this was never its official designation. It became the rallying point of resistance to Bismarck's ill-judged attempt to reduce Catholicity in Germany to the position of a mere national church under control of a State department.

He was misled into this policy by overrating the importance of the protest of a number of university professors and a few priests and the laymen who joined them against the decree of the Vatican Council on the infallibility of the Holy See. Declaring that this was a novel doctrine, the dissidents assumed the name of 'Old Catholics' and, as no bishop in all Germany had given the slightest countenance to the movement, they consummated their schism by one of their leaders, Dr. Rein-
kens, obtaining episcopal orders from the schismatic archbishop of the small remnant of the Dutch Jansenists at Utrecht. Bismarck, underrating the loyalty of the great mass of the Catholics of Germany to the Holy See, thought that the Old Catholic movement might be the beginning of a widespread revolt against the Papacy, and that at least there was a prospect that nationalist ideals and the welcome given to the new unity of the Empire would paralyse any resistance to his policy. By a succession of imperial decrees and laws passed by the Reichstag he expelled the Jesuits, suppressed their colleges, and then extended the ban to the suppression of several other religious orders. There was an attempt to regulate Catholic teaching from the pulpit and in the schools, and to reduce bishops and priests to submission by suppressing the grants made to them by the State. The Archbishops of Cologne and Posen and several other prelates were arrested. One aged bishop died in a fortress prison. Other bishops were driven into exile. When, after forty years of work, with contributions from both Catholics and non-Catholics, the cathedral of Cologne was completed as a great monument of German art, the Emperor William presided at the

opening ceremony, which was of a merely civic character, for the Archbishop was in prison.

The conflict (soon known as the *Kulturkampf*) went on for years, but the passive resistance of the Catholics triumphed in the end. Persecution drew them close together, and the years of the *Kulturkampf* were the time of a remarkable Catholic revival. The Centre carried on a determined opposition in the Reichstag and the Prussian Landtag, and found able and eloquent spokesmen in Windthorst, the two Reichensbergers, and Mallinckrodt. It had a growing body of the electors behind it. At the elections of November 1873 its supporters at the polls rose from three-quarters of a million to nearly a million and a half. Its members in the Prussian Landtag rose from 50 to 90, and in the Reichstag from 63 to 91. A code of new laws was enacted in May 1874 to break down the Catholic resistance. The seminaries were closed, hundreds of parishes were deprived of their pastors, and by 1880 it was estimated that over 600,000 German Catholics were left without priests for their churches.

After the death of Pius IX and the election of Leo XIII there was a gradual relaxation of the repressive measures against the Catholics of Germany. Bismarck realized his failure and was anxious for peace, and the conciliatory diplomacy of the new Pope soon opened the way for it. Finally, the more offensive laws were abrogated or allowed to fall into desuetude, some minor concessions on matters of no vital importance were made by the Holy See, and without any open act of surrender Bismarck abandoned the struggle, and even sought the help of the Centre in carrying out the policy of social reform he had already announced. Thenceforward till the war of 1914 the votes of the Centre could always be counted on to support the Government's naval, military, or social policy in the Reichstag.

The growing prosperity in the Empire and the rapid development of industry had increased the worker population of the great centres, and Socialism was making rapid progress among the men of factories, mines, and shipyards. Bismarck sought to counter the movement by measures of reform. He proposed and secured the enactment of laws for the improvement of

factory conditions, for insurance of workers against sickness and accidents, and for the provision of old age pensions. 'I am told', he said, 'that I am adopting a Socialist policy. But what is Socialism? It has been described as a movement for the betterment of the workers. If this is correct, we are all Socialists.' In his foreign policy, while long haunted by the fear that a *revanche* government might come into power in France, and therefore steadily increasing the armed strength of the Empire, he was anxious for peace. He established friendly relations with Austria.

In 1866 Beust, the Prime Minister of Saxony, had persuaded its King to throw in his lot with the other south German States against Prussia. After the disastrous end of the war he had left Saxony, made friends with the Emperor Francis Joseph, and soon became the chief minister of his Government. It was on his advice that in 1867 Hungary was granted self-government. Beust argued that the existence of a nationalist party representing so important a factor in the Empire made any attempt at parliamentary government difficult, for such a party in the legislature would neither act nor vote on the merits of current questions, but invariably reinforce the opposition. Hungary was now to be governed by a Parliament and a Ministry of its own at Buda-Pesth, and was given its historic rank as a kingdom, and Francis Joseph was solemnly crowned with the crown of St. Stephen in the new capital. Austria became officially Austria-Hungary. This concession to the Magyar nation led to increased agitation for similar concessions being made to the Slav provinces of the Empire, and presently a considerable addition was made to its Slav subjects in the south.

While a long period of peace had begun in western and central Europe after the war of 1870-1 the Balkan lands were becoming once more a scene of strife, and Russia was preparing for the reopening of the Eastern Question and another push towards Constantinople. In 1875 there was a rebellion against Turkey in her north-western province of Bosnia, next year there was a rising, largely organized from Russia, in Bulgaria. This latter revolt was savagely suppressed by the Turks. Russia was already

preparing to intervene, and secured the neutrality of Austria by suggesting that Austro-Hungarian forces should occupy Bosnia to restore order. This cost Austria some months of mountain warfare in which the Bosnian Slavs, both Moslem and Christian, opposed the new comers. At one time some 200,000 Austro-Hungarian troops were mobilized. The occupation developed into annexation, and ultimately led to a permanent Serbian conspiracy against the Austrians, for the Serbian nationalists regarded Bosnia and Illyria as destined to be part of a future 'Greater Serbia'.

The Russian war against Turkey, with Rumania for an ally of the Tsar (1877-8), ended with the advance of the invaders over the Balkans to within a few miles of Constantinople. A joint protest by Germany, Austria, and England, and the appearance of a British fleet in the Sea of Marmora were followed by an armistice, and Bismarck presided over the Peace Congress at Berlin which for a time settled the affairs of the Near East. As he said, he tried to act as 'an honest broker' in these transactions. Bulgaria became a semi-independent State of Turkey, under a German Prince, Alexander of Battenberg. Rumania had for some years had for its ruler Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a prince of the Catholic branch of the Hohenzollerns. German officers took over the reorganization of the Sultan's army. The Austrians began railway-making in Bosnia, with projects for a future extension to Salonika which, it was hoped, would be a new opening for both Austrian and German trade with the Near East. Russia was to be content with conquests in central Asia and the advance through Siberia to the Pacific. The German *Drang nach Osten*—the 'push to the East'—had begun. Bismarck formed an alliance between Austria and Germany, soon to be joined by Italy. It was to protect central Europe from either French or Russian aggression.

During the latter years of the Emperor William, Bismarck had been practically the real ruler of the new Germany. The Emperor had nearly completed his ninety-first year, when he died on the 9th March 1888. He was succeeded by his son, the Crown Prince Frederick, then in his fifty-seventh year. A few

months before he had been in London as the representative of Germany at the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. He then seemed to be a splendid type of manly vigour, but in the autumn he had suffered from throat trouble and when he succeeded to the throne a cancerous growth was developing. He reigned for only ninety-nine days, dying after an unsuccessful operation on the 15th June. His eldest son, William II, who succeeded him, from the very outset resented Bismarck's attempts to direct his policy, and the growing friction between the young Emperor and the veteran Chancellor ended with Bismarck's forced resignation in March 1890.

William II was very popular in Germany in the earlier years of his reign. He insisted on largely directing the policy of his ministers, and adopted a conciliatory policy even to the opposition groups in home affairs. He abolished repressive regulations imposed by Bismarck on the Poles, swept away the last remnants of the *Kulturkampf*, and introduced new measures for the benefit of the working classes. While continuing the development of the army he became the founder of a new German navy. 'Germany's future is upon the sea', he said; and when, in 1890, he visited the island of Heligoland, on its cession to Germany in exchange for the abandonment of claims at Zanzibar, he declared that it would become the advanced outpost of the German naval power in the North Sea. The growth of Germany's colonies and the rapid expansion of her sea-borne commerce were the reasons put forward to justify naval expenditure, and the Emperor described the end to be kept in view as the creation of a navy strong enough to make even the greatest of maritime powers hesitate to challenge the rights of the German nation.

The Triple Alliance had been completed in 1882, when Italy joined the already existing alliance of Germany and Austria-Hungary. This led to the gradually drawing together of Russia and France for mutual protection against this powerful combination. Negotiations begun in the summer of 1891 led first to what was described as a 'military convention', signed at St. Petersburg by Generals de Boisdeffre and Obrutcheff (August

1892), and then the formal treaty of alliance between France and Russia signed at Paris in March 1894. Next year a deputation of some sixty of the leading generals and staff colonels of the Russian army were the guests of France, to witness the autumn manœuvres in which a concentration of five army corps at full war strength represented a repulse of an invading army's attempt to break through the wide gap in the eastern fortress line between Toul and Epinal.

So in this last decade of the nineteenth century Europe from the Pyrenees to the Urals and the Caspian was organized in two heavily armed and potentially hostile alliances. England yet held aloof from any continental engagements. The Russian penetration in Asia was regarded as a menace to her power in India, and there was tension with France, resulting from rivalries in Africa. In 1898 after the conquest of Khartoum, Marchand's daring attempt to occupy the upper Nile region and his seizure of Fashoda brought France and England to the verge of war. As for British relations with Germany, William II's naval enterprise was soon causing friction between London and Berlin.

In 1899 an effort to check the race of armaments and do something to minimize the danger of new wars in Europe came from an unexpected quarter. On the 11th January the Tsar Nicholas II addressed and published a note to his Minister of Foreign Affairs suggesting that there should be an international conference with a view to an agreement not to increase, for a given period, the existing military and naval forces of the nations, nor increase the budget votes for armaments, and, further, to examine the question of a possible reduction of existing armaments and expenditure in the coming years. The conference, attended by delegates from twenty-six States, assembled at The Hague in the middle of May and was in session till the end of July 1899. The discussion on the reduction of armaments led to no result, but three conventions were drafted, adopted, and ratified by all the States represented at The Hague. There was an agreement for the peaceful settlement of international disputes by arbitration. Its defect was that it

was rather an expression of opinion than a binding engagement to adopt any definite procedure for this pacific purpose. There was a useful agreement to extend as far as possible to naval war the earlier Red Cross Convention of Geneva for aid and protection to the wounded in war by land. Another convention included a code of regulations of the customs and laws of war by land and sea. Some of its provisions were effective in later wars: such, for instance, as the ban on explosive or expanding rifle bullets, and the use of shells weighing less than a pound, these like the condemned bullets being regarded as inflicting horribly cruel wounds* on disabled opponents. But the then recent revival of hand grenades by the Japanese in their war with China was not noticed. There was also a prohibition of the use of shells to diffuse poisonous or asphyxiating gases, a regulation that proved of no effect when the Great War came a few years later. The conference, however, had, despite many disappointments, done some useful work. It was of importance as a first step towards better things. It was the prelude to a second conference in 1907, which established the international tribunal of The Hague, and prepared the way for the League of Nations after the horrors of the colossal war towards which Europe was drifting when the new century began.

90. EUROPE AND THE FAR EAST—JAPAN BECOMES A GREAT POWER (1853-1905)

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Marco Polo and the Franciscan missionaries, who reached the Far East by the caravan routes of central Asia, told Europe of the powerful Empire of Cathay (China) and of the islands of Cipangu (Japan) off its coast. When Columbus discovered the West Indies, he believed he had reached the islands of 'Cipangu' and that 'Cathay' must be near at hand. But no European set foot in the island empire of the Far East until, in 1543, the first of the Portuguese traders from Goa reached its shores, and were soon followed by Spanish traders and missionaries from the Philippines. In 1600 the first of the Dutch traders arrived. In the next twenty years, despite opposition from the Spaniards, there

was a growing trade between Holland and Japan. This was the time when a revolution in Japan relegated the old imperial line to ceremonial obscurity, and the government was taken over by a new dynasty of the Shoguns, who had long been hereditary chief ministers of the Mikado. St. Francis Xavier had been the pioneer of a successful Catholic mission, and among its converts were representatives of all classes from the feudal nobility to the peasantry. The Dutch persuaded the new rulers of Japan that the missionaries were agents and spies of Spain, preparing the way for a Christian rebellion backed by foreign arms. A persecution began under the Shogun Iyeyasu, and after his death in 1616 his successor, Hidetada, decreed that conformity to the 'foreign religion' incurred the death penalty. A ferocious persecution began. A later decree banished all foreigners except the Dutch. A mere handful of their traders were allowed to remain, but they had to live on a small island, Deshima, near Nagasaki, and never set foot on the mainland. It was ordered that if any other European ship entered a Japanese port it was to be seized and burned and all on board put to death. Japan was to be isolated from the outer world. No ship was to be built that could make a long ocean voyage. Any Japanese who went abroad was not to be allowed to return. This isolation was maintained for more than two centuries.

Russell Lowell, in his famous *Biglow Papers*, describes a bellicose politician as arguing that

Civilization *does* get forrard
Sometimes on a powder-cart.

It was by the coming of Commodore Perry's American squadron of four warships to the port of Uraga in 1853 that the modern contact of Japan with 'western civilization' had its beginning. The Commodore, while requesting that friendly negotiations should be opened for American trade with Japan, intimated that his country was ready to use force to secure this concession. There were musters of the local Japanese forces, prayers in the Buddhist temples for the destruction of the foreigners, and ineffectual requests to the Dutch at Deshima for help to defend

their monopoly. Commodore Perry left Uraga, after informing the Japanese authorities that he gave them time to consider their answer, and would soon come back to receive it. He reappeared at Uraga next summer with ten warships, and the result of this display of force was the treaty by which the Japanese agreed to open several ports to American trade, and also to give humane help to foreign ships wrecked on their coasts, and supply water and provisions to ships driven to take refuge in their ports. An American consul was to be received as a resident in each of the ports opened for trade.

This American action led the way to the European Powers claiming and obtaining similar concessions for their traders, and thus the isolation of Japan came to an end. Both in Europe and America there was a tendency to regard this island State as the home of a backward nation of little people, a country ready for profitable exploitation by the 'civilized' West and the white races that were the privileged masters of the world. It was a perilous time for Japan. This contact with the outer world came to a people that was powerless to resist the dictation of foreign envoys backed by fleets against which its coast batteries of old cannon and little warships could at most make only a hopeless resistance. There was no strong central government. The last of the Shoguns was a weak incapable ruler. A movement was already developing among the more enterprising of the feudal nobles, the Daimio, for the restoration of the old line of emperors. A revolution was impending and the foreign intervention precipitated it. The history of Japan in the fifteen years from 1853 to 1868 is a complicated record of internal discord, foreign interference, local attempts at resistance, a revolution that restored the imperial line in the person of the Emperor Mutsuhito, and the rebellion of a group of malcontent nobles and their clansmen, resulting in a hard-fought civil war. The final result was the establishment of a new régime which entered on a period of political tranquillity. The new Government was recognized by the foreign Powers, whose embassies were received at Tokio; a period of external relations followed, resulting in the introduction of many foreign developments.

In these few years changes were made that in old Europe had been the result of centuries of evolution. But while borrowing freely from the West care was taken to preserve Japan from being merely Europeanized. The constitution which established a Japanese Parliament declared in its first article that the sovereignty of the Empire was hereditary in the everlasting dynasty descended from the gods of Japan.

During the period of change in its earlier stage the foreign warships had been twice in action. In the summer of 1863 a combined British, French, and Dutch fleet bombarded Shimomoseki, on the Korean Straits, in reprisal for its batteries firing on European shipping, and a British squadron silenced the forts of Kagoshima, and shelled the city after an attack on Englishmen in its streets. After the settlement of 1868 the embassies had to be guarded for some time to come, and there were several instances of foreigners being murdered by patriotic fanatics.

It was in 1868 that a joint protest of the ambassadors at Tokio ended the last outburst of persecution of the native Catholics in Japan. Even during the time of Japan's isolation there had been rumours that the fierce persecution of the seventeenth century had not entirely destroyed the native Church in Japan, and that some descendants of the converts still held together, practising their religion in secret. A Russian traveller in the Far East heard of a crucifixion of Japanese Catholics as late as 1812. On the 17th March 1867 there came an unexpected confirmation of the long doubted reports of a survival of Catholicity in Japan, through some 250 years of persecution and isolation. The French Société des Missions Étrangères had sent one of its priests, the Abbé Petitjean, to act as chaplain to the Catholics of the European settlement at Nagasaki. He had acquired a very thorough mastery of the Japanese language, and on this March day in 1867 he paid a visit to his chapel, and found there a party of peasants who had come in to the morning market. When they knelt before the altar he spoke to them, found they were Catholics, and learned from them that in several of the villages there were numbers of their brethren who had, from generation to generation, kept the faith of the martyrs of Japan.

With the help of a tourist passport he made several visitations to the Christian villages, but his missionary expeditions were soon discovered by the police. A search for the hidden Christians began, and some 2,000 were taken from their homes and marched away under escort to be scattered here and there among the farmers of the north, as all but their slaves. Many died in the severe northern winter that followed. In the spring of 1868 a successful protest of the French Ambassador, supported by his colleagues, persuaded the Government to restore the survivors to their homes, and withdraw the last vestige of the days of persecution.

The new Government of Japan invited European and American scholars to act as professors in its universities and high schools, and engineers and other experts to organize a railway system and equip factories and shipyards. It also sent students to complete their higher studies in foreign universities. It was decided that no effort should be spared to develop both the army and navy. The first Japanese ironclad, the little *Fuso*, was built in Pembroke dockyard, and young naval officers were sent to serve for a time in British warships. France supplied instructors for the new army until, after the war of 1870-1, German officers were invited to act as instructors in the staff college.

The new army made its first expedition in 1874, when the navy landed an infantry brigade in Formosa to support a protest to China on the subject of losses to trade by the action of pirates on the island coast. There was talk of war, but diplomatic action obtained a promise from Peking that the Chinese fleet would suppress piracy and the troops were withdrawn. It was with China that Japan entered upon the first serious war of her new army and navy, after again and again coming to the verge of hostilities in disputes as to rival claims in Korea. The Korean peninsula divides the Yellow Sea from the almost land-locked Sea of Japan. Its land frontier touches on the west Chinese territory, on the east that of Russia. In the Middle Ages it had been a powerful State, but later it became a tributary kingdom of the Chinese Empire. It had been long closed to foreigners, like Japan before 1854.

Contacts of Japan with Korea began in 1875 with a demand for reparation to be made for the ill treatment of a shipwrecked crew. This was followed by a demand for the country being opened to Japanese trade, and when this was conceded other Powers obtained the same right. An agreement was made with China, which the Japanese Government interpreted as a waiving of all claims to Chinese suzerainty. A series of intermittent disputes followed, China repeatedly insisting that Korea was still under her protection. Twice it seemed that war was imminent, but it was averted by the friendly mediation of European Powers. At last, in the summer of 1894, the long series of disputes led to war.

There had been a rising in the south in the spring. After a feeble attempt to deal with it, the King of Korea, at whose court in Seoul the Chinese party was in the ascendant, appealed to Peking for armed assistance. Count Otori, the Japanese envoy at Seoul, protested, and told the King the rising was due to his own feeble misgovernment. When a Chinese fleet arrived in the port of Chemulpho and landed a brigade about 2,000 strong, Otori asked his Government to send troops for the protection of his embassy. The arrival of General Oshima with a force amply sufficient to guard the embassy was followed by further disembarkations until Oshima had more than 7,000 men and some batteries of guns in and near Seoul. Otori ventured on a high-handed *coup d'état*. On the 23rd July Oshima was sent to seize the royal palace, a new ministry was installed, and the helpless King signed a request to Otori to use the Japanese troops to turn the Chinese out of Korea. Oshima marched from Seoul on the 25th, and at dawn on the 28th surprised and routed the Chinese force.

Though there was as yet no declaration of war a Japanese naval squadron was in action on the same day that Oshima marched out of Seoul. The Chinese were concentrating troops on the northern border of Korea, sending them by sea to the mouth of the Yalu, the frontier river. On the 25th July the cruiser *Naniwa Kan* stopped and sank a British steamer, the *Kowshing*, a hired transport conveying 1,200 Chinese infantry to the Yalu.

War between China and Japan had thus begun. For the ill-trained and badly equipped Chinese armies it was a series of defeats. The Japanese drove them out of Korea, forced the crossings of the Yalu, and pushed on into Manchuria. Admiral Ito defeated the Chinese fleet off the mouth of the Yalu, destroying several of its ships. A second army was landed in the Liao-tung peninsula and besieged and stormed Port Arthur. In the winter Admiral Ito's fleet, with a landing force, captured the naval port of Wei-hai-wei in Shantung.

If the war had been prolonged there would have been a march on Peking in the early spring. China abandoned the hopeless struggle. In March 1905 negotiations were opened at Shimonoseki, and a treaty of peace was signed on the 17th April. Formosa and the adjacent islands and the Liao-tung peninsula with the fortress and dockyard of Port Arthur were ceded to Japan, and China agreed to pay an indemnity of 30 millions sterling. Korea passed under the protection of Japan, a protectorate soon to develop into annexation.

From Russia there came a protest, supported by France and Germany. It declared that the possession of the fortress and dockyard of Port Arthur must not be given to Japan, for in the hands of any foreign Power it would be a standing menace to Peking, as a fleet based upon it must necessarily control the approach to the Chinese capital. Japan could find no ally against this powerful combination and had to surrender the most valuable of its conquests. The Government at Tokio gave sullen, disappointed consent, and began years of patient preparation to challenge the Russian dictatorship in the Far East.

In the autumn of the same year there was a rumour that Russia had arranged a secret convention, by which China was to give her a long lease of the Liao-tung peninsula and Port Arthur, with the right to link up the fortress with the Siberian railway by a branch line through Manchuria. The rumour was denied. It seemed incredible—but it was true, and before long the convention was published officially. It was one more revelation of the weakness of China, and other Powers sought to profit by it. France secured the 'lease' of a port in the south,

Germany made the murder of two priests of the Catholic mission in Shantung the pretext for occupying Kiao-chau and obtaining a lease of the port and the neighbouring district. England secured a lease of the fortified dockyard port of Wei-hai-wei.

In northern China a secret society was formed to oppose what seemed to be the beginning of a partition of the Empire. It operated under the mask of a patriotic association to promote physical training of the young men, and later it became known as the league of the 'Boxers'. Officials and army officers were among its members. Its secret watchword was: 'Protect our country—away with the foreigners.' In 1899 there were several murders of missionaries in the north. Then, in 1900, anti-foreign riots developed into a widespread insurrection. Thousands of the native Catholics were massacred. The Boxers seized Peking. In the Embassy quarter the legations were hurriedly prepared for defence and became a refuge for European residents, and under the command of the British Ambassador, Sir Claude Macdonald (who had served in the campaigns of Egypt and the Sudan), they held out against the attacks of the Boxers. Another centre of defence was the Catholic cathedral and the adjacent quarter, where a number of the refugees, with help of a French officer, held out in an improvised fortress of barricaded lanes and loopholed houses and walls. An expeditionary force of many nations was formed—Russians, French, Germans, British, Americans, and Japanese, and under the command of a German general retook Peking, when the besieged foreigners and the defenders of the cathedral were nearly starved into surrender. The Japanese contingent won high praise for its efficiency and the reckless daring of men and officers during the relief campaign.

During the Boxer troubles the Russians had occupied three provinces in Manchuria, and in the next five years, in reply to repeated demands from Japan for their withdrawal, promised again and again to do so, but always found some pretext for delay. Japan was patiently preparing for war. Six powerful battleships were built in foreign yards, lighter craft were constructed in Japan and abroad. In 1902 there was an alliance

with England limited by the proviso that it was to become effective only if Japan or Britain was involved in war with more than one opposing Power. The Russian dockyards were busy, and ship after ship arrived at Port Arthur, while month by month the armies of the Far East were reinforced. Admiral Alexieff, the Tsar's Viceroy in the East, was anxious for war and confident of success. He added a new grievance for Japan to the Manchurian dispute, by extending the operations of a Russian timber company into the woods of northern Korea. But it was the Manchurian dispute that was the reason for Japan severing diplomatic relations with Russia on the 6th February 1904. On the eve of the formal declaration of war, a Japanese torpedo flotilla inflicted serious damage in a night attack on Russian battleships anchored outside the narrow entrance of Port Arthur.

Once more the war brought a series of victories for Japan. The main army under Marshal Oyama concentrated in Korea forced the crossing of the Yalu river on the 1st May, and invaded Manchuria. The fleet under Admiral Togo drove the Russian fleet back to Port Arthur in a battle that cost the Russians heavy loss, and in June a second army, under General Nogi, landed in the Liao-tung peninsula and began the siege of Port Arthur, which was defended by a far advanced outer line of works, and a second line nearer the port and town. The stubborn defence of the fortress was prolonged for the rest of the year. In August the fleet made another sortie; its defeat by Togo on the 10th August sent only half of it back to harbour, for the other Russian ships were destroyed or took refuge in neutral harbours, out of action for the remainder of the war. On the 1st and 2nd September Oyama won the great battle of Liao-yang and the Russian army under Kuropatkin fell back towards Mukden. Meanwhile three successive Russian fleets had been got together in the Baltic and began the long voyage, mostly by the Cape, a few ships by the Suez Canal, to concentrate in the eastern seas and attempt the relief of Port Arthur.

In October the armies of Kuropatkin and Oyama faced each other a few miles from Mukden, on the north and south banks

of the Sha-ho River, busily entrenching their positions. This was the situation through the winter. Oyama did not mean to attack until Port Arthur fell and set free Nogi's army to join him. Kuropatkin was receiving reinforcements by the Siberian railway. On the 2nd January 1905 Port Arthur surrendered. The news added to the unpopularity of the war in Russia, and the 22nd January was 'Red Sunday' in St. Petersburg, when processions of the workers marched to the Tsar's palace to present petitions for peace and the grant of a constitution, and were shot down in heaps by the troops. Disturbances followed in many parts of Russia and Western Siberia, and for weeks the flow of reinforcements and supplies to the army in the Far East was disorganized.

On the 20th February Oyama began his attack on the Russian lines of the Sha-ho. There followed the nineteen days of fighting known as the battle of Mukden, probably the greatest battle ever fought till then. The opposing armies were each about 300,000 strong, and as Oyama pushed out his flanking movements to work round Kuropatkin's entrenchments eastward in the Ta-lin hill country, westward in the level plain of the Sha-ho and the Liao-ho, there was a front of some seventy miles. For the Russians it was near leading to another Sedan on a gigantic scale. When the fighting ended on the 10th March the Russians had narrowly escaped being surrounded, and what was left of their army was retreating through Mukden, huddled together on a single line of road and rail.

There was no further serious fighting on land, but the Russians still hoped the armada from Europe would reach Vladivostok, defeat the Japanese fleet, and cut the armies of Oyama off from their supplies by sea—perhaps even raid the coasts of the island empire. Togo barred the way of the fleet in the Korean Straits near the islands of Tsu-shima. In the tremendous sea fight that began early in the afternoon of the 27th May, and was followed by a relentless pursuit through the night and the early hours of next day, the Russian fleet was simply destroyed. Of some thirty ships of all classes, only two torpedo craft and a small cruiser escaped the pursuit and

reached Vladivostok. The rest were burned, blown up, torpedoed, sunk, captured, or driven into neutral ports. The Japanese had very small losses and only one ship was seriously damaged.

With his forces defeated by land and sea, and the menace of discontent and disorder in Russia itself, the Tsar accepted an offer of mediation from the American President. In August negotiations began at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and a treaty of peace was signed, by which Port Arthur, the Liao-tung peninsula, and a strip of coast territory linking it with Korea, were handed over to Japan.

Men were still living who could remember the closing days of Japan's isolation. Togo, the victor of Tsushima, had served as a volunteer in the batteries of Kagoshima in 1863, when he was a boy of sixteen, and the place was bombarded by a British fleet. Japan had now gained her place as one of the world's 'Great Powers'. She meant to guard it well. Her dockyards were soon busy constructing giant battleships of the newest Dreadnought type, and a reorganization of the army was calculated to give the Empire a first fighting line of a million and a half of men.

91. RUSSIA AND THE NEAR EAST (1856-1906)

While in the Far East in the middle years of the nineteenth century Commodore Perry's frigates were breaking up the long isolation of Japan, the Tsar Nicholas in the Near East was challenging the allied forces of the Western Powers. Japan was then regarded in Europe as a weak, semi-barbarous State, Russia as an immense world Power with vast territories extending over all eastern Europe and northern Asia. Who, then, could imagine that in the next sixty years the victories of Japan would reveal the weakness of Russia and the Tsardom would be nearing its tragic end?

In the half-century between the Crimean War and the disastrous conflict with the new Japan a large extension of territory in Asia was added to the Russian Empire. The Treaty of Paris in 1856 had excluded Russian warships from the Black

Sea, but armed merchant steamers blockaded its east coast, and by 1860 the conquest of Circassia was completed. With the coming of the wide use of petroleum and petrol for light, heat, and power, the oilfields of Baku became a new source of wealth. One by one the Khanates of Turkestan were conquered; posts were established on the Pamir highlands, the Trans-Caspian railways were constructed, and the Russian Empire reached the frontiers of Afghanistan and India. A treaty with China gave Russia a tract of territory in Chinese Turkestan, and the first step towards penetration in Persia was made, not long before the Great War, by a convention with England that recognized northern Persia as a Russian 'sphere of influence', a phrase of up-to-date diplomacy that was often a prelude to occupation, protectorate, and conquest. Kars and eastern Armenia were secured in 1878 by the war with Turkey, the Black Sea having been reopened to the Russian navy in 1870 by the Tsar's denunciation of the prohibitive clauses of the Paris Treaty. In the Far East, in return for Russian good offices in arranging peace between China and the Western Powers in 1860, a large territory along the Amur Valley and on the Pacific coast was ceded to Russia, and a city and dockyard founded with the proud name of 'Vladivostok', i.e. 'the Mistress of the East'. In 1891 the Trans-Siberian railway was begun, linking up the Pacific coast with the Russian railway system by nearly 4,000 miles of rail.

The resources of Russia were also increased by introducing steam ploughs in the rich 'Black Earth' corn belt of the centre and south, and Odessa developed into a great port for the grain trade. Factories were extended and there was an increased industrial population in several of the large cities. These developments and the cost of expanding naval and military armaments had been largely financed by foreign loans. There was a firm belief in the unbounded resources that would be supplied by the exploitation of the lands, mines, and forests of the vast empire, and Russian bonds were regarded as good investments, first in England and then in France after the alliance. By 1914 the external debt rose to about 500 millions sterling.

But despite all this success, the decline of the empire had begun. Under the Tsar Nicolas I there had been a long series of local revolts by the serfs against the great landholders. His successor, Alexander II, began his reign by making peace with the western Allies, and then inaugurated a policy of reform to obtain internal peace in Russia itself. His first and most important work was the emancipation of the serfs, carried out in the face of opposition from a number of the nobles and landlords, whom he warned that it was better the change should come from above than from below. The peasants were given a limited share in local government by the organization of village councils. Russia was a country of few large towns and cities and thousands of villages, in which the peasants hardly had any contact with the outer world. The village was their world, and the same word *Mir* meant both 'world' and 'village community'. Minor disputes were settled and minor delinquencies dealt with by the council of elders; they handed over the local taxes to the authorities, and any annual levy of conscripts to the recruiting officers. News reached them by current rumours at the fairs or from the village priest. In these old days public opinion in Russia was the opinion of the town-dwellers and the educated classes. The emancipated serf had the right to rent a plot of land from his former lord, or purchase it by annual instalments. Thus one fertile source of internal troubles was removed.

In the large towns and cities the powers of the municipalities were extended, and in some parts of European Russia district councils were established. But all these bodies had limited authority, and their decisions could be revised or overridden by imperial decrees. In 1864 some useful judicial reforms were promulgated, including the abolition of secret tribunals and the introduction of trial by jury. There was the drawback that administrative decrees could suppress newspapers, and send obnoxious exponents of more Liberal policies to reside in Siberia. There was an army reorganization in 1874 which enacted universal liability to military service, but reduced the time to be spent with the colours and in the army reserve.

These instalments of reform did not satisfy the growing number of those who hoped for a constitutional régime, and still less the extremists who looked forward to a revolution that would sweep away the Tsardom and make way for some new experiment in popular government. Russian Liberalism was inspired by the memories of the French Revolution and was encouraged by contacts of students in foreign universities with comrades and teachers of 'advanced' views. Its adherents were found in every class from nobles down to the workers in the factories and shipyards. From 1860 onwards it became a more and more active element in the political life of the people. The adherents of the movement were often described as the 'Nihilists'. But the Nihilists were mostly a literary group rather than men of action. Turgeniev, novelist and poet, the son of a wealthy and noble family, is often characterized as their pioneer. It would probably be a mistake to describe him as a conscious propagandist of revolution, but in his popular novels and through the mouth of his fictitious characters he satirized and denounced most existing institutions, deprecated partial efforts at reform as mere palliatives, treated as men of a truly independent spirit those who refused to bow to any authority or accept on trust any principle however widely venerated. It was easier to publish destructive criticism in a novel than in a newspaper, but soon both criticism and constructive propaganda was more safely carried on from exile abroad than in Russia.

It was a weak point of the ultra-Liberal movement in Russia that it indulged more fully in this destructive criticism than in any clear proposals for practical reform, so that when police and military repression began the protagonists of the movement abandoned all idea of patient evolution towards free government and plunged into violence and terrorism. After the Paris Commune of 1871 secret organizations spread through the country, and linked up with the agencies of the Workers' International among the exiles in Switzerland, and less openly in London. The new organization spread rapidly in Russia itself. Preventive imprisonment of suspects was adopted by the police, but in 1877 juries showed a tendency to acquit prisoners brought

to trial. In 1878, when Vera Zassulitch shot the police General Trepoff, a jury in the capital acquitted her. Subsequently special commissions and courts-martial dealt with accused conspirators.

It was in the years when home troubles were reaching this acute phase, and perhaps in the hope of rallying Russian opinion to the Tsardom by military success, that Alexander II ventured on one more war in the Balkan lands. Though fallen on evil days, he had still two great sources of power and influence at his command. As ruler of the Orthodox Church in Russia, which had been reduced by Peter the Great to a mere department of the Tsardom, he could pose as protector of the Christians of the Near East, and though the imperial dynasty was more German than Russian it ruled over the greatest of Slav Powers. Since the meeting in 1848 of the first Panslavist Congress there had been a growing Slavophile movement, one more of the nationalistic movements that so deeply influenced the politics of Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. As the protector of the Slav Christians of the Balkans, the Tsar declared war against the Sultan after the suppression of a rising in what was then still the Turkish province of Bulgaria.

The war of 1877-8 and the Berlin Congress at its close made Bulgaria a principality under Prince Alexander of Battenberg, but as yet a tributary to the Sultan. It was to pay tribute to Turkey, but nothing was ever paid. Russian officers organized and commanded its army. For a time it was a Russian outpost.

The war had been costly both in life and money, and Russian prestige had suffered by foreign intervention stopping the advance on Constantinople. Revolutionary terrorism became more aggressive. It was while the army menaced Constantinople that Vera Zassulitch was acquitted by a jury. In the summer of the same year (1878) the Governor of Kharkoff was assassinated and General Mezentsoff, the chief of the police, was shot dead in broad daylight in St. Petersburg. Next year there was an attempt to assassinate the Tsar, and twice his

train was derailed. In February 1880 the dining-room of the Winter Palace was blown up. The courts-martial were busy, there were many executions of terrorists, and hundreds were deported to Siberia. The Tsar was actually preparing for an attempt to improve the position by some Liberal concessions when, on the 13th March 1881, as he drove back to the Winter Palace, a band of revolutionists, headed by a woman, threw bombs into and around his sledge, and he was severely wounded and died in a few hours.

The first act of his son and successor, Alexander III, was to cancel a decree his father had signed. All idea of reform was abandoned and a reactionary policy adopted. His horror at his father's death led him to spend most of his time away from his capital at the palace of Gatchina in the pine-wood a few miles away to the south-west. He tried to check the Revolutionists by 'strong government', withdrew some of the already limited powers of the district councils, restored some of the privileges of the great landowners, and made an ill-advised attempt to substitute Russian for native schools in Finland. He thoroughly alienated Bulgaria from Russia for years to come, when the Prince and his minister Stambuloff showed a disposition to resent dictation from the Russian legation. He suddenly recalled the officers who were forming the new Bulgarian army and, if he did not inspire, certainly encouraged a Serbian attack on the principality. Prince Alexander took the field with an army, in which, to fill the vacant posts, captains commanded brigades and young lieutenants took command of regiments. The Serbs were defeated in the hard-fought battle of Slivnitza and sued for peace. Then came a lawless outrage Russophile conspirators kidnapped Prince Alexander, took him to a village north of the Danube and forced him to sign his abdication. He returned to his capital, and declared the forced abdication null, but the Tsar telegraphed to him a disapproval of his return. The Prince lost heart and after appointing a Regency under Stambuloff left the country. After other Princes had refused the succession, it was accepted by Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a strong man whose bold policy secured the

independence of Bulgaria and raised his principality to the rank of a Kingdom.

In 1894 Alexander III concluded the treaty of alliance with France. On the 1st November of the same year, he died at his seaside palace of Livadia in South Russia and his ill-fated son, Nicholas II, succeeded to the throne. He was a man of weak character who indulged in strong words. A few weeks after his accession, delegates from the district councils congratulated him on his marriage with Princess Alix of Hesse, and in their address expressed the hope that there would be a peaceful time in which both the rulers and those they ruled would obey the law. He replied that he regretted to hear that in some of the district assemblies certain persons 'carried away by senseless dreams' had talked of representatives of the local councils sharing in the government of the country, and went on to say: 'Let all know that I mean to defend the principle of autocracy as consistently as my father maintained it.'

In foreign affairs one of his earliest acts was the protest, after the war between China and Japan, against the cession of Port Arthur to the Japanese. This was followed by the secret negotiations that handed the fortress over to Russia. It led to the ruinous war with Japan a few years later. During these years while Japan and Russia were arming for the coming trial of strength in the Far East, the revolutionary movement was making steady progress in Russia. In 1903 exiles coming from various parts of Europe, and delegates from Russia itself, met in London and a proposal was made to unite with the moderate Liberals in a joint movement for a constitution. It was defeated by a majority led by a young Russian lawyer, Vladimir Lenin, a refugee who had spent three years in a Russian prison and three more as an exile in eastern Siberia. He carried a resolution that the programme of the movement should be based on the teaching of Karl Marx, rejecting all moderate theories. *Bolshevik* is the Russian word for 'those of the majority', and from this vote in London the thoroughgoing part of the Socialist Revolution came to be known as the Bolsheviks.

Partly from their contacts with many of the ultra-Liberal

and Socialist groups in the West, partly from the fact that the Church in Russia was regarded as a mainstay of Tsarist despotism, the movement took an attitude of complete and aggressive hostility to religion in any form. In Russia, however, active opposition to the autocratic régime was not limited to the Bolsheviks. During the war with Japan the procession that was scattered by rifle fire in St. Petersburg, on its 'Red Sunday', 22nd January 1905, was not made up of unbelievers only. It was marshalled and led by a popular priest, Father Gapon; banners from the churches were carried side by side with party flags. It came to petition the Tsar for peace and freedom, but Nicholas II was not in his capital that day, a day that marked the beginning of the end.

After the war with Japan there was a first attempt at conciliation, when in 1906 an imperial decree announced the creation of a national assembly known as the Duma. The elections were to be conducted on a complicated system. There were two stages of voting. In the first the voters, representing various classes in each district, from nobles and landowners down to peasants and factory workers, were to choose the members of the Duma. When it met it had limited powers, and its decisions were subject to revision by the Imperial Council. The Bolsheviks denounced it as a sham Parliament, and refused to vote in the elections. Moderate men regarded it as a possible first step towards constitutionalism. The first Duma was dissolved on presenting a scheme of reform. In all, six successive Dumas were elected between 1906 and the downfall of the Tsardom in 1917. Its creation did nothing to arrest the growth of the revolutionary movement.

92. ENGLAND (1848-1902)

After the passing of the Catholic Relief Act of 1829 there had been a long truce to religious controversy in the debates of Parliament. When it assembled for the session of 1851 it was not a reactionary Tory Government, but the Liberal ministry of Lord John Russell that brought forward as a matter of urgency a new penal law against the Catholic body in England.

It passed through both houses by large majorities, and received the royal assent. But it was so utterly unreasonable and out of date that not one clause of it was ever put into force.

In September 1850 Pius IX had issued a Bull establishing once more a Catholic Hierarchy for England and Wales. It was a perfectly normal step in the organization of the Catholic Church, when in the missionary countries, or in European States that had broken away from the Holy See at the Reformation, the numbers of the Catholic body so increased that the time seemed to have come to establish regular dioceses instead of missionary districts under Vicars Apostolic (i.e. Vicars of the Holy See—usually Bishops with honorary titles from historic sees of the Near East that disappeared in the Moslem conquest). The restoration of the hierarchy was a recognition of the progress of Catholicity in England. There had been an immense influx of immigrants from Ireland, and a steady flow of conversions, largely, but not entirely, from the Established Church, as a result of the Tractarian movement. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 had opened the public life of the country to Catholics, and the few restrictive clauses (such as its regulations against the freedom of religious orders) had never been enforced. The time was ripe for completing the local organization of the Catholic body. The outcry against it was inspired and organized by a remnant of bigotry existing among the Low Churchmen and the Dissenters, and the restoration of the hierarchy was described as 'Papal aggression'. It was said that Pius IX had insulted the sovereign and the nation by parcelling out England into Romanist provinces and aping the legal rank of the hierarchy of the Establishment, though tactful care had been taken not to name any of the new sees from the historic dioceses occupied by the Anglican prelates since the days of Elizabeth. Wiseman, in London, neither was to be styled Bishop of London, nor was the new primacy fixed at Canterbury. The Cardinal was to be Archbishop of Westminster. This did not prevent the new penal statute passed by Parliament being described as the 'Ecclesiastical Titles Act'. The erection of a Catholic hierarchy was no more an aggressive act or a

partitioning out of the kingdom into Papal provinces than the decree of Gregory XVI of 1840, eleven years after Catholic Emancipation, which increased the Apostolic Vicariates in England from four to eight.

A storm of anti-Catholic folly and bigotry swept the country. On the 5th November the 'Guys' that were paraded in the streets and burned in bonfires were crude effigies of the Pope and Wiseman; a flood of tracts, pamphlets, and newspaper articles repeated every traditional calumny against the Catholic Church and its children; the 'drum ecclesiastic' was beaten in the pulpits of parish churches and Nonconformist chapels; the windows of Catholic churches were broken; priests and even nuns were insulted in the streets; and workers in search of employment were told that 'No Catholics need apply'. By the time the new penal statute had become law the storm was abating, largely as the result of a widely circulated pamphlet which Wiseman addressed 'to the reason and good sense of Englishmen'. No attempt was made to act upon the new law, and years later its disappearance from the statute book, as one of a list of obsolete acts repealed by Parliament, passed almost unnoticed.

There was in the very year of the 'No Popery' agitation an attempt to create another scare on a very different subject. In 1840 the Queen had married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. It was a happy marriage, but at first not very popular among the English people. There were predictions that the young German Prince would try to play a part in English politics. He carefully abstained from associating himself with any political party, and devoted himself to promoting educational and benevolent works of many kinds. At a meeting of the Society of Arts in 1850 he suggested—what was then a novel idea—the organization in London of an international exhibition of the arts and industry of the world. He took an active part in the committee formed to realize this project. Strange to say, while it secured at home and abroad the effective support that assured its success, there was a minority in England, including many prominent men, which in Parliament and the

press and at public gatherings denounced the proposal as a mischievous and dangerous scheme. These alarmists were men whose narrowly ignorant patriotism included traditional contempt and suspicion of all 'mere foreigners'. They predicted that the exhibition would draw the riff-raff of the Continent to London. Red Revolutionists would corrupt the British working men and loose-living hordes of foreign adventurers would demoralize the Londoners; spies of continental competitors would ferret out the trade secrets of British factories. Nothing useful would be learned from the work of other countries. The whole affair would be a costly failure.¹

This first of International Exhibitions was a complete success. On the 1st May 1851, a May day of summer sunshine, the Queen presided at its formal opening, in the immense palace of glass erected in Hyde Park. Europe was at peace, and the flags of all nations flew under the arches of its long roof, and their envoys were grouped on the royal dais. It was noted that the Government of the United States had sent America's contributions to the display in a warship that had fought against the British flag in 1814. Her guns were now removed to make more room for this peaceful cargo. The day was a peace festival. There were optimistic predictions that the nations would set war aside to engage only in friendly rivalries of industry and art. Thackeray, in his *May Day Ode*, voiced this hopeful forecast and described England's best armaments for future triumphs

¹ The Exhibition of 1851 was not only profitable from the mere business standpoint but had important educational results of a permanent character. In 1852, when its accounts were closed and audited, there was a balance of about £150,000. This sum was devoted to a project that had results far exceeding the hopes of those who planned it. An extensive tract of land was bought on what was then the far west border of London. The district then known as the suburb of Brompton is now South Kensington. Here a temporary range of buildings, mostly of iron and timber with corrugated sheet iron roofs, was erected to house the lecture-rooms, laboratories, workshops, libraries, and museums of a national School of Art and Science. Later these first erections were replaced by a fine range of buildings. A system of inspection, examinations, certificates, and prizes extended the influence of the new institution to the schools of all England. New foundations were created and their buildings erected—the Royal Academy of Music, schools of engineering, mines, art, embroidery, the Imperial Institute and the Albert Hall; and the Natural History department of the British Museum. A whole quarter of schools and museums and art galleries thus came into existence.

as the inventions of peaceful competition in trade and commerce that would link her with all the world:

Look yonder where the engines toil;
These England's arms of conquest are,
The trophies of her bloodless war;
 Brave weapons these!
Victorious over wave and soil
With these she sails, she weaves, she tills.
Pierces the everlasting hills,
 And spans the seas.

Such sanguine forecasts of a new golden age of world peace were soon dissipated. In the December of this same year there was bloodshed in the streets of Paris, when Louis-Napoleon used armed force to make himself master of France. On the next May day (1852) a British army with a naval flotilla on the Irrawaddy river was fighting its way into Burmah. In one year more the Russian armies were marching on the Danube fortresses—the prelude to the Crimean War of 1854–6—England's first European war since Waterloo.

It was the beginning of a long series of wars and continually increasing armaments. Europe became an armed camp, and all the resources of science and industry were devoted to the development of deadlier weapons. In sixty years there were greater changes in the destructive methods of war by land and sea than had been seen since the invention of gunpowder in the Middle Ages. In the opening years of the next century the conquest of the air, long regarded as only a wild dream of poets and romancers, became a practical reality, and a new horror was added to war when the far-flung raids of aircraft sent down death and destruction on the men, women, and children of peaceful cities. The 'race of armaments' that began in mid-Victorian days culminated in the World-wide War of 1914, with its millions of victims, widespread destruction and suffering of which no full estimate can be made, and an aftermath of loss and trouble for years to come for both victors and vanquished.

England was not involved in any European war for nearly sixty years—from the Peace of Paris in 1856 to the declaration

of war against Germany in 1914, but there was a long series of British wars in Asia and Africa, and at an early period in the 'race of armaments' England took a prominent part in it and her steel and iron industries and shipbuilding firms developed profitable business, not only in carrying out contracts for the British army and navy but also for the forces of foreign Powers, sometimes doing good business with both the belligerents in oversea wars, and in times of civil war or revolution abroad providing arms and munitions for both the government that was fighting for its life and the leaders of the opposing party. English shipyards grew into privately owned naval dockyards, and the works of the leading steel firms became unofficial arsenals.

A year after the Crimean War ended came the Indian Mutiny. It originated in a revolt of the East India Company's native army in Bengal and never spread beyond the valleys of the Ganges and Jumna, and part of central India. Southern India remained at peace. The Sikhs of the Punjab and levies of the hill tribes of the north-west reinforced the Government armies, and the friendly border State of Nepal sent 10,000 Gurkhas to their aid. The suppression of the revolt cost more than a year of hard fighting (1857-8) and wild deeds of the rebels led to ferocious reprisals. It was a gain for India and for the British Empire that the war ended the régime of the East India Company. The company had begun as a trading association. At successive renewals of its charter there had been a gradual limitation of its ruling powers in India. These all passed into the hands of the Home Government when, by a Royal Proclamation of 1858, the control of India was completely transferred to the Crown and the British Parliament and a Secretary for India was added to the Cabinet.

The civil war in the United States in 1861-4 had important results in England and Ireland. In its first years a Federal warship stopped the English Mail Steamer *Trent* on the Atlantic, boarded her and took away as prisoners two Confederate envoys on their voyage to Europe. Palmerston, then in office, sent to Washington a demand for an apology for this violation of the neutral flag, and the release of the envoys. This was refused.

There was talk of war with America, which would have been popular with many in England at the time; a battalion of the Guards embarked for Canada, after marching out of their London barracks, with the band playing 'We're off to Charleston'; and Palmerston drafted a dispatch to Washington which might be read as an ultimatum. The Queen insisted on its being revised so as to leave the way open for further negotiation. (It was the Prince Consort who advised her to take this step. It was the last important act of his life. He died, after a brief illness, on the 14th December 1861.) War was averted by the release of the Confederate envoys, with a friendly expression of regret for the over-zealous action of the Federal officer who had stopped their first voyage to Europe.

In 1862, when the Federal blockade of the Confederate ports on the Atlantic became effective, there was almost complete stoppage of the supply of American cotton, on which the mills of Lancashire chiefly depended. Only small cargoes brought out by blockade runners at irregular intervals arrived, factory after factory closed down, and thousands were thrown out of work. The wretched time was long spoken of in Lancashire as 'the Cotton Famine'. Towards the end of the war some help came through the development of cotton growing in India.

Though its ports were blockaded the Confederate Government carried on from 1862 to the end of the war a system of successful raiding on American commerce on the high seas. A number of cruisers were built in British ports, put to sea, and received their guns and ammunition from merchant ships sent to meet them at an appointed rendezvous, hoisted the Confederate flag, captured American merchant ships, transferred their crews and passengers to neutral vessels or landed them in a neutral port, the captured ship being burned. England and several other Powers had recognized the Confederate States as belligerents, so these raiders could not be treated as pirates. The *Alabama*, built in Laird's yard at Birkenhead, and armed at the Azores in the summer of 1862, was the most famous of these cruisers. She kept the seas for two years, until she was sunk off Cherbourg by a Federal cruiser in June 1864. In the

first half-year of her activities the Washington Government rightly claimed that a neutral Power must observe 'due diligence' to prevent its ports becoming naval bases for a belligerent and therefore compensation would be claimed for the damage done by the *Alabama* and her consorts. The dispute on this claim was for years a cause of tension between America and England. In 1871 it was referred to the arbitration of representatives of England, the United States, Holland, Switzerland, and Brazil. By the settlement embodied in 1872 in the Treaty of Washington large claims for indirect loss to American trade were waived, and for direct losses England paid 15½ million dollars in gold (a little over £3,250,000).

In Ireland, when the war ended, it had indirectly important and lasting results. There had been a tide of Irish emigration setting towards the United States since the great famine. The Irish enlisted in large numbers, in both the Federal and Confederate armies, chiefly in the former, for the immigrants were more numerous in the north. In all at least 150,000 Irish Americans saw active service in the War of Secession, and several of them rose to General's rank or regimental command. Many of them had already been affiliated to a secret Irish Association, formed about 1858 by a group of immigrants, who had taken part in the Young Ireland movement and the abortive attempt to organize a rising in 1848. Large numbers of the disbanded Irish veterans swelled its ranks in the first years of peace. Officially it was known as the 'Irish Republican Brotherhood', popularly as the 'Fenian Brotherhood'. Its object was to promote a Republican rising in Ireland with some hope that America might intervene in the quarrel. The 'circles' or local branches of the brotherhood were formed all over southern and western Ireland, in the districts where there was a large Irish element in England and Scotland, and in some of the colonies. From 1865 to 1867, as the movement spread through Ireland, repressive measures, arrests and prosecutions, the seizure of newspapers and dispersion of meetings led to growing turmoil, added to what was a series of land troubles. The famine had ruined many landlords, for even on large estates rent had ceased

to exist for a while. Wide tracts of land had been cleared of the small holders and cattle grazing that gave only limited employment replaced tillage. Estates passed into the hands of absentee speculators, whose business it was to exact the largest rent from the tenantry—rents that often were paid only by help from relatives in America. Evictions of tenants meant that all improvements became the landlord's property, and added to the rent of the next holder of the farm.

It is no wonder that the organizers of the Fenian movement were able to form their circles all over the country. In March 1867 there was a rising, but it was trampled out in a few days. Later on England was startled by the successful armed rescue of two Irish American officers from arrest in Manchester, and an attempt to rescue other Fenian prisoners by blowing in an outer wall of a London prison; the explosion spread destruction, death, and wounds through the neighbouring houses. It seemed that the movement had ended only in filling the jails with Irish prisoners, and sending many to death, but it had riveted attention on Irish grievances, and this same year brought a change in the situation in England that led to the first serious effort since 1839 to remedy them.

Suggestions had been made from time to time for a further extension of the franchise beyond the limits laid down by the Act of 1832. But Palmerston, the leader of the Liberal party, had made it clear that he would not be troubled with reforms; therefore, so long as he lived, there was no possibility of doing anything. He died in 1865. In 1866 Gladstone failed to carry a very moderate Reform Bill. On his resignation the Conservatives, with Disraeli as leader, came into office. Despite the opposition of some of his prominent supporters, but realizing the growing strength of the Reform movement in England and Scotland, Disraeli introduced in the session of 1867 a much wider measure of Reform than had yet been suggested. It more than doubled the number of the voters, gave the franchise to large numbers of the workers in the towns, but as yet no votes to those of the country districts. The Bill was passed, and at the general election that followed the Liberals gained a strong

majority. Disraeli resigned and Gladstone succeeded him as Premier.

He had declared that recent events had led him to study the situation in Ireland, and he was convinced that conciliation and concession, not repression and the perpetuation of long-standing grievances, were the only way to peace. The three chief points in his programme for Ireland were: (1) Disestablishment of the Protestant State Church of Ireland, the Church forced on the country at the Elizabethan conquest, always the Church only of a small minority—its disendowment was to be effected with a fair allowance for existing personal interests; (2) Land Reform, providing against arbitrary, unjust evictions and extending to all Ireland the 'tenant right' already existing by custom in large districts of Ulster, which gave compensation to the tenant farmer for improvements he had made in his holding; (3) the provision of a new National University to provide facilities for higher studies for the Catholics of Ireland.

The Irish Church Disestablishment Bill was carried in 1869, and the new Irish Land Law in 1870. Amongst its provisions was an arrangement by which tenants could purchase their holdings with the help of Government grants, repayable by annual instalments. In practice the benefits of the law were soon limited by landlords, in many cases, persuading tenants to enter into agreements that waived more or less of the rights it gave them.

Gladstone's third Irish measure, the proposed University Bill, was not brought forward till 1873. Forster's Education Act, introducing a new legislation for the primary schools of England, was passed in 1870, and a similar measure for Scotland next year. As the result of the lessons of the Franco-German War the sessions of 1871-2 were largely occupied with army reorganization. The custom of the purchase of commissions and promotion was abolished by Royal Proclamation and provision made for a large increase of the army's war strength by adopting the Prussian system of short service, followed by some years in the reserve, which could be called up on an emergency. The Irish University Bill, introduced by Gladstone in 1873, proved

to be based on very defective lines, and was defeated by the Irish members voting with the Conservatives.

At the elections of January 1874 the Conservatives gained a large majority, and Disraeli became Premier. There was a new element in the House of Commons. In 1868 the first step had been taken to form an Irish party, independent of the Liberals, whom the Irish had supported for years, and the Conservatives whom they had opposed. Its pioneer and its leader for some years was a distinguished Irish Protestant lawyer, Isaac Butt. In his earlier days he had been an active opponent of O'Connell's Repeal movement. But in the law courts he had defended Smith O'Brien and his colleagues in 1848 and later the Fenian prisoners. In 1868, at a meeting in Dublin, he had formed the nucleus of the coming 'Home Rule' party. In 1871, at a by-election, he had been returned as member for Limerick on the programme of Home Rule, and after 1874 he and his followers formed a third party in the Commons. There was no question of Repeal. The proposal was that while Ireland continued to send members to the Imperial Parliament a local legislature should be elected to meet in Dublin and deal with the home affairs of their country.

The same Parliament saw the small beginnings of a fourth party that was destined before long to be a powerful factor in English political life. Fifteen working men candidates had appeared at the elections of 1874, but only two were successful. They voted with the Liberals, but they represented not merely the constituencies that had elected them, but the powerful organization of the Trade Unions. These had had their beginning in the first half of the nineteenth century, when every association to better the wretched condition of the workers had been dealt with as a conspiracy, an 'illegal combination' in restraint of trade, and many of the pioneers had been sent to the convict settlements of Australia. The first step towards their freedom was an amendment of the Combination Laws in 1825. It was a limited gain, and their full freedom of action was not complete until the Trade Union Act of 1875. The establishment of the Trades Union Congress before long united them into a

powerful federation. It was some time, however, before the Labour party was fully organized and a Parliamentary Committee was added to the Congress.

Disraeli summed up his policy as one of social betterment at home and the safeguarding of the Empire's interests abroad. He arranged the buying of the Suez Canal shares from the Khedive of Egypt. In 1876 he secured for the Queen the new title of Empress of India, and was rewarded with promotion to the House of Lords as Earl of Beaconsfield. Gladstone had taken little part in politics since his defeat at the elections, but in 1876 he came forth from his retirement to denounce the Bulgarian atrocities and declare that the Turks, as a barbarian Power, should be driven out of Europe. He was actively engaged in political agitation all through the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, and the controversies arising from it. Then came a quarrel with Afghanistan, and the war with the Zulus in South Africa, both marked with 'unfortunate incidents'. Beaconsfield's imperial policy became less popular with the electors, and the Conservatives were defeated at the general elections of 1880.

Gladstone, now in his seventy-first year, but full of more resourceful energy than many of his younger colleagues, once more formed a ministry. At the Irish elections the Home Rulers had won seats all over Ireland except in the Orange districts of Ulster. They had a new and energetic leader in Parnell, and could count on the support of most of the Scottish and a large number of the English members on the burning question in Ireland—that of the land. The Irish Land League was denouncing the landlords' evasions of the existing law, organizing active resistance to the evictions that followed a poor harvest and business depression, and using the plan of 'boycotting' to prevent any new tenant entering on the holding of an evicted farmer, and taking care that the evicting landlord's crops were un-reaped, and his cattle unsold at the fairs. In 1881 Gladstone carried a new Land Law. Contracting out of its provisions became illegal; fair rents were to be fixed by the courts; fixity of tenure was secured by provisions against arbitrary eviction. The Home Rulers then concentrated on the question of the

government of Ireland. Parnell introduced the tactics of 'obstruction', delaying business in the Commons by endless amendments, repeated divisions, and lengthy speeches. To obviate this, the rules of the House were amended and the Speaker had the right of cutting prolix speeches short, and declaring that the time was come to close a debate.

The Government had inherited a legacy of trouble in Africa from their predecessors. After the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, England had joined in the diplomatic intervention to secure the rights of the foreign bondholders in Egypt and an international commission took over the regulation of the Khedive's embarrassed finances. This had led to discontent in Egypt and a well-founded dread of European annexation. In South Africa in 1877, the Boers of the Transvaal, with their treasury empty and the Republic involved in an unsuccessful native war, had invited British help, and accepted English intervention and a protectorate. They had been given to understand that they would enjoy local self-government, but they found themselves under the control of a semi-military officialdom. In 1800 they were on the verge of revolt, and in that year a rebellion resulted in their being given by the Gladstone Government independence under British 'suzerainty'. Negotiations were already begun, when the action at Majuba Hill ended in the death of the commanding general and the surrender of most of his small force. The resumption of the negotiations resulted in the peaceful settlement, denounced by the opposition in the House of Commons as an infamous surrender. Two years later the military *coup d'état* of Arabi Pasha, and anti-foreign riots in Alexandria, led to armed intervention in Egypt, in which France at the last moment refused to take part. The bombardment of Alexandria followed, and then came the seizure of the Canal, the dispersion of Arabi's army at Tel-el-Kebir, and the British occupation of Egypt.

While Egypt was thus being occupied, a revolt against both Egyptians and Europeans was spreading through the Sudan under the leadership of the Mahdi Mohammed Ahmed. In 1884 it was decided to abandon the country to the Mahdists,

and General Gordon was sent to secure the safe withdrawal of the Egyptian troops and the European residents. He found himself besieged in Khartum, and an expedition sent up the Nile to rescue him arrived too late. In the night of the 26th January 1885 Khartum was stormed and Gordon killed, and the belated rescue expedition withdrew to Wadi Halfa, well south of the Second Cataract. This military outpost marked the new limit of Egyptian rule and the Mahdist power extended from the Red Sea to the verge of the Congo forests, and along the upper Nile from Wadi Halfa to the Equatorial Lake country.

France had long regarded Egypt as a promising field for her political influence and the enterprise and trade of her people. Its occupation by England was the beginning of some twenty years of tension between London and Paris, which more than once brought France and England in sight of an armed rupture and at one time seemed likely to draw the latter into alliance with Germany. France was launching out on a colonial policy of penetration in Africa, and other Powers were seeking for trade and territory in the same region. A conference in Berlin in 1884-5 tried to bring order into this 'scramble for Africa' and drew a new political map of the continent. In its debates the delegates of the various governments spoke of their 'rights' in Africa, too often merely assertions of their claim to have a share in the coming seizure of the land of Moslem sultans and negro chiefs all over the African interior.

In the session of 1885 Gladstone carried a new Reform Bill with a redistribution of seats, an extension of the franchise to country labourers, and further lowering of the voter's qualification. The new law doubled the numbers of the electorate. Defeated in June on a detail in his Budget, he resigned, and a short-lived Conservative Cabinet took office under Lord Salisbury. The registers of the voters under the new law were being prepared, and as soon as they were ready Parliament was dissolved, and at the general election in December the Liberals had a large majority. The Salisbury Cabinet resigned, and Gladstone was once more Prime Minister.

In the autumn of 1885 there had been reports that he was

arranging an alliance with the Home Rulers. When the new Parliament met for the session of 1886 a Home Rule Bill was the leading measure in the Government programme. It was a very moderate proposal. Ireland was still to send its members to the House of Commons, Parliament at Westminster was still to control taxation in Ireland for imperial purposes, but there was to be a subordinate Parliament elected to meet in Dublin and deal with local Irish affairs. Parnell, as leader of the Home Rulers, had accepted the scheme, viewing it as a first step to Irish self-government. The Bill was wrecked by a split in the Liberal party. Chamberlain, after having become a leader in the business world and local politics of Birmingham, was now the hope of the younger Liberals, and had proclaimed as the best policy of the party a combination of Liberalism and Imperialism. While protesting that he was in favour of some concession to the Home Rulers and of a limited legislature in Ireland, he objected to the continued presence at Westminster of a strong body of Irish members that might make and unmake ministries, acting from narrow nationalist motives, and obstructing the policy of the Empire. He rallied the new party of dissident Liberals, soon to be known as the 'Liberal Unionists'. They voted with the Conservatives against the Bill. On its rejection Gladstone dissolved Parliament, in order to appeal to the country. At this emergency election of 1886 the new alliance of the Liberal Unionists and the Conservatives gave a majority to the opposition.

On Gladstone's resignation a Conservative Cabinet was formed under Lord Salisbury, and held office for six years. Its most important act was the reorganization of local government, first in Great Britain and then in Ireland. London became an administrative county, with a population of six millions, and its council had an annual budget as large as that of some of the minor States of Europe. In Ireland the introduction of the county councils swept away the system of county government by the 'Grand Juries'—occasional meetings of magistrates and landlords, in whose nomination the people had no part. The election of 1892 brought the Liberals again into office, and

Gladstone, now in his eighty-third year, formed his last Cabinet. He carried a Home Rule Bill through the Commons in 1893, but the Lords rejected it by 419 votes against 41. Next year Gladstone finally retired from political life. He died in 1898, busy almost to the last with literary work. Lord Rosebery, who took over the Premiership, proved to be a timid leader, and the elections of 1895 brought the Conservatives into power with Salisbury as Premier, and Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary, an office to which a coming crisis in South Africa gave special importance.

Some twenty years before diamonds had been found in Bechuanaland just outside the west frontier of the Transvaal. As these finds became more numerous there began a rush of prospectors and fortune hunters, and the squatters' town that grew up became officially the city of Kimberley in 1880. A store had been started by one of the new settlers, Barnett Isaacs, son of Isaac Isaacs, a small shopkeeper in East London. He accepted rough diamonds as cash, and presently changed his surname to Barnato, and became a diamond dealer and speculator. Cecil Rhodes, son of an East Anglian clergyman, had come to Africa for his health's sake, and was already making his way forward in politics and business. He met Barnato at Kimberley, and helped him to carry out a plan for buying up the local mining claims and forming the De Beers Mining Company to control the richest diamond field in the world.

In 1888 there was a new miners' rush across the border to the western Transvaal. A low ridge of a kind of conglomerated pebbles and gravel, with a few scattered cattle farms, proved to be rich in gold, though experts had declared gold would not be found in such ground. Rhodes, Barnato, and the group they had formed bought up some of the best claims, and Johannesburg expanded from a village into the capital city of the new gold-field, a zone extending for miles east and west of it. These were not 'poor man's diggings'. The hard rock needed power-driven crushing mills and an elaborate chemical process to win its gold. The Rhodes-Barnato group were able to found the Consolidated Mining Company, with a fine list of claims, the

greatest among many mining enterprises of the Rand, the new mining district with its business centre in the rising city of Johannesburg.

Another useful friend Rhodes had made at Kimberley was a Scot, Dr. Jameson, who was carrying on a lucrative medical practice in the new city. He joined the group of coming millionaires. On a prospecting tour in Matabeleland, north of the Transvaal, then still the kingdom of a native chief, Lo Benguela, Jameson made this ruler of the Matabele tribes his friend by curing him of a serious illness, and got from him a concession for white settlements in his extensive territory. The settlers arrived as an armed column over a thousand strong, with a wagon train of equipment for work; built their town of Salisbury with its guardian fort bristling with machine guns, their credentials being Lo Benguela's concession and the charter granted from London for the foundation of the 'British Chartered Company of South Africa'. It was the first step to the conquest of the Matabele territory and then Mashona Land and the district of Manica—claimed by the Portuguese as part of their old empire, but abandoned to the company after some negotiation with London.

When Lord Salisbury took office in 1895 Cecil Rhodes had already become Prime Minister of Cape Colony. In the preceding years the gold-mines had attracted a large foreign population from Europe and America to the Transvaal. The head of the Republic, President Paul Kruger, a veteran of the first trek from Natal, had lately been warned by friends that the new-comers—the 'Uitlanders'—were plotting to take control of the country. Kruger told them to wait until the new-comers took some action—'You can't kill a tortoise', he said, 'until it puts its head out of its shell.' The Uitlanders were complaining that their business was obstructed by the Dutch mining laws and taxes and arguing they should be given votes as they were enriching the country and paying heavy taxes. The Chartered Company was secretly importing arms, and Jameson was concentrating a mounted force on the west frontier and arms had been stored at Johannesburg. On the New Year's Day of 1896

the Uitlanders in the gold-field city proclaimed a provisional government, the secretly armed 'volunteers' paraded, and not the British flag, but that of the Chartered Company was hoisted.

Jameson's force of mounted rifles, with maxim-guns and artillery, crossed the frontier. The men were told they were marching to save the lives of men and women at the gold-field from the savagery of the Boers. The raiders found their way barred by a levy of armed burghers, and after a brief fight surrendered. The volunteers of Johannesburg capitulated without firing a shot. President Kruger handed over the leaders of the raid to the British authorities on the promise that they would be tried in London. Rhodes resigned his Premiership at Capetown. Jameson was sent to prison for a year in England, and there was an official inquiry into the raid conspiracy—a cautiously conducted inquiry, which left much of the affair unexplained and took care not to compromise some notable individuals in England and South Africa. There was an outburst of indignation at a telegram from William II of Germany congratulating Kruger on his success, and in the London papers that had championed the Uitlander claims there began a campaign of vilification of the Boers, and insistence on action being taken to right the alleged wrongs of the Uitlanders.

Attention was soon diverted from South to North Africa. In the earlier years of the Mahdist troubles, the Italians had occupied Massowah on the Red Sea and a stretch of the coast lowlands below the Abyssinian plateau. When Menelek, one of the ruling chiefs of Abyssinia, made himself master of the whole country, and was proclaimed King of Kings and Emperor of Ethiopia, the Italian Government made a treaty with him, which he understood to be a friendly alliance, but which actually admitted an Italian protectorate. When a French traveller showed him he had been misled, and the French traders from their Red Sea post at Obok provided him with modern rifles and quick-firing cannon, and the Italians were pushing their outposts into the hills, he declared war against them. The culminating event of the campaign was the battle of Adowa (1 March 1896). General Baratieri brought into action 13,500

men, Italian regular troops, and native regiments under Italian officers. Menelek attacked with some 90,000, an army with a nucleus of troops armed with modern weapons, and tens of thousands of spearmen. The Italian army was simply destroyed; 7,500 (of whom 4,600 were Italians, the rest native levies) were killed and wounded, mostly killed. More than 3,000 were prisoners. It was the first battle in modern times in which white troops had been defeated by the dark races with any permanent result. It ended the war.

A few days after Adowa the London Press gave the news that as this defeat of a European Power was likely to lead to Mahdist action on the upper Nile, the Egyptian Government had decided to make a push into the Dongola province. The order really came from London. In a series of successful campaigns Kitchener, the Sirdar of the Anglo-Egyptian army, with reinforcements from England, gunboats on the Nile, and a railway patiently laid across hundreds of miles of desert broke the Mahdist power and reconquered the Sudan. In the autumn of 1898, after the victory of Omdurman, the discovery that a small French expedition had reached the upper Nile nearly led to war between England and France. The unreadiness of France for serious war and the tactful diplomacy of Kitchener averted a conflict, and the French intruders withdrew.

Next year there was war in South Africa. There had been already a native war there in 1896 during the first of Kitchener's Sudan campaigns. There was a sudden rising of the Matabele against Chartered Company rule. After the first defeats of the insurgents, Rhodes, now again in power, had met the Matabele chiefs and persuaded them to accept a peaceful settlement, promising them better government in the future. Since the Jameson raid there had been agitation in the Press and negotiations between Chamberlain at the Colonial Office and the Boer Government as to the situation in the Transvaal. The Boers were willing to give the vote to those who settled in the country for a number of years, but Rhodes and Chamberlain were pressing for a brief period of qualification that in the Boer view would place the government in the hands of a continually

changing crowd of fortune hunters. The situation was becoming difficult, but negotiations were still in progress, when British reinforcements of troops from India began to arrive in Cape Colony and Natal. Kruger sent an ultimatum—these war movements must stop or negotiations would end. The result was the outbreak of war on the 12th October 1899.

The other Boer Republic, the Orange Free State, joined the Transvaal, and called out its burgher levies. The only regular troops on the Boer side were the officers and gunners of a battery for the defence of new forts erected at Pretoria, the Transvaal capital. In England it was expected that as soon as the army corps sent out to the Cape arrived there would be an easy victory. The war did not end till the 31st May 1902, after lasting two years and seven months. On the British side there were some 22,000 casualties and 75,000 more were sent home invalided. All the colonies sent contingents to Africa. In the first months of the war there were several British defeats. Kimberley was besieged and Ladysmith in Natal. In the 'black week' of December 1899 Methuen was defeated in his attempt to relieve Kimberley and Buller failed at Colenso in Natal, where he lost eleven guns. Reinforcements were hurried to South Africa, and Lord Roberts took command, with Kitchener as his chief-of-the-staff. Kimberley and Ladysmith were relieved, Bloemfontein, the Free State capital, occupied. A march northward captured Pretoria, and the Boers were driven eastward to the Portuguese colonial frontier. It was assumed that the war was all but over. The annexation of the two Republics was proclaimed and Roberts came home, handing over the command to Kitchener. Guerrilla warfare had now begun with Botha in command of the Boer defence. It went on for months. The farms were burned, the women and children sent to concentration camps, where sickness took a heavy toll of life. The reason given was that every farm was a base of operations for the Boer mounted guerrillas. To limit their movements Kitchener constructed hundreds of miles of barbed-wire barriers with block-houses at intervals; but the war went on. In England there was a growing weariness of the long conflict and an outcry against

farm burning and the fate of the women and children in the concentration camps. At last in May 1902 a peace conference of Boer and British leaders met at the village of Vereeniging (a name of good omen, for the word means 'union'). On the 31st a peace convention was signed. The long resistance of the Boers had gained good terms for them. Three millions sterling were to be paid to them for the restoration of the ruined farms and the reinstatement of the people in them, and they were given the prospect of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State becoming, before long, self-governing units in a proposed Union of South Africa.

During the latter phase of the war Queen Victoria died on the 21st January 1901, after a reign of sixty-four years. Her eldest son, Edward VII, was in his sixtieth year when he succeeded to the throne. He was personally popular. He had visited every part of the Empire and had spent many holidays on the Continent. He was not on very cordial terms with his nephew, the German Kaiser William II, but he had many friends in France. While keeping strictly within constitutional limits he exerted some important influence on the course of events, and there is no doubt that his social relations with many leading men in France was a factor in ending the long tension between France and England, leading to the first approaches at the very outset of his reign to the *entente cordiale* between the two countries—the 'friendly understanding' that by 1904 took definite form, and ten years later became an armed alliance.

93. AMERICA (1865-1914)

The War of Secession was followed by twelve years of intolerable treatment of the defeated southern States by the north.¹

Lincoln at once admitted four States—Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Virginia—to the Union on the condition only of the citizens taking an oath of fidelity to the Constitution and the slave liberation decrees.

¹ This period is graphically described by John William Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution*; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States*; W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Constitution* (the Negro's interpretation).

He was actually promoting a grant of 400 million dollars for the economic reorganization of the south when he was assassinated on the 14th April 1865. Lincoln would have had the power to protect the south from those northern politicians who exploited her defeat for their own discreditable ends, but Johnson, the Vice-President, who succeeded Lincoln, was not in that position.

Lincoln's proposal of assisting the south economically then lapsed and President Andrew Johnson exacted somewhat more rigorous terms of reunion.

In a few months there was nominally a complete restoration of State rights to the seceders; several of the reconstituted States enacted laws restricting the franchise and civic rights of the negroes or of freely exercising it where they obtained it. Mississippi forbade their owning land and South Carolina restricted them to field work and domestic service unless they obtained licences for other employment. The 'Carpet Baggers' from the north¹ did insist for a while that the negro's claim under emancipation to complete civic and political rights should be literally carried out regardless of the attitude of the southern white population.

What was left of the Confederate armies was at once disbanded and the victorious Federal armies were rapidly reduced. It was remarkable how quickly the veterans returned to civil life. For many years after the war the United States had a very small regular army, and only the remnant of a navy. The army had only a few batteries of field-guns, and the rest of the artillery corps was engaged chiefly in taking care of the coast fortresses and batteries. The cavalry regiments that were retained were frequently broken up into small detachments, engaged practically as mounted police in the mining districts. Government and people were tired of war. There was the idea that Americans had shown an aptitude for becoming, if need be, improvised soldiers. The States had the right to organize local militia corps,

¹ 'Carpet Baggers' was the derisive term designating those politicians who hastened south to secure lucrative jobs, with all they possessed in the travelling carpet bags of those days.

but most of these had little military value, except where officers and men of the recent years of war enrolled in them.

In 1867 the territory of Alaska, long known as 'Russian America', was purchased from the Tsar. Its possession was chiefly desired by the Pacific States for the sake of its coast fisheries, though there was also the satisfaction of excluding a European Power from the American continent. For many years little was done towards exploring the interior of this semi-arctic land, but in 1896 gold was discovered in the Klondike region, and in 1898 there was a rush of prospectors, miners, and agents of promotion companies and several prosperous settlements were formed. The price paid to Russia in 1867 was only 7,200,000 dollars (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling). Thirty years later it proved to be a remarkably profitable transaction for the buyers.

Alaska is still a mere 'territory'. When, in the War of Independence, the Stars and Stripes became the flag of the new nation, there were only thirteen stars in its blue upper corner, each the symbol of a State. There were thirty-four when the War of Secession began in 1861. Next year a new State was formed when Western Virginia broke away from old Virginia and stood by the Union. In 1864 the territory of Nevada in the far north-west became a State. It raised a troop of horse and an infantry battalion, but these took no part in the war and began their military record with a wretched campaign against the local Indian tribes. The rich silver-mines of the new State gave it some years of marvellous prosperity. In the half century after the War of Secession eleven new States were added to the Union—Nebraska in 1867, Colorado in 1876, Washington, Montana, and North and South Dakota in 1889, Idaho and Wyoming in 1890, Utah in 1896, Oklahoma in 1907, New Mexico in 1912, and Arizona in 1912. Most of these States had been carved out of the vast territory that was ceded after the war with Mexico. There were now forty-eight stars in the flag, and all the lands from the Atlantic to the Pacific were parcelled out among the States of the Union.

White occupation of the country west of the Mississippi had

made little progress till after 1865. Most of this central tract of territory was still prairie and forest. The maps of the years before the war show only the main natural features of a yet hardly explored region. Its occupation was the work of some fifty years, during which the population of the United States was increased by some 200 per cent., rising from some 34 to over 100 millions, chiefly due to the immense immigration from Europe. All the European nations participated in this migration across the Atlantic. Nothing is more false than the widespread English impression that the people of the United States may be counted as an Anglo-Saxon nation, with a Celtic minority derived from Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, and some elements of French and Spanish descent in Louisiana and the western States, and a few old Dutch families in New York.

Immigration from Europe, begun on a large scale before the War of Secession, brought many European recruits to the Federal armies. In the long years of peace that followed there was a steadily increasing flow, not only of Irish and British, but of all the European peoples; Slavs numbered some millions; Italian immigrants were also numerous. Besides this there were some thousands from Syria and Armenia, and in the Pacific States some Chinese and Japanese. The new-comers from Europe mostly went no farther than the long-settled States between the Atlantic and the Mississippi. Those who pushed farther west into the region beyond the great river were mostly recruited from the earlier settlers. An unhappy feature of this occupation of new lands was a series of Indian wars. Again and again the 'frontier'—the border-line of the advancing tide of white settlement—was the scene of bloodshed.

During the War of Secession in Dakota in the north and Nevada in the far west, troops raised for the defence of the Union never fired a shot except in 'troubles with the Redskins'. These Indian wars had begun in the early days of the New England settlements. As the 'frontier' was pushed westward beyond the Alleghanies into the great central plain and onwards to the uplands of the mountain region, fights with the Indians were almost a normal feature of frontier life. When the

white men made their first settlements in the great central prairie lands the livelihood of the Indians depended chiefly on the chase, though they had patches of maize around their villages. For the most part they were still living in the hunting stage of civilization. Prairie and forest, river and stream supplied all they needed. For them the chief wealth of the country was the presence of the immense herds of bisons (called by the new-comers 'buffaloes'), the finest type of wild cattle in all the world. There were millions of these huge beasts in the lands between the Alleghanies and the Rockies only a hundred years ago. White settlement led almost to their extinction. All that now remain are a few small herds protected in the National Parks of Canada and the United States. The bed-rock source of trouble between the settlers and the Indians was the destruction of their chief source of livelihood and the disappearance of their hunting-grounds as the tide of white settlement spread over the country.

As long ago as 1834 an attempt had been made to set apart a great stretch of hunting-ground beyond the lower Mississippi for Indian tribes moved from the newly settled region—roughly an oblong space 300 miles long and 200 wide, with a narrow strip running some 180 miles farther to the westward. On some of our older maps of the United States, it is described as the 'Indian Territory'. It was originally assigned to five tribes, but as the years went on some forty more remnants of Indian tribes were moved into it, in pursuance of free or enforced agreements. An early infiltration of white settlers began, and after the civil war the discovery that the district possessed considerable mineral wealth attracted prospectors and miners. Then, by new bargains with the Indians, portions of the territory were opened to white settlement. Since 1907 it has been the State of Oklahoma, divided up into counties, and now possessing a well-developed railway system and a population of two and a half millions. There are nearly 60,000 Indians, but they are outnumbered nearly threefold by the negroes. In the whole of the United States there are not quite 400,000 Indians, in a population of over 120 millions.

The last of the Indian wars came in 1876, the Centenary Year of the United States: fighting with the Sioux in the hill country of Montana in the far north-west, General Custer and his following of 264 U.S. cavalry were all killed in a lost battle, the last victory of the tribes in the Indian wars.¹ Most of the survivors of the Indian race now live in 'reservations' in the western States, under official supervision.

For the United States the sixty years after the civil war were a time of remarkably prosperous business. Railway extension, with every new line in the west opening out a new tract of country for settlement, was a prominent feature in this time of successful speculation and enterprise. Most notable of the new railroads were the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific lines linking up the eastern with the western States. Till trains were running on the Union Pacific the journey from New York to San Francisco was made in the shortest time and under safer and easier conditions not by land but by sea to Colon, and, after crossing the Isthmus of Panama, by making another voyage on the Pacific.

There had been many projects for a canal linking the Caribbean Sea with the Pacific. Two possible lines for this new waterway had been discussed by experts and business men—a canal through the Isthmus of Panama, or a longer way, farther north, by the valley of the San Juan River and the Lake of Nicaragua. Lesseps, after his successful construction of the Suez Canal, took up the former project, obtained a concession from the Republic of Colombia, and formed a company which commenced its operations in 1880. He had to abandon his first plans for a canal without locks, at sea-level, which involved gigantic cuttings through two mountain ridges. By 1889 his company was bankrupt. He formed a second company, which in ten years was in hopeless difficulties. Little progress had been made, the work being carried on with limited resources, and at a terrible cost of life among the workers, as the result of insanitary conditions and repeated outbreaks of pestilence. Attempts were made to obtain further capital by schemes that ended in

¹ See William Christie Macleod's article in volume vi.

financial scandals. The Colombian Government concession—thrice renewed—would soon expire, and there was little prospect of a further renewal. Work on a very limited scale was still being carried on, but the prospect was that all Lesseps's rights under the concession would be forfeited, and any plant on the isthmus and the construction work so far done would revert to the Colombian Government.

While it was becoming more and more evident that the Lesseps enterprise must end in a collapse, American business men had already formed (in 1898) a powerful syndicate to promote the rival project for a canal through Nicaragua.¹ Its representatives obtained from Señor Zelaya, the then President of Nicaragua, a concession for the construction of the canal. The San Juan River marks the frontier between Nicaragua and the adjacent Republic of Costa Rica, and the plans for the projected canal included the flooding of some worthless lands on its south bank. It was therefore necessary to obtain a permission for this work from the Costa Rica Government. But, when he was approached on the subject, Señor Iglesias, then President of Costa Rica, refused thus to complete the concession obtained from Nicaragua, stating that he had already been requested by the Government at Washington not to enter into any negotiations with regard to an inter-oceanic canal, adding that he presumed Zelaya must have received the same request.

President McKinley was approached by the syndicate with a suggestion that the United States Government should guarantee the bonds which it proposed to issue for the cost of the canal. He replied: 'Not only will the U.S. Government not guarantee such bonds, but it will not allow any private corporation to build an inter-oceanic canal.' The Nicaraguan concession was therefore surrendered to the State Department. This meant an end of the Nicaraguan plan.

It had been practically settled that the American Govern-

¹ A special attraction of this route was that from the head of the San Juan Valley the waterway would be through the great Lake of Nicaragua 100 miles long and 40 wide, with deep water, up to 110 feet, for most of the way, and after a descent by locks a fairly short line of canal through the lower coast-lands to the Pacific.

ment would take over the whole business of a canal between the two oceans, and the first steps to realize the project were taken by Theodore Roosevelt, when as Vice-President he succeeded to the Presidency after the murder of McKinley by an anarchist (September 1901). A commission of experts appointed by Congress, after at first recommending the Nicaraguan route, decided in January 1902 in favour of Panama, provided that what Lesseps had already accomplished could be acquired by paying to the now all but derelict French company forty million dollars. It is not easy to understand why such an exaggerated price was offered for a concession that would expire in fifteen months, old plant that would mostly have to be replaced and largely supplemented, and the very limited work done, much of which was of little use in the plans eventually adopted, so that it had to be largely remodelled or jettisoned. No wonder the French agents eagerly accepted the proposal, and Bunau-Varilla, Lesseps's representative on the isthmus, became a zealous promoter of the American project.

To take over the expiring French concession and secure a new extension of the time for completing the canal, the consent of the Colombian Government was requisite. The American Minister at Bogotá approached the President, with an offer of ten million dollars for a renewed concession, which was to include perpetual American dominion over the canal and a zone five miles wide on each side of it.

This was early in 1903. The Colombian Government assured the American Minister that there would be no difficulty in reaching an agreement, though it naturally pointed out that the compensation offered was in strange contrast to the forty millions offered to the Lesseps company for a concession soon to expire, and also pleaded that the negotiation could not be hurried through. Colombia had just come through five years of revolutionary troubles, and was preparing for a constitutional régime with elections in July. It would be advisable to defer the settlement of important business till the elections were over, as was the custom in America when a presidential election was pending.

A draft treaty was, however, signed subject to ratification by the new legislature. The Colombian Senate raised objections to its terms, but Roosevelt was impatient to start work, and was not to be delayed by Colombian formalities, so a plan was adopted for clearing the way (attributed to Bunau-Varilla, Lesseps's agent on the isthmus). In November 1903 a revolution in Panama declaring for independence and separation from the Republic of Colombia broke out. United States warships, conveniently placed at either side of the isthmus, landed marines in more than sufficient numbers to prevent the Colombian authorities and forces in the isthmus from putting an end to this opportune revolution.

The pretext for this high-handed proceeding on the part of the United States Government was that the treaty for the construction of the railway crossing the isthmus (completed in 1855) gave the United States the right of keeping order so that traffic might not be impeded, but in November 1903 beyond the explosion of some Chinese crackers in Panama and some shouting, no doubt for a consideration, there was no disorder.

The Colombian forces were ejected from Panama and the United States Government at once recognized the new State of Panama as a free and independent republic to which the ten millions offered Colombia were paid in exchange for a contract solemnly entered into between the respective governments of the United States and the new Republic of Panama. Moreover, the United States Government at once asked the republics of Central and South America to recognize the new State of Panama.

The United States at once proceeded to conclude a treaty with the new Republic of Panama for the construction of the canal. The clauses dealing with this undertaking were copied from the Nicaraguan concession.

Colombia did not act in a dignified manner. Instead of standing on her rights she sent a special envoy, General Reyes, to induce the United States Government to undo the outrage done her, but to no purpose. Reyes only went to the United States to be shown the door.

Years after—in 1921—the United States Government paid Colombia twenty-five million dollars in compensation for the loss of Panama, but refused any apology.

While the story of the United States' dealings with Colombia is anything but creditable, its subsequent organization of the work of the canal was a model of efficiency in handling a difficult task. Early in 1904 Colonel (afterwards General) William C. Gorgas, of the United States Army Medical Service, was sent to deal with the terrible sanitary conditions of the isthmus. It had long been a nest of many plagues—yellow fever, 'Chagres fever', and malaria in all its forms. Gorgas accomplished a marvellous work. Nothing like it had ever been previously attempted and accomplished. Before he put his hand to this gigantic task it was dangerous for a new-comer to remain on the isthmus even for a short time. The high death-rate and invaliding among Lesseps's workers had been a leading feature in his failure. But Panama may now be regarded as a health resort.

From the winter of 1903 till 1907 the construction work on the canal had been directed by civilian engineers. But in the latter year Colonel (afterwards Major-General) Goethals was appointed Chief Engineer of the canal. He proved to be a most resourceful and efficient director of the operations, and, considering the magnitude of the work, he completed it quickly. On the 3rd August 1914, while Europe was plunging into war, the first steamship passed through the canal from ocean to ocean.

While Lesseps was still engaged in the first stage of his unsuccessful enterprise on the isthmus the United States Government had begun the creation of a new navy. For some twenty-five years after the War of Secession, in which sea power had played an important part, the United States had an utterly neglected and obsolete navy. A few light craft had been built, mostly for the customs service, but among the ships on the navy list there were old monitors that had engaged the batteries of Charleston, and sloops and frigates that were little better than armed merchantmen. The steady growth of naval powers at

last roused American opinion to the necessity of creating a new and up-to-date navy. In 1883 two new ships had been launched, but the tradition of 1861-5 still had its influence, and they were only big coast-defence monitors, lying low in the water with two guns in a turret, and a speed of only 12 knots. In 1890 the first sea-going torpedo boat was built with a speed of 22 knots, and next year the first armoured cruiser, the *New York*, was launched. When war was declared against Spain in 1898 the United States had a first-line fleet of four new battleships and eight cruisers, ready for operations in the Atlantic and the West Indies, and a less powerful squadron at Hong Kong waiting for orders to attack the Philippines.

The story of Cuba for a hundred years past has been a sad one. The great tropical island had an abundance of natural wealth, but each year in the hot season of rain and mist endemic diseases, including yellow fever, levied a toll on its people. Slavery, though in a mild form, lasted in the colony for years after the Home Government had decreed its abolition. In 1878, after suppressing one of the long series of local revolts, Martinez Campos declared it illegal by an article in the Convention of Zanjón, but it lingered on till 1886.

Cuba and the island of Porto Rico were the last remnants of the Spanish Empire in America.

The people of Cuba had, like all the people of the American Continent with the exception of Canada, desired freedom from the Home Governments. There were many unsuccessful attempts to secure Cuba's freedom from Spain. In 1896 Spain sent General Weyler, a soldier but no statesman, to restore order; his repressive measures aroused the indignation of the American people.

There was a widespread agitation for war against Spain. But in the autumn of 1897 there was some prospect of a peaceful settlement of the Cuban question. The Liberal Ministry of Sagasta came into power at Madrid, and its first act was to recall Weyler and appoint Marshal Blanco to the governorship of Cuba with orders to cancel the rigorous decrees of his predecessor, and enter into negotiations with the Cuban leaders with

an offer of Home Rule for the island. When Congress met at Washington in December, President McKinley's message argued that it would be fair play to give the Spanish government a chance of fulfilling its promise of justice and freedom for Cuba.

It was arranged that, to mark the prospect of a peaceful settlement, a Spanish warship should be invited to New York and an American warship should pay a friendly visit to Havana. In the last week of January, 1898, the U.S. cruiser *Maine* anchored in the harbour of Havana and received an enthusiastic official and popular welcome. Three weeks later, at 9.40 p.m. on the 15th February, she was blown up and sunk, with the loss of some 270 of her crew.

In the United States there was an outcry that this was the result of Spanish treachery, and an American court of inquiry confirmed the popular theory that the *Maine* had been destroyed by a submarine mine. Spanish experts protested that this was impossible, and the same view was taken by technical experts in the press of several other nationalities.¹ Although the United States had always stood for arbitration in international disputes Spain's request that the *Maine* incident be submitted to arbitration was refused.

The Queen Regent of Spain, Doña Christina, and her Cabinet knew perfectly well Spain could not possibly cope in war with the United States, nor indeed were they anxious to prolong Spain's dominion of Cuba. The Queen sent for General Woodford, the United States Minister at Madrid, to tell him Spain had no illusions as to the possibility of her retaining Cuba or of

¹ American engineers who examined the wreck reported that the keel plates had been forced upward at an acute angle and driven through one of the decks, and described this as the effect of an explosion outside the hull near the keel. But a very high authority pointed out that this was probably the result of an *internal* explosion, shattering the hull structure and upper transverse girders, so that the weight of the uninjured structures fore and aft, armoured and supporting heavy gun barbets, broke the ship's back, sending the keel up through the deck. It is not unlikely that the explosion was that of one of the *Maine's* magazines. Modern high explosives, unless kept under even conditions of low temperature, are liable to spontaneous explosion. Thus during the manœuvres of a French squadron off Toulon, not long before the *Maine* was destroyed, a battleship was blown up. In the same way, during the Great War, the cruiser *Natal* was blown up in Cromarty Firth, and the old battleship *Bulwark* in the lower Thames.

opposing what were evidently the intentions of the United States Government, and to avoid war Spain would at once issue a decree to the effect that Spain, acceding to Pope Leo XIII's wishes and to avoid an unnecessary war, would declare the suspension of hostilities in Cuba so as to enter into negotiations with the people leading to a mutual settlement, failing which the matter would be referred to the arbitration of the United States. The day after receiving this communication from General Woodford President McKinley sent a message to Congress asking for a declaration of war.

It was already in the minds of men like Senator Lodge and Roosevelt that the United States, as a result of the war, might have Porto Rico and the Philippines.

On the 22nd April 1898 the Atlantic fleet proceeded to blockade Cuba, and threw some shells into Havana and Porto Rico. The first victory of the war was the battle of Manila Bay in the Philippines on the 1st May, when Dewey's Pacific squadron destroyed Montojo's fleet, a squadron of antiquated ships, described by an American officer as 'old tubs not fit to be called warships'. Nevertheless, neither then nor at any time during the war was the Spanish flag lowered on the sea.

The Spanish navy had been neglected for years. Old iron-clads dating from the early years of armoured warships still figured on the navy list as 'battleships'. The only up-to-date fighting units available were some torpedo craft, just delivered from a yard in Scotland, and four good armoured cruisers, one of them bought from the Italian navy, but still without her heavy turret guns, and armed only with some light quick-firers. These four, with a few torpedo craft, formed Admiral Cervera's 'Atlantic squadron'. It was at the Cape Verde Islands when war was declared. When it put to sea there were no tidings of it for many days, and there were alarms in some American cities when rumours told of the Spanish squadron being seen off the Atlantic coast coming to bombard them, while the American war fleet was engaged in blockading Cuba.

Cervera left the Cape Verde Islands on the 29th April, and three weeks later slipped into the land-locked harbour of

Santiago in eastern Cuba, evading the American blockade. He had steamed slowly across the Atlantic to economize coal, and lost some time in an unsuccessful attempt to find colliers and store-ships that were waiting for him near Curaçoa. For some days the United States cruisers did not know for certain that the Spanish ships were at Santiago, where they were short of coal and could hope for very little. The city itself was ill supplied even with food, for the Cuban guerrillas held the adjacent country. Once it was certain that Cervera's ships were behind the headlands of Santiago, the powerful war fleet of Admiral Sampson concentrated to watch it, engaged the coast batteries, threw shells into the city, and made an unsuccessful attempt to close the narrow entrance of the harbour by sinking a tramp steamer. An army was concentrating and training at Tampa in Florida. It was intended to be sent in the autumn to capture Havana, and the expedition was to be 100,000 strong. In the first week of June it was decided to send a force to Cuba, under General Shafter, to capture Santiago. Staff work was hopelessly inefficient, there was a scarcity of transports, and after several days had been spent in embarking the troops there was a further delay on account of utterly baseless rumours that another Spanish squadron was off the American coast. It was not till the 22nd June that the landing began some miles north-east of Santiago. Very few horses were embarked, so the regiments of regular cavalry and Roosevelt's regiment of volunteers had to act as infantry. In all there were 23,000 men, the available regular units, and some militia regiments. There were no less than fifty war correspondents.

There were about 11,000 Spanish troops in Santiago; the city was defended only by a slight trench line, with advanced posts in the village of El Caney and at the hill of San Juan. The Spanish troops were ill fed, there was sickness among them, and the hospitals were full. It was the hot, rainy, and unhealthy season, and yellow fever appeared among the American invaders before the fighting began. The disembarkation was a long, ill-managed business. At last the advance began over muddy hill tracks, driving in the small Spanish detachments

that watched the coast hills, and on the 1st July came the attack on Santiago. A long day's fighting ended only in the capture of the two outposts, and next day there was only some desultory firing.

Early on Sunday, the 3rd July, General Shafter wired to Washington a dispatch that was a confession of failure. He told how he had been lying down ill for days, but still kept the command. Two other of his generals were ill, a third wounded. There was sickness in the army, and there had been heavy losses in the fighting. The defence was so strong that he was urging Admiral Sampson to try to force the narrow harbour entrance. He was thinking seriously, he said, of withdrawing some five miles into the hills to wait reinforcements. But that same morning the whole situation changed. The people of the city were half starving. Cervera could obtain no food supplies, and very little coal. He decided to attempt to break out through the blockade and reach Havana. In the running fight that morning his fleet was completely destroyed—the torpedo craft and one of the cruisers were sunk, the three other cruisers set on fire and driven ashore under the coast cliffs. The Spanish gunnery was wretchedly bad. The only loss of the victors by the enemy's fire was a signalman killed and two seamen wounded.¹

Santiago held out for twelve days more. No serious attempt was made to capture it. Sheer starvation ended the defence. In the American army there was a terrible death-rate by sickness. For the sick and wounded the only food was hard biscuits, salt bacon, and coffee. The doctors complained of a woful

¹ At one at least of the beaches Cuban guerrillas fired on Spaniards who were swimming ashore from their sinking and burning ships. The Americans, who were doing all that was possible to save the lives of their opponents, drove the Cubans away with shell-fire. As the *Vizcaya*, ablaze and with her forward decks shattered by an explosion, ran aground, Captain Evans of the *Iowa* ceased fire and stopped the exultant cheers of his crew. 'Don't cheer, boys,' he said, 'those poor fellows are dying.' When a rescuing boat brought Eulate, the captain of the *Vizcaya* to the *Iowa*, he was received with the salute of a guard of honour and, as he began to unbuckle his sword-belt, Evans grasped his hand and said, 'You have surrendered to four ships each more powerful than yours. You have not surrendered to the *Iowa*, only, and her captain cannot take your sword.'

shortness of medicines and antiseptics. More lives were lost by fever and hopeless lack of all necessities than by casualties in action.

Another army under General Miles landed on the south coast of the Island of Porto Rico on the 25th July. Its advance on the capital led only to some skirmishes with the Spanish detachments retiring as it moved northward. On the 12th August the operations ended on the news that an armistice had been arranged and peace negotiations begun.

A third army, chiefly of militia and volunteers from the western and central States, had been sent to the Philippines under General Merritt. He was joined by Camillo Aguinaldo, the son of a native Philippine father and a Chinese mother, a well-educated man who had already taken part in local politics and been prominent in a nationalist rising which began in 1896 and collapsed only in January 1898. Aguinaldo raised an insurgent force which co-operated with the Americans in the siege of Manila. The city was taken by assault on the 13th August, just before the news of the armistice arrived.

On the termination of the war, the United States Congress passed a resolution to the effect that the United States had no intention 'to claim sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over Cuba', and that when pacified the United States would 'leave the government and control of the island to the people'. This was subsequently modified by what is known as the Platt Amendment, securing coaling stations on the island for the American Navy, the right of intervening in her affairs for the preservation of order, and a veto over both diplomatic and fiscal relations of the Government of Cuba with any foreign Power. The Treaty of Peace between Spain and the United States was signed at Paris in December 1898.

The annexation of the Philippines was followed by three years of war in the great island of Luzon. Aguinaldo protested that he had been misled into regarding the Americans as the liberators of the islands. He had kept his forces together, and early in 1899 he proclaimed the Republic of the Philippines. He could not face the American troops under the command of

General Funston in a regular campaign but, until he was finally defeated and captured in March 1901, he carried on a guerrilla warfare in difficult hill and forest country.¹ In the later stage of the war the victors captured quantities of arms and munitions of Japanese patterns. There is no reason to assert that the Tokio Government supplied these. They were probably sent to the insurgents by Japanese traders in a contraband traffic. When the Spaniards occupied the islands in 1565 they had almost immediately to deal with a Japanese claim to suzerainty over them. After the war with China in 1894 Japan had annexed the long chain of the Ladrone Islands and the great island of Formosa, and it may well be that they thought of the Philippines as the next step in their progress of empire-making. The American conquest of the islands, the first move in the war with Spain, was quite outside the original scope of a war for the liberation of Cuba. Now that Japan was becoming a great naval Power in the Pacific, so far as mere policy was concerned it was considered a sound step for the United States to secure the Philippines. The native population was unceasing in the demand for complete independence, and at last after a quarter of a century of patient persistence have peacefully secured the status of an independent Republic.

The record of Canada in the second half of the nineteenth century is that of a remarkable development, which ultimately led to a new organization of the British Empire. The progress of Canada was marked by the settlement of new lands on a scale second only to the similar movement in the United States, and at the same time the gradual change from a mere colonial to an all but independent position among the nations.

By the Act of Union (of 1840) Upper and Lower Canada had been joined together with a local legislature and a considerable amount of self-government as a British colony. Twenty years later there were proposals for a federal connexion between

¹ A discreditable feature of the campaign was the torturing of native prisoners by what was facetiously described as the 'water cure' to extort information during the pursuit of Aguinaldo, when it was anticipated that his capture would end the war.

Canada and the minor colonies around the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In 1867 the 'British North America Act' was passed by the Imperial Parliament. It established the 'Dominion of Canada', with a constitution based on that of the United Kingdom—a Governor-General represented the Crown, and there was a Parliament of two chambers, the Senate and the House of Commons. Canada became the central State of a federal union which all the other British territories in North America were empowered to enter as provinces, each with a local legislature for minor matters. All the Gulf Colonies except Newfoundland at once availed themselves of this provision. The Dominion was to have its own army, and all British troops were withdrawn and the historic citadel of Quebec was handed over to a Canadian regiment. The Dominion became the precedent for the creation of similar unions in Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. The formation of the Dominion of Canada became thus the starting-point in a new development, by which, in the course of half a century, there came a new ideal of the Empire as a union of semi-independent national units—the 'British Commonwealth of Nations'. What once ranked as 'colonies', dependent on officials at Whitehall, and votes of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, became with the home country 'autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs'—a co-operative federation, each Dominion being the judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation.

Newfoundland was given separate Dominion rights. British Columbia, divided by the width of a continent from Canada, did not enter the Dominion for six years. The intervening country from the northern Rockies to the Great Lakes belonged in 1867 to the Hudson Bay Company. Between these limits the southern border of the company's territory was the United States frontier. Northward it extended to the Arctic ice-fields. It was an only partially explored wilderness of forest and prairie with great rivers ice-bound in the winter, and lonely lakes. Here and there it was dotted with the 'forts' or trading posts

of the company, often hundreds of miles apart. To these each spring the Indians and half-breed hunters, and the descendants of the old French *voyageurs*, who had adopted this wandering life, brought the harvest of their winter hunting and trapping to barter for such needs as the chase could not supply. In November 1869 the company (founded in 1670 by Charles II's grant to Prince Rupert) by a contract with the Dominion Government surrendered all its vast territorial rights, in return for a payment of £300,000, the possession of all its trading stations, with the adjacent land, and further large tracts of fertile land suited for settlement. The Hudson Bay Company then began a new career as a private trading organization.

The great southern zone of its new territory was organized for settlement by the Dominion creating the three provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, and settlement began. In 1871 British Columbia became a partner in the Dominion, on condition that within three years railway communication should be established across the continent between it and the Great Lakes. This condition was fulfilled by the enterprise of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which under its agreement with the Dominion Government received alternate sections of land in a broad zone on both sides of the line through the new provinces, the other sections being reserved for settlement under official direction.

The acquisition of the new territory led to two wars with the Indians and half-breeds on the Red River. The first of these, in 1870, was a bloodless campaign, Riel's local republic collapsing on the approach of a column under Wolseley. The rising had been a protest against the passing of the old days of trapping and fur-hunting. The second revolt in 1885 took place in the same district when the railway workers appeared. It cost some skirmishes, dignified with the name of battles, between Canadian troops and the insurgents. These were the only wars in the conquest of Canada's new territory.

Few realize that South America is a continent nearly twice the size of Europe; Brazil, territorially the most important of

its ten republics, is equal in extent to all Russia and central Europe from the Ural mountains to the Rhine. The vast forest region of Brazil is still largely unexplored and in several other States there are wide tracts of country awaiting settlement. In one important point the record of the great southern continent differs widely from that of the United States territories.

In the north, from the early days of Puritan colonization, land-grabbing and wars of extermination were the chief features in the relations between the white men and the native races, and the Indian tribes have all but disappeared. But in South America, where, from the outset, the missionaries from Spain and Portugal stood between the greed of the Conquistadores and the native races, the people of the land have not been exterminated, but to this day form by far the largest element in its population. In the vast continent there are still regions where the missionary has not yet completed his good work, but every year there is further progress and a majority of the Indian races have been not only converted but civilized. An American traveller in South America, Dr. Mozans (an impartial witness), thus sums up the results obtained:

The followers of the Poverello of Assisi, of Dominic and Ignatius Loyola were able to effect what our great statesman, Henry Clay, declared to be impossible—the civilization of the red man. And they achieved more than this. They brought about an amalgamation of the native and European races, and thus made impossible those wars of extermination of the aborigines that have cost the United States tens of thousands of lives and more than half a million of treasure.¹

To understand the conditions existing in South America in the second half of the nineteenth century and the years that followed, one must bear in mind some broad facts of the preceding period. In the later years of the eighteenth century the benevolent and civilizing action of the missions was disorganized and all but destroyed by the policy of Pombal's régime in Portugal and of Charles III of Spain. The expulsion of the Jesuits, the destruction of the Paraguay 'reductions', and then the

¹ Mozans, *Along the Andes and down the Amazon* (New York, 1912), chapter xxii.

disorganization of the missionary work generally in the days of the French Revolution had lamentable results. In the nineteenth century there came the stormy times of the Wars of Liberation and, after the final collapse of European rule, a long period of unstable equilibrium, when the new States were the scene of frequent revolutionary movements.

It is no wonder that in this disturbed period the Indian missions came to an end for a time. Everywhere there was scanty provision for clerical training, seminaries were closed or poorly staffed, ecclesiastical discipline was widely relaxed. In several of the new republics a political movement of hostility to the Church developed. The masses of the people had little to say in such movements. Soldier chiefs or political leaders could often dominate the whole policy of a new State, and the plunder of the Church was a ready means of meeting a financial emergency. Hence came here and there intervals of active persecution and confiscation. The ideals of the patriots had at first been largely influenced by the example of the United States; later on there was a current of ideas inspired by the traditions of the great French Revolution.

In the middle years of the nineteenth century there began a period of stabilization and ordered progress in every department of national life. During the years from 1865 to 1914 there were more wars and revolutionary movements in Europe than in South America, though the tradition of the earlier period kept alive in England the idea that the southern continent was a restless land of strife and trouble. The only part of South America that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, was the scene of prolonged and destructive war was the central region watered by the Paraguay River and its tributaries. The Republic of Paraguay only extends to a small part of the great territory that bore its name in the centuries of Spanish rule. The native Guarani Indian element is directly or indirectly the largest in its population, which in 1865 numbered nearly 1,400,000. In many districts the Guarani language is still that of the country folk. It was one of the first countries to revolt against Spain. The Republic of Paraguay was proclaimed in

1811, but for nearly sixty years it was a republic only in name. In 1814 Dr. Francia obtained a vote of the Congress making him dictator for ten years; a later vote prolonged his powers for life. His rule, which ended with his sudden death in 1840, was an iron despotism, and his policy was to limit foreign trade and communication, and attempt to make Paraguay an isolated self-supporting State. His successor, Antonio Lopez, governed the country for four years as the chief of a military junta, and then till his death in 1862 as dictator. His son, Solano Lopez, succeeded to his dictatorial power. In 1864 he sent a Paraguayan army to support one of the rival parties in a struggle for power in Uruguay, while Brazil was intervening on the opposite side. The Argentine Government protested against Lopez marching through its northern provinces to reach Uruguay, and in May 1865 Paraguay was at war against a triple alliance of Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. The war dragged on through five years of disaster and misery for the people of Paraguay. They had never known freedom since Francia made himself their despotic chief, and they clung to Lopez through years of disaster, as broken Indian tribes in North America, or Highland clans in Europe, clung to their chiefs in years of defeat and ruin. In Asuncion, the capital, there was one isolated attempt to displace him. Its suppression was followed by the execution of 200 citizens. Defeat followed defeat; Lopez was driven into the far north of his territory. The adult male population of Paraguay was all but destroyed. Mere boys were forced to join the armies of Lopez, women were recruited to carry supplies and ammunition. The war ended when the remnant of the last army of Lopez was defeated and the dictator killed on the 1st March 1870 at Cerro Cora on the Aquidaban River.

In five years death in battle or through wounds, sickness, and hardship had reduced the population from nearly 1,400,000 to 220,000. Of these the men, including youths of fifteen years of age and upwards, numbered only 28,746.

A republican constitution was adopted in 1870, and in the fifty years that followed, despite some occasional attempts to

disturb public order which were easily repressed, prosperity was gradually restored. In fifty years, with some help from immigration, the population increased to nearly three-quarters of a million.

The South American republics, after securing their independence from Spain, did not trouble to determine with precision their respective boundaries, with the result that troublesome questions arose later between them all.

We have lately had the spectacle of a dispute between Colombia and Peru when both nations incurred expenses they could ill afford in the acquisition of armaments. In this case Peru was clearly to blame, as her citizens had seized Laetitia on the Amazon River in violation of the Treaty of Salomon-Lozano of the 24th March 1922 defining the respective boundaries of these republics which was approved by the Peruvian National Congress on the 20th December 1927.

Bolivia and Paraguay have been engaged in a long war as to their respective rights to at least part of what is known as the Gran Chaco.

The most serious question that arose from disputed boundaries led to the war of 1879-82 of Chile against Bolivia and Peru. Chile had for years claimed that the desert of Atacama from 30° south came within her boundaries, which meant that although Bolivia had a couple of ports on the Pacific, if the claim were enforced she would become a land-locked State, as in fact, thanks to the result of the war, she is to-day.

While Chile had not 'revindicated' (being the term she used later) her claim to the desert of Atacama she had notified Bolivia that she would not allow her citizens, who might be interested in enterprises in the disputed zone, to be taxed in any way by that Government. Chile, at one time, offered to submit the dispute to arbitration, an offer Bolivia declined, feeling confident that her rights to the territory in question were indisputable. Rich silver-mines were discovered and were being exploited by a Chilean company, and later the nitrate-fields were opened and similarly worked by Chilean companies.

To meet the expense entailed by the Municipal Government

of Antofogasto, a port specially opened for the export of nitrate, Bolivia imposed a tax of ten cents per quintal (100 lb.) shipped. Chile protested, ordered the tax to be removed, and as Bolivia demurred Chile notified the latter that she would proceed to revindicate her rights by taking possession of what had been, since Bolivia's independence, her coast-line.

The Government of Peru tried to mediate in Bolivia's interest when she was met with a peremptory demand on Chile's part to declare whether she would or would not be neutral in the question she had with Bolivia. Peru answered in the negative, when Chile at once declared war against her. Neither Peru nor Bolivia were equipped to make a stand against Chile. Bolivia had no navy, and though Peru had two lightly armed vessels, the *Independencia* and the *Huascar*, they were no match (although of somewhat greater speed) for Chile's armoured cruisers, the *Blanco Encalada* and *Almirante Cochrane*. The war dragged on, with few exceptions, favourably to Chilean arms, ending in the occupation of Lima by the Chilean forces. During the war the *Independencia* was run on the rocks south of Iquique in attempting to capture or sink the *Covadonga*, an insignificant little gunboat.

The incident of the war having historical importance from the naval standpoint was the fight with the *Huascar* trapped off Angamos Point by the two Chilean armoured cruisers on the 8th October 1879. Admiral Grau, who commanded the *Huascar*, made a splendid fight against superior force. He and most of his officers were killed, and after the *Huascar's* turret was penetrated and its guns silenced and the ship almost a wreck, she was taken in tow and is still figuring as an item of Chile's navy.

The gallant defence of the Morro de Arica against the Chilean forces from the 5th to the 7th June 1880 by Colonel Bolognesi against fearful odds well deserves to be recorded.

Peru, with the Chilean army in Lima, set up a provisional government under Don Francisco Garcia Calderón to discuss terms of peace.

In the course of the war the United States Government had offered their good offices to bring the war to an end; this

resulted in delegates from Chile and Peru meeting on board the American frigate *Lackawanna* on the 22nd, 25th, and 27th October 1880. Chile's demand for the absolute cession to her of Peru's southern province of Tarapacá plus the payment of an indemnity was not then accepted.

General Garfield took office as President of the United States on the 4th March 1891. His Secretary of State was James G. Blaine, when it was decided that the United States would not consent to the territorial dismemberment of either Peru or Bolivia, while willing that Chile should be indemnified for the expense of the war.

In furtherance of this policy three men who had distinguished themselves in the United States' War of Secession were selected as ambassadors, respectively: to Chile, General Kilpatrick; to Bolivia, General Adams; and to Peru, General Hurlburt, with instructions to notify Chile of the United States' determination that there should be no territorial dismemberment.

Encouraged by General Hurlburt, the Peruvians, under the Presidency of Don Francisco García Calderón, offered to discuss terms of peace, but Calderón, presuming he could rely on the unsolicited attitude assumed by the United States, declined to consider Chile's terms.

In furtherance of the United States Government's policy the then Under-Secretary of State, Mr. William Henry Trescot, accompanied by Mr. Walker Blaine as his secretary, was sent to Chile on the 28th November 1881 to notify the Chilean Government that the United States would not consent to the proposed dismemberment of either Peru or Bolivia.

General Garfield, who had been wounded by a disappointed place seeker, after lingering some months, had died on the 19th September 1881. Mr. Arthur, the Vice-President, had assumed the Presidency at once, and dismissed General Garfield's Cabinet; he replaced Blaine by Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey.

The Arthur administration, at the request of the Chilean Minister at Washington, at once reversed the previous policy, deciding not to interfere and to issue new instructions to Mr.

Trescot ordering him to return to Washington. Frelinghuysen gave the Chilean Minister a copy of the instructions he was sending to Trescot which the former at once cabled verbatim to his Government. Meanwhile Mr. Trescot was not informed by cable of the Government's *volte face*.

On Mr. Trescot's presenting himself to the Chilean Minister of Foreign Relations and speaking of his instructions, the latter replied: 'Oh, no, Mr. Trescot, these are not your instructions; they have been changed. I have a copy of your new instructions ready for you. Here they are.'

The following day Mr. Trescot received a note from the Chilean Foreign Office referring to him as the special envoy of the United States of North America, a note Mr. Trescot returned with the request he be addressed as the special envoy of the Government of the United States of America, an amendment that was made.

The Garcia Calderón Government was dismissed by the Chilean authorities in Lima, who invited General Iglesias to form a government that would accept Chile's terms and sign a treaty of peace. Iglesias set up his government at Ancon, and on the 20th October 1883 signed what is known as the Treaty of Ancon.

One of the stipulations of the treaty was that the Provinces of Arica and Tacna should remain in Chile's possession for ten years, when a plebiscite would be held to determine their final ownership; whichever government secured the final dominion should pay the other the sum of ten million soles.

At the expiration of the ten years Peru asked that the plebiscite be held, which Chile declined on the plea that even were the plebiscite in Peru's favour she had not the means of paying the ten million soles.

On the 20th July 1922 an agreement between Chile and Peru was signed for the arbitration by the President of the United States of the Tacna-Arica question. General Pershing was commissioned to see it carried out, but was not able to accomplish his mission due to local Chilean resistance; Chile, however, agreed to withdraw the troops she had illegally stationed at a

strategic point in the Province of Moquegua. The question pending between Chile and Peru has now been settled by the former's offer to return to Peru the Province of Tacna and her engagement to build for Peru a port on Tacna's coast-line.

Brazil had been a 'constitutional empire' under a prince of the royal house of Portugal since 1822. In November 1889 a bloodless revolution resulted in the abdication of Pedro II and the proclamation of the Republic under the official designation of the 'United States of Brazil'. This South American revolution was very different from many of those in Europe. The Congress that drew up the Republican constitution decided on a separation of Church and State, but this was no hostile act. It was declared that Catholicism was the religion of the nation and that the Church should enjoy complete freedom, and retain its properties. A Papal Nuncio has always been the doyen of the diplomatic body in the Brazilian capital. In the constitutions of all the ten republics of South America, Catholicism is declared to be the religion of the nation. There is now a divorce law in some of these States, but in South America the decree of divorce is really only one of judicial separation, for neither of the parties can legally marry while the other still lives. In several States the annual budget includes a grant in aid of the missions to the Indians. In Argentina there are annual grants to aid the Salesian colleges, each of which, besides a general education, includes in its programme technical instruction in agriculture and local industries. The Salesians have done most valuable work in the development of the country.

There was a civil war in Chile in 1891. The President, Balmaceda, attempted to disregard the votes of Congress, incidentally attacking the freedom of religious worship and secularizing the schools. The majority of the Congress withdrew to Iquique in the north, organized an army, and defeated the Balmacedist troops in two battles, victories largely due to a German officer bringing a cargo of Mauser magazine rifles from Europe, and training some of the battalions of the Constitutionalist army in their use.

In the opening years of the twentieth century Chile and

Argentina were preparing for war. This was the result of a long-standing dispute as to the rights of the two republics in Patagonia and the tracing of the Andes frontier between them. Both States were having battleships built in European ship-yards, and it was expected that their completion would be followed by active hostilities. Largely through the efforts of Mgr. Benevente, one of the Argentine bishops, it was agreed to refer the dispute to the arbitration of the King of England. The commission he appointed settled the dispute, dividing the Patagonian territory between the two republics, and defining the frontier line. The republics signed a treaty, reducing their armaments, selling to England and Japan the new warships, and agreeing to refer any future contentious questions to arbitration.

The peaceful settlement between Argentina and Chile is commemorated by a monument erected on the frontier line, 14,000 feet above the sea, on the summit of the pass by which the transcontinental railway crosses the Andes. It is a colossal statue, the work of an Argentine artist, Marco Alonzo. The metal for it was provided by melting down cannon. The great statue is known as 'The Christ of the Andes'. It represents the Prince of Peace, holding the cross in His left hand, and raising His right in benediction. On its base is inscribed a prayer that as long as the mountains stand peace may continue between the two kindred nations of Argentina and Chile. In the Palace of Peace at The Hague, where the court of international arbitration holds its sessions, there is a replica on a reduced scale of this splendid monument of peace.

94. THE TRIPLE ENTENTE AND THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE (1902-14)

The second International Peace Conference assembled at The Hague in 1907. Forty-four States were represented, and its sessions began on the 15th June and continued till the 18th October. Its purpose was to continue the work for peace begun by the first conference in the summer of 1899. High hopes were built on this gathering of so large a council of the nations, but it was somewhat disappointing that, though the

first conference had declared that its most important object was to arrive at 'an understanding not to increase for a fixed period the present effectives of the armed military and naval forces, and at the same time not to increase the budgets pertaining thereto', there had been only a few months before this the second conference assembled, the start of an immense intensification in the naval 'race of armaments'. For it was in 1906 that the giant battleship *Dreadnought* was launched at Portsmouth.

In the same year Japan had launched a larger battleship, the *Satsuma*, and her sister ship the *Aki* was nearly ready when the conference of 1907 met. But mere size was not the special feature that made the launching of the *Dreadnought* the coming of a new era of competitive naval progress. Her main armament of ten 12-inch guns (throwing 850-pound shells) was grouped amidships, in double or triple barbettes, so placed that all ten guns could concentrate their fire on a target on either side. Thus she had a tremendous striking power—more than that of any two earlier battleships. Her coming was somewhat boastfully described in the English press. It was declared that no other existing battleship could stand against her. She had made all earlier types second-rate and all but obsolete. There was patriotic rejoicing at the fact that the British navy had at once moved a long step forward in the race of naval construction. Germany and every other leading Power imitated the new type of battleship. It was soon the fashion to reckon sea-power by the number of *Dreadnoughts*, and, as size and armament were further increased, the number of *Super-Dreadnoughts*. All other types were contemptuously classed as second-line units, under the name of *Pre-Dreadnoughts*.

The conference of 1907 did some useful work in forwarding the organization of The Hague arbitration court, and drafting a revised code of the laws of war, which was accepted by all the Powers represented. It was an effort to limit or eliminate many of the sufferings, especially of the civil population, in war time. Unhappily under the stress of the World War many of these wisely adopted regulations and restrictions were disregarded or the veto against abuses was explained away. One

saction of the new rules gave most useful results during the Great War of 1914-18, when prisoners of war were numbered by hundreds of thousands. It imposed on every belligerent State the duty of communicating to the opposing Power the names, regiment, and rank of all prisoners in its hands, to facilitate communication with their relatives or friends, and provide for the transit of parcels of comforts for them from the homeland, these being charged with no customs duties at any frontier station or port, and carried free of cost on all railways.

If the conference failed to give all the results that the lovers of peace and goodwill among the nations had anticipated, it was one step more towards the substitution of the force of law for the reign of force in international affairs, and, till this was accomplished, doing something to eliminate the horrors and abuses of any state of war that might arise. It was the misfortune of the time when it met that the great Powers of Europe were already grouped in rival alliances, and devoting an ever-increasing amount of their energies and resources to armaments, described as necessary precautions for the protection of their security and independence. There was the further evil that again and again their publicly avowed agreements were supplemented by secret treaties that were the all but inevitable source of future conflict.

The division of Europe into two hostile groups of armed Powers was the result of a long series of events during a period of more than thirty years. On the 7th October 1879 a treaty of alliance had been signed at Vienna by Germany and Austro-Hungary. It was the year after the Congress of Berlin had made a new settlement of the Balkan lands after the war of 1877-8 between Turkey and Russia. It was not primarily an aggressive war alliance. Bismarck regarded it as tending to stabilize the existing situation in Europe, by putting an end to the long rivalry between Berlin and Vienna, safe-guarding their interests, and if anything diminishing the likelihood of any quarrel with their neighbours. France was taking more interest in colonial projects in Africa than in the grievances of Alsace, and the new alliance made any French adventures on the Rhine unlikely.

Russia had failed in her Balkan projects, and for some time to come would be interested chiefly in pushing her ambitions in Asia. This in no way concerned the central European allies. It would make it easier for them to push their interests in the Balkan lands, where Austria was completing her hold on Herzegovina.

In 1882 this central alliance developed into the Triple Alliance by Italy signing at Vienna treaties with Austro-Hungary and Germany. The French had just occupied Tunisia. For years the Italians had been extending their trade and influence in Tunis, and had regarded the viceroyalty as destined to be one of their future possessions. A considerable number of Italians had settled in Tunis, invested money there, and established trading relations with the Arabs. They now found themselves forestalled by the French invasion. It was the final event that, after years of anxiety that the Roman question might create tension with France if the Conservatives came into power, at last led them to seek the friendship of the Austro-German alliance. In 1883 the Triple Alliance was strengthened by a treaty with Rumania, now under the rule of a Hohenzollern prince, but the entrance of this minor Power into the combination was not so important as to lead to its being described as a fourfold pact.

The Dual Alliance between France and Russia had its origin in an exchange of notes on the part of M. Ribot, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Baron Mohrenheim, the Ambassador of the Tsar in Paris on the 27th August 1891. These outlined a friendly understanding—an 'entente'—which was the prelude to an alliance. Twelve months later (August 1892) a further step was taken, by General de Boisdeffre (then one of the leading figures in the French army) and General Obrucheff of the Russian Staff signing at St. Petersburg a military convention, outlining the joint action of Russia and France in certain contingencies. The general treaty of alliance between the two Powers was signed at Paris in March 1894 by the French Prime Minister, Casimir Périer, and De Giers, the special envoy of the Tsar Alexander III. De Giers had for

some years been the inspirer of Russia's foreign policy. He had, with the cordial support of the Tsar, cultivated friendly relations with the Powers of the Triple Alliance, for Alexander III was chiefly interested in developing the Russian progress in Central Asia and the Far East. It is fairly evident that the alliance with France was largely—it may be even primarily—intended as a safe-guard against English interference with Russian ambitions in Asia, and French empire-making in Africa.

Russia, France, and Germany took common action in the Far East in the following year. Japan had been carrying on a victorious war with China since the summer of 1894; the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed on the 17th April 1895, gave the island Empire not only the protectorate of Korea but also the possession of the fortified harbour and dockyard of Port Arthur. Russia protested that this would give the Japanese the control of the approaches to Peking by sea and land, and would be a standing menace to China and to European interests in the eastern seas. Germany and France joined in the protest, and the three Powers began to reinforce their fleets in eastern waters. Japan did not yet possess a single battleship, her victorious fleet was a squadron of modern cruisers. Japan appealed for English aid, but England was not prepared to take up a quarrel with three great European Powers, so the Japanese yielded the most important gain of the war, and prepared to challenge Russia once they had built a powerful navy. In the autumn there came the revelation of a secret treaty between Russia and China, in which the former, after having declared a few months before that it was intolerable that any foreign Power should hold Port Arthur, and control the approaches to the Chinese capital, 'leased' the fortress and the peninsula of Liao-tung from China for ninety-nine years, and proceeded to occupy Port Arthur and link it up by a branch line with the Siberian railway. Instead of protesting the European Powers proceeded to occupy other ports in China, and mark out 'spheres of influence', in the Chinese Empire. England secured a lease of the Chinese naval fortress of Wei-hai-wei, and there were projects

for making the great central region of the Yangtse-kiang Valley a 'sphere of British influence'. But the reconquest of the Sudan and the affairs of South Africa diverted attention from the Far East.

During these closing years of the nineteenth century England, while free from the complications of Continental alliances, had to reckon with the continual possibility of an armed conflict with France arising from the long-standing rivalry in Africa. In 1898, as the result of Marchand's march to the upper Nile, war seemed for a while imminent, and the first preparations for it had begun on both sides. Had it come the Dual Alliance would have drawn Russia into the war. Joseph Chamberlain, as Colonial Secretary in Lord Salisbury's Ministry, opened negotiations with von Bülow, the German Chancellor, for a defensive alliance. The discussion gave no result, chiefly because the Chancellor and William II insisted that Austro-Hungary should be included in the suggested arrangement, and this would simply draw England into the whole policy of the central Powers. Continental feeling increased the isolation of England during the South African War, and the long-drawn out resistance of the Boers diminished the prestige of the British army in the eyes of foreign critics.

Edward VII had come to the throne during the war. He used his influence for peace, and especially for bringing to an end the long period of friction with France. There was no actual alliance between France and England, but the *entente cordiale*, the 'friendly understanding' between the two Powers, found practical expression in an agreement signed by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, and the French Ambassador, M. Cambon, in London on the 8th April 1904. It was embodied in three documents:

1. A convention as to Newfoundland and Central and West Africa.
2. A declaration and secret articles respecting Egypt and Morocco.
3. A declaration as to Siam, Madagascar, and the New Hebrides.

The last of these documents recognized accomplished facts, the French conquest of Madagascar, the annexation of two coast districts of Siam, and the occupation of some islands in the Eastern Pacific, with an understanding that in Siam there was to be no further French advance. The first agreement recognized the French conquests on the Niger, and fixed the limits between the new French territory and the British occupation of the lower Niger region, and recognized the French claims on the Congo and Ubangi, and a French sphere of influence extending as far east as Lake Chad in Central Africa, south of the Sahara. As to Newfoundland there had been no real dispute, but the convention defined the long-existing French fishery rights. This point in the settlement was the only one that implied no land-grabbing, no 'taking up the white man's burden', 'civilizing' the coloured folk and appropriating their lands in order to facilitate the operation.

The second agreement was the most important of all. It cleared away the chief point in the long-standing quarrel between France and England, and altered the whole outlook in the international affairs of Europe. It was a declaration that France was to have a free hand for expansion in Morocco, and waived all objections to England having a free hand in Egypt and all the lands of the Nile. It included 'secret articles'. The wonder is that in the public announcements of the time their existence was even mentioned. Secret agreements were the curse of pre-war diplomacy and went far to make the catastrophe of 1914 inevitable. Within a few years the purport of these 'secret articles' of the agreement of 1904 was revealed as its consequences developed. England was agreeing to a French annexation of Morocco, disguised as a 'protectorate', but with one important proviso. Spain was to take control of northern Morocco, a small stretch of coast territory from the ridges of the coast range to the sea. This was to prevent the possibility of a French naval station being established facing Gibraltar, and sharing British control of the entrance to the Mediterranean.

Not long before his death in 1891, Germany's 'organizer of

victory', von Moltke, had written: 'The next great war in Europe will come with the suddenness of a summer storm. Morocco will be the origin of the quarrel. That is the last of the Mediterranean lands left to scramble for.' It was a sound and far-sighted forecast. The spark that actually caused the explosion came from the Balkan lands, but the tension that made the outbreak of war a peril for years came from the rivalry of the European Powers for Morocco, and the event that made this tension a growing danger was the signature of the London agreement of 1904. Through the entente with France, England, already engaged in a naval race of armaments with Germany, was drawn into direct opposition to her on the question of Morocco.

The Moorish Government was weak and ill-organized. The Sultan had a small force at his disposal, but outside the towns the real power was in the hands of the tribal chiefs. In the hill districts of the Atlas many of them were semi-independent rulers, keeping up an almost regal state in their old castles. There was a considerable amount of fertile land, but agriculture was in a primitive state. A country with a backward government that could barely assert its authority, Morocco had the serious disadvantage of being regarded by speculative Europeans as a land of great possibilities. There were even reports of untouched mineral wealth, rumours of gold in quartz reefs and river gravels. It needed 'development', and the marvel is that with many nations scrambling for good business openings in Africa, it had waited so long for the arrival of the enterprising pioneers of civilization and 'good business'.

In 1880 there had been a conference of European Powers at Madrid to consider the regulation of trade with Morocco. Ten years later Germany signed a commercial treaty with the Sultan and communicated its details to the other Powers, informing them that it would not be ratified if they raised any objection to it. In 1892 Lord Salisbury took the same course when he tried to arrange a similar treaty for England, expressing the hope that no objection would be raised as England claimed no exceptional privileges. France alone objected, and the Paris

papers described as a success of French diplomacy the failure of the negotiations.

Whatever trading arrangements the Sultan might authorize, business in Morocco was conducted under difficult conditions. Abdul Aziz, whose reign began in 1894, found the local chiefs and their tribes were inclined to oppose the collection of taxes, and he had to provide his agents with armed escorts. Personally extravagant, his treasury was often empty, and he had to turn to foreign money-lenders for help. There was more than one local revolt. There was brigandage on the Algerian Border, and on the desert frontier the caravan trade with the interior of Africa was being diverted to Algeria. Tangier, on the north coast, was the chief outlet for trade with Europe and the foreign business community there, and the consuls had an anxious time when a neighbouring chief levied contributions on traffic to the town. An association formed in Paris to promote trade with Morocco was openly agitating for a French Protectorate. In 1901 the Sultan sent an envoy to Paris, who obtained an assurance from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Delcassé, that France would uphold the independence of Morocco. At the same time the French Foreign Office was discussing with Madrid a joint control of Moorish affairs, and French columns from Algeria had just occupied the oases of Tuat and Igli—cutting two great caravan routes of the desert frontier. Next year a change of ministry in Spain ended for a while the protectorate negotiations, and in 1903 Abdul Aziz gave France a further hold upon him by arranging a Moorish loan in Paris.

Four months later came the French agreement with England and the declaration of the 8th April 1904. While its secret articles accepted the plan of a virtual partition which Delcassé had proposed to Spain, its published official text set forth that—

The French government declares that it is not its intention to change the political status of Morocco. At the same time the British government recognises that it belongs to France, as a power co-terminous with Morocco on so extensive a frontier, to see to the tranquillity of the country and to lend it her assistance for all the administrative, financial and military reforms it may need.

The Sultan secured a further loan from Paris, making his total debt about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions. In the autumn Delcassé arranged with Spain the future zones of influence and protectorate in Morocco. Meanwhile the German Chancellor von Bülow had told the Reichstag that the German ambassador to France had received from Delcassé assurances that France had no intention of altering the situation of Morocco. Bülow added, he had no reason to believe German business interests in that country were imperilled. If they were, steps would be taken to safe-guard them.

In the autumn Delcassé sent to Abdul Aziz a long list of what were described as urgently needed reforms in Morocco. By this time the 'secret articles' of the entente agreement were the subject of widespread discussion in the press and in political circles. They were still unpublished, but rumour was busy as to their general purport. It was a 'secret' known to so many that it could not be kept secret, and current rumour was confirmed by the general course of events. By the spring of 1905 a dangerous crisis developed. The Sultan was delaying, month after month, his reply to Delcassé's proposals, and looking for support against French pressure, when there came what seemed to be an offer for help to avert an absolute surrender. In March 1905 the Emperor William embarked on a yachting cruise. He put into Tangier, landed, and rode through the town in the midst of crowds attracted by his presence. He met the Moorish authorities, amongst them envoys sent from the capital to meet him, and made a speech which was reported in the German press as a notable pronouncement of policy. He declared that he recognized Sultan Abdul Aziz as 'an absolutely independent sovereign' and that he intended to protect the interests of German traders in Morocco. The Emperor's action was denounced in the French and British press as a direct provocation to a quarrel, and the outcry increased when news came in April that the Sultan had rejected Delcassé's scheme for reorganizing Morocco, and the German Chancellor proposed that there should be a European Conference to settle an international policy on the whole question. Lord Lansdowne, then Foreign Secretary, declared that England would take no part in such a

conference. The London *Times* bitterly attacked the proposal, arguing that the question of Morocco had been already settled by the Franco-British pact of 1904, and to consent to reopen it at a conference would be a humiliating surrender. The French Government was divided on the proposal. Rouvier, the Prime Minister, and most of his colleagues agreed to accept the conference, and Delcassé resigned in June. He gave an interview to the *Gaulois*, an organ of the colonial party, in which he predicted that Germany would soon have to face the combined naval power of France and England, and was on the way to ruin. A few weeks later the *Matin*, the most widely circulated paper in France, published an account of the dispute in the ministry, in which it stated that Delcassé had told Rouvier that if he stood firm and Germany gave further trouble, England was ready to send her fleet to seize the Kiel Canal and land an army in Schleswig-Holstein. True or false, the statement is worth noting, as showing how in 1905 there was talk of coming war.

In February 1906 the conference met at Algeciras, near Gibraltar, nominally on the invitation of the Moorish Sultan. Besides Morocco, France, Spain, England, and Germany, seven other European Powers (Austro-Hungary, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Russia, and Sweden) were represented. The United States sent delegates to deal with trade questions. It was in session till April, when it adopted the declaration known as the 'Act of Algeciras'. The preamble of the Act stated that it had been adopted 'In the name of God Almighty' and was 'based on the threefold principle of the sovereignty and independence of the Sultan, the integrity of his dominions, and economic freedom without any inequality'. The document included in 122 articles a scheme of reform to be carried out under the Sultan's authority. It provided for an improved customs service, and the suppression of smuggling and the illicit importation of arms, and the establishment of a police force in the ports, recruited among the Moors, and commanded by Moorish officers, with, for five years, a number of French and Spanish instructors and a Swiss Inspector-General;

there was to be a regular system of taxation for both natives and foreigners, and the adjustment of any foreign claims to public lands; the establishment of a Bank of Morocco, to receive and disburse the revenue, with a capital of some £650,000 provided by twelve European groups, including French, British, and German firms, with censors or auditors named by the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Bank of Spain, and the Imperial Bank of Germany. The Sultan's Government and diplomatic body at Tangier 'were to co-operate in arranging a scheme of public works for the development of the country, and the execution of such works was to be open to free competition, without any special preference for any nationality among the contractors'. The final article of the Act set forth that—

All the existing treaties, conventions and arrangements between the signatory powers remain in force. It is, however, agreed that in case their provisions be found to conflict with those of the present General Act, the stipulations of the latter shall prevail.

This might well seem to open a way to a settlement in Morocco, but new troubles began in the following winter. A French subject was murdered at Marrakesh, in southern Morocco (the former capital). Reparation was demanded and promised by the Moorish Government at Fez, but as security for payment a column of troops from Algeria occupied Udja, a town just inside the Moorish frontier on the road to Fez, and the place was held after all claims had been settled (March 1907). In the autumn there was a still more important infringement of the 'integrity of Morocco'. A French company had secured a concession for making a railway into the interior from the Atlantic port of Casablanca. Work began in 1907 and in the late summer the contractors began to push their line through a large cemetery in the outskirts of the town. In September angry protests from the townsfolk and the neighbouring tribes culminated in a riot in which the French workers were driven from the cemetery and several of them killed. French warships arrived and bombarded the town, landed troops, seized the neighbouring port of Rabat, and began an armed occupation of the district at the cost of

some fighting with the local tribes. Thus in 1907 the conquest of Morocco began. It was the year of the Second Peace Conference at The Hague.

In those years before the war international relations in Europe were somewhat complicated. When England and France joined hands by the entente of April 1904, the former Power had for two years been allied with Japan, and in February 1904 Japan had begun her war with France's ally Russia. The Treaty of Japan with England, concluded by Lord Lansdowne and Baron Hayashi in London on the 20th August 1902, provided that if either Power became involved in war with more than one opponent it might call on the other party to the treaty to assist it. On the 15th October 1904 the Russian Baltic fleet left Libau on its voyage to the Far East. Under the influence of rumours—quite baseless—that the Japanese had secretly armed small craft in the western seas to attack it during its voyage, the fleet cleared for action in the Danish straits and fired on a Swedish merchantman and a German fishing-boat. Then, avoiding the direct course to the Straits of Dover, it fired on the British fishing-fleet on the Dogger Bank, sank one fishing-boat, damaged others, and killed and wounded a number of fishermen. When it anchored at Tangier on the 3rd November, Lord Charles Beresford, with the Channel fleet cleared for action, was off the port, after having closely followed the Russians across the Bay of Biscay. England, linked with the Dual Alliance by the entente with France, had assumed a threatening attitude to the fleet that was now the one hope of Russia. There was a peaceful settlement of the quarrel. But in the opening months of 1905 Japan was sending strong remonstrances to France against the Baltic fleet being allowed to make the harbours of Madagascar its base of operations for the voyage across the Indian Océan. In these same months of 1904-5 France, Russia, Italy, and England were acting as 'protectors' of Crete, with their warships in its harbours, attempting to maintain the unstable situation created in 1898 when the island was given local self-government but still remained a Turkish possession with the Sultan's troops in

Candia. The diplomatic record of the years before the Great War is a very tangled skein.

The victories of Japan—the fall of Port Arthur at the New Year of 1905; the three weeks of hard fighting in Manchuria (20 February–10 March 1905), known as the battle of Mukden—till then the greatest land fight in all history—ending in the retreat of the Russian army, and finally the destruction of the Russian fleet in the Straits of Tsushima (27, 28 May)—put an end to all dreams of Russian domination in the Far East. This led to the Russian Government again turning its attention to the affairs of eastern Europe and western Asia. In August 1907 an agreement with England was signed at St. Petersburg, with the view of clearing away any friction between the two Powers. It recognized Afghanistan and Tibet as belonging to the British sphere of influence. Persia had been disturbed by attempts to introduce a constitutional régime and the Tsar's troops had entered the northern districts to secure the interests of Russian traders. The agreement recognized a Russian sphere of influence in northern Persia, which included the Shah's capital, Teheran, and the agreement also recognized British influence in the south, where a pipe-line was constructed to bring oil from a petroleum-bearing district to the Persian Gulf. The agreement strengthened the Triple Entente, and after her immense naval losses in 1905 it was specially welcome to Russia as probably securing the future aid of the greatest of sea powers.

The entente with France had been arranged by a Conservative Government in England. The new agreement with Russia as to questions in Asia was the work of a Liberal Government, which came into office after the elections of 1906. Sir Edward Grey, who took over the Foreign Office, was a devoted friend of the entente with France. Mr. Haldane, who took over the War Office, was popularly regarded as a friend of Germany. In 1907 he carried out a reorganization of the British army. Its most important feature was the formation of an expeditionary force of three army corps that could, in case of need, be rapidly mobilized for service abroad. There was an improved scheme for a general mobilization, including the volunteer force

which was reorganized as a second line for the regular army. Though enlisted for home defence, it was foreseen that in the event of war it would supply, by volunteering for active service, reinforcements for the regular army, as the Volunteers had done in the South African War. A further step was the formation of an Imperial General Staff to supervise the training of the local forces of the Dominions, and arrange for their co-operation with the home forces in war-time. These were not necessarily war measures. The Liberal Government under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and under Mr. Asquith (who succeeded to the Premiership on Campbell-Bannerman's death in 1908) was mostly made up of men who professed their desire for peace in Europe. But they regarded the reorganization of the army and the steady increase of the navy as necessary defensive measures at a time when all the Powers of Europe were increasing their armaments. Nor need we suppose that Sir Edward Grey wanted war when he discussed with the French ambassador joint action of the Entente Powers in the event of a European conflict. The misfortune was that these discussions led to arrangements the nature of which was not revealed to several of his colleagues and was absolutely unknown to the public at large till the very eve of the Great War. The Triple Entente was being gradually converted into what was practically another triple alliance.

Morocco and the Near East were the two danger centres. After the French seizure of Casablanca and Rabat, and while fighting was still in progress in the neighbourhood, there was an outbreak against the Sultan Abdul Aziz at Fez. He was deposed and replaced by his relative Muley Hafid in January 1908. The French Government declared that it had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of the Moorish Government, that it recognized the new Sultan, and would still respect the Algeiras Act. German and French agents discussed co-operation in business developments. The two Governments were engaged in negotiations with the same object, and actually drafted an agreement which came to nothing through a change of ministry in France. Meanwhile Muley Hafid was contracting further loans, and by 1910 all the customs revenue and most

of the taxes were absorbed by debts, now nearing seven millions sterling. The Sultan made the mistake of trying to levy money on the chiefs and their tribesmen by his own personal decree, backed by armed raids, and a revolt spread through the country round his capital in the spring of 1911. It was reported that Fez was besieged by the rebels. A French force, 30,000 strong, crossed the Algerian frontier, and in June Fez was occupied by General Monier, and the rising collapsed. Spain at the same time sent troops from Melilla into the Riff country and occupied El Arish (Laraiche) and El Kasr on the Atlantic coast. Once in Fez, the French troops held it permanently.

The German Government informed France that it must claim full freedom of action now that the whole position was thus altered in Morocco. In July a German warship appeared in the far southern port of Agadir, where there were some German residents. The warship was a small gunboat, the *Panther*, armed only with two light guns. It was a perfectly legitimate step, for there was a rising hostility to foreigners in Morocco, and Agadir was a lonely trading-post. There was an outcry in the English press, as if a German battle fleet had anchored off Tangier. *The Times* called for the dispatch of a British squadron to Agadir and declared that the Germans were making such demands that, even if the French were weak enough to yield, England must resist them. There were rumours that Germany was demanding a share of Morocco, or asking for the French Congo colony to be ceded to her in exchange for her interests in north Africa. Mr. Lloyd George, then President of the Board of Trade, made a bellicose speech in the City protesting that, precious as peace was, England must uphold at all costs her place among the nations. *The Times* applauded this outspoken warning to a Power 'whose diplomacy, like that of Dick Turpin, was in the dark'. The British North Sea fleets concentrated in the Scottish firths, and light cruisers and torpedo craft patrolled each night as if sudden war were imminent. Sir Edward Grey told the German ambassador that his Government were making impossible demands. The German reply was that all that was asked was that on France and Spain taking over Morocco there

should be some compensation to Germany for giving up all its interests in that country, and it had suggested that it should receive in exchange a strip of territory extending its Cameroons colony in West Africa. A little later a French deputy told the Chamber of Deputies that this very suggestion had been made by France during recent negotiations with Germany. On this basis the matter was settled in November. One may well wonder what agencies were at work to create the war scare in England.

France and Spain were now in possession of Morocco. On the 12th August 1912 Muley Hafid abdicated, receiving a sum of 400,000 francs and a pension of 375,000. A puppet Sultan, Muley Yusef, was proclaimed, but France was to govern in his name. Like King Lear he was given a bodyguard. But a French army, in which the remnant of the Moorish troops were embodied, took over the maintenance of order in Morocco. It cost France several years of tribal warfare, and Spain had to fight for its small share of territory against the Riff tribes of the northern hills. The Act of Algeciras had become a 'scrap of paper'.

In this same year, 1912, on the 26th and 27th November, there was an exchange of letters in London between the Foreign Secretary and the French ambassador as to military and naval action of England and France in case of war. Their purport was not fully revealed till war was imminent sixteen months later. When this matter was arranged there was already war in the eastern Mediterranean.

Von Bülow, the German Chancellor, had more than once warned his Emperor that Italy was a doubtful member of the Triple Alliance. As early as 1900, when there was a renewal of the Triple Alliance agreements, the Italian envoy had noted that his Government would not consider itself bound to take part in an 'aggressive war' against France. When, in 1911, the Italian premier, Giolitti, was making the final preparations for the seizure of Tripoli, he obtained an assurance from France that no objection would be raised to this adventure. Tripoli was the last remnant of the old Turkish Empire in North Africa,

a somewhat neglected pashalik with only small garrisons in its coast towns. 'Peaceful penetration' on the part of Italy had been in progress for some years. Italian firms established branches in the ports and land purchase and immigration from Italy had begun. The Italian army and navy had been making experiments on a large scale in the embarkation and disembarkation of troops during the annual manœuvres. In the autumn of 1911, when the Turkish Government had enough troubles at home to suggest it might be in a yielding mood, Giolitti sent what was in effect an ultimatum to the Sultan. He was requested to accept the position of Suzerain of Tripoli, and agree to Italy occupying the province and assuming its protectorate. It was to share the fate of Tunis and Morocco. On the rejection of this proposal war was declared against Turkey. The Italian fleet shelled Tripoli and an army was landed. The Turkish forces fell back into the open country, and began a guerilla war backed by the Arab tribes. The Italians occupied the coast towns. Their fleet seized Rhodes and the adjacent islands, and shelled the forts at the entrance to the Dardanelles. A warning from Austria that it would be a danger to the peace of all the Balkan lands if any attack were made on the Turkish mainland prevented any further operations in that direction. A desultory warfare dragged on till next year in Tripoli. But in the summer of 1912 Turkey was faced with a hostile alliance of the Balkan States, and was anxious for peace with Italy. Negotiations were opened in August and a treaty of peace was signed on the 15th October. Italy annexed all the country from the frontier of Tunis to that of Egypt and a still undefined hinterland extending to the desert oases and recognized the Sultan's rights only as the religious chief of the Moslem population, to which full liberty of worship was guaranteed. Most of the country thus annexed was still in the hands of hostile Arab chiefs, and it was many years before the new conquest was completed.

This war with Italy gave a striking proof of the weakness of the Turkish Empire, and undoubtedly precipitated the attack upon it for which a league of the Balkan States was preparing.

In 1908 there had been a crisis in Turkey. A group of young officers of the Ottoman army, formed in the garrison of Salonika under the leadership of Enver Bey, had taken the lead in a movement that forced the Sultan Abdul Hamid to convoke a Parliament, and 'The Young Turks', as they were called, put forward a programme of reorganization of the Empire. There were two other notable events in the same year. Ferdinand of Coburg, the Prince of Bulgaria, proclaimed the suzerainty of the Sultan at an end, and assumed the title of King. Nicholas II of Russia sent him congratulations, saluting him with the title of 'Tsar of the Bulgar nation'. Austria had occupied Bosnia, and the Herzegovina district thirty years before, by an agreement with Russia to remain neutral during the Tsar's invasion of Turkey in 1877-8. The country had prospered under the occupation and in 1908 it was formally annexed as an Austro-Hungarian province. Russia, France, and England joined in an ineffective protest. Pasitch, the Serbian premier, complained to the Tsar that the annexation was a blow to Serbia, cutting off all hope of the Slav land, that had belonged to Serbia in the days of its greatness, ever being regained by the new Serbian kingdom. Nicholas II advised him to be patient. Before long Russia would be ready to challenge Austria's dominion over Slav peoples and Serbia would have her due share of the territories then to be disposed of.

Thanks to the publication by the Soviet Government, after the Revolution, of records of the Russian Foreign Office in the years before the War, and the secret treaties of its opening years, we have this revelation of the frankness with which Russian ministers and diplomatists discussed the coming European war with the representatives of the allies and friends of the Tsardom. In the documents thus published there are startlingly candid statements and admissions, in the record of the French President Poincaré's visit to St. Petersburg in 1911, and the reports of the mission of Sazonov, the Russian Premier, to London in 1912, and of Isvolsky, the Foreign Minister, to Paris in the same year. From 1911 onwards the war atmosphere was darkening. There were friends of peace in all countries and many efforts to culti-

vate friendly relations between the peoples of Europe, but there was a still more active militarist and bellicose current of opinion, with an active propaganda in literature and journalism. There were daring forecasts of what the war would be like, and even pleas for war being a necessary part of the policy and life of all the 'virile' peoples. Such was the underlying theory of General Bernhardi's famous book on *Germany and the Next War*; but there were Bernhardis in many nations. Everywhere the dockyards and arsenals were busy. Armies were being increased, naval and military budgets growing year by year.

As the Italian war with Turkey ended a greater war began in the Balkan Peninsula. In the opening months of 1912 an alliance had been formed between Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece. As the chief Powers concerned had rival claims in Macedonia and Thrace, thanks to the mixed population of these countries, it is not surprising that two wars followed, one against Turkey and its sequel between the Allies themselves. They were able to put into the field a much larger force than the Turkish armies could muster. Russia, which was using Serbia as the chief agent of its anti-Austrian policy, was in touch with the Allies. In their treaties they had noted that in case of any dispute among them the Russian Tsar was to be the arbitrator. But Nicholas II and Sazonov regarded the projected movement as premature. And on the eve of the war the Russian ambassadors in the Near East and the representatives of Austro-Hungary, declaring they acted in the name of the Great Powers of Europe, made an effort to avert the conflict.

After the dispatch of an ultimatum, which was in effect a declaration of war, hostilities began in the middle of October. The Bulgarian army, the strongest and best organized of the Allied forces, besieged Adrianople, defeated the Turkish main army at Lule Burgas in a three days' battle and pushed on towards Constantinople, where it was held up before the lines of Chatalja some forty miles from the city—an entrenched front extending from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmora, with its flanks protected by the gunfire of Turkish warships. A Bulgar division with the main Serbian force invaded northern Mace-

donia. The Greeks marched into the south and captured Salonika, and Serbs and Montenegrins entered Albania, where a local revolt had begun. Behind the lines of Chatalja, and at Adrianople, Yanina, and Scutari the Turks made a stubborn defence, but they were everywhere defeated in the field, and by the end of November they held only the positions named. Peace negotiations began by the mediation of the Powers in December, but they were broken off in consequence of a military *coup d'état* in Constantinople. The result of continuing the war was the capture of all the three outlying fortresses by the Allies and in April 1913 the Turkish dominion in Europe was limited to the Gallipoli peninsula, the capital, and the land between it and the Chatalja defences.

Peace negotiations were resumed, but the Allies quarrelled among themselves. On the 30th June, without any word of warning, the Bulgarians attacked the Greeks and Serbians, drove in their outposts and at first gained ground steadily, but as their opponents recovered from the treacherous surprise the tide of battle turned and the aggressors were soon in full retreat, with their recent allies marching on the Bulgarian capital. Rumania, anxious for a share in the spoil, suddenly declared war against Bulgaria, and joined the Allied forces. The Turks advanced from the Chatalja lines and with hardly any opposition recaptured Adrianople in September. With hostile armies closing upon Philippopolis from all sides, King Ferdinand asked for peace. A conference decided on a new distribution of Balkan territory; the new State of Albania was created; all the Allies, including Bulgaria, obtained some new territory. The Turks were left only eastern Thrace from the Maritza River to the Black Sea. This gave them back Adrianople and the command of the Dardanelles. Greece had solid gains, including the port of Salonika and Crete with all the Aegean islands, except Rhodes and the adjacent islands, which were left in the occupation of Italy.

The Serbians were bitterly disappointed. In their eyes the new settlement confirmed Austria in permanent possession of Bosnia. The Emperor Francis Joseph, now the patriarch of .

European sovereigns, was in his eighty-third year, and in failing health, but the party of action in Serbia looked forward with serious anxiety to the succession of his heir—his nephew, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand. What they feared was his well-known idea of reconciliation between Austria and the Slav races of the Empire. He had married, in defiance of the tradition that such alliances should be made by the Habsburgs only with daughters of royal and princely houses, a daughter of one of the minor noble families of the Slav race, the Countess Sophia Chotek. He was dreaming of a reorganization of the Empire, which would group the southern Slavs in an autonomous union and convert the Dual into a Triple monarchy, and of an Imperial Council in which Austrians, Hungarians, and Slavs would have due representation. His goodwill to the Slavs of the Empire resulted in his becoming a special object of hatred to the Serbian advocates of a Serbo-Slav empire reaching to the Adriatic.

This was what inspired the action of the desperadoes, whose daring crime on Sunday, the 28th June 1914, set Europe ablaze with war. The assassins received their weapons from a Serbian arsenal. The plot was engineered by the Serbian secret society of the 'Black Hand' that nine years before had carried out the murder of King Alexander, his Queen, and her brothers, and cleared the way for the accession of Peter Karageorgeovitch. As the Archduke and his wife drove through the city streets of Serajevo a bomb missed its mark, but soon after, when they went to visit the victims of the first attempt in the hospital, another accomplice shot them both down with a repeating pistol. The Serbian Government denied all part in the crime, but a few years later, after the War, a monument was erected in honour of the assassins, and on the spot where the bomb was thrown the local Orthodox clergy offered Mass not for the victims but for their slayers.

There has been endless controversy over the events that followed the assassination. There is a whole library of books and pamphlets bearing on the course of affairs between the day of the Serajevo tragedy and the first days of August 1914 when

Germany and Austro-Hungary were at war with Russia, France, and England. At first there were hopes that, as in 1905 and 1911, the diplomacy of the European Powers would deal with the situation as involving at most a local quarrel that might be settled by peaceful mediation. This might have been possible but for the terrible fact that the great nations of Europe were divided into hostile war leagues, which for years had been devoting an ever-growing amount of their energies and resources to preparations for war, and in every one of these nations there were prominent men and groups of men who believed that the best way to 'clear up the situation' would be war. There were friends of peace and goodwill and active workers for peace among all the peoples where any real public opinion and liberty for its expression existed. In England, at the outset, there were hopes that war might be averted, and an optimistic feeling that even if there were war on the Continent, England, as so often before, would be a spectator of the conflict. But there was an influential group that looked forward to the possibility of Germany taking part in war, if it came, and thus affording a welcome opportunity for the overwhelming strength of the British fleet making an end of the naval rivalry of Germany.

The power that held the keys of peace or war was Russia. For years Serbia had been the fulcrum for her lever in the Balkan lands. When in 1908 Austria annexed Bosnia the Tsar had protested and at the same time warned Serbia against any hasty armed action, telling the King that Russia was not yet ready for war, but the time would soon come when there would be a challenge to Austria. In February 1914 Pasitch, the Serbian Prime Minister, had visited St. Petersburg. The Tsar had spoken quite frankly to him of war with Austria at an early date, and had discussed with him the extent to which Serbia could co-operate. Pasitch had asked for a supply of rifles and a few howitzers, and promised that if arms were available half a million Serbs would take the field. Throughout all the discussions as to the future between Serbia and Russia Austria was the destined enemy.

In those critical days of July 1914, if Russia took action in support of Serbia, it would be a challenge also to Germany. This would compel France to act under the terms of the Dual Alliance, and the Tsar and his ministers knew that this would secure the alliance of England, thanks to undertakings between Paris and London, which had practically, though not formally, converted the Franco-British entente into an alliance.

On the 13th July Austria, after having spent three weeks in collecting evidence as to the Serajevo plot, and making sure of the support of Germany, sent a dispatch to Belgrade, which, in effect, was an ultimatum. A reply in forty-eight hours was demanded. That same day the Serbian envoy at St. Petersburg wired to Belgrade and to all the Serbian legations in Europe a statement that the Russian people were enthusiastic in support of Serbia and that the Tsar had ordered mobilization. This was not true. Nicholas II had so far accepted the pressing warnings of Sir George Buchanan, the British ambassador, that mobilization would inevitably lead to war. In the afternoon of the 23rd July the Serbian Government appealed to Russia for support and protection, but at the same time decided to accept all the Austrian demands for reparation, with two important exceptions, embodied in the fifth and sixth articles of the message from Vienna. These set forth that Austrian officials should co-operate (1) in the investigation of the alleged Serbian origin of the Serajevo plot, and (2) into the records and character of the Black Hand Society, which was believed to be a permanently organized conspiracy against Austria, the inquiry being directed to its suppression. In the Serbian reply it was stated that the Government did not understand the scope of the first proposal, and the second could not be accepted without a violation of the Serbian Constitution. On the 25th Austria declared that nothing short of a complete acceptance of her demands could be entertained; the Austro-Hungarian envoy left Belgrade and the Serbian Government proceeded to move the capital temporarily to Nish, 120 miles to the southward.

There was still hope of averting war, or at least localizing and limiting it. In the week that followed efforts were made to

this end by the diplomacy of more than one of the Powers. The English Foreign Office was specially active, perhaps because Sir Edward Grey had special personal knowledge of the immediate results to England if Russia came to the armed help of Serbia, and France was involved in the conflict. In England a powerful section of the press, led by Lord Northcliffe's organs, *The Times* for the upper classes and the *Daily Mail* for the multitude, was beating the war drums, denouncing the German Kaiser as the Machiavellian inspirer of Austria, and Austria as playing the part of the wolf eager to devour the lamb-like Serbia. On the 28th July Austro-Hungary declared war against Serbia. Next day the batteries of Semlin opened fire against Belgrade across the frontier river, and the Russian army mobilization began.

Still, hope of averting a general European war was not abandoned. The Tsar Nicholas II, after signing the mobilization decree about midday of the 29th, had a sudden shrinking from the step against which he had been warned by Buchanan. The decree was issued in the afternoon. In the evening General Yanuskevitch, the Chief of the Staff, hurried to the War Office to tell General Sukhomlinoff, the Minister of War, that the Tsar had just telephoned to him that the mobilization must be stopped, for he had news that Germany was making a peace move. Sukhomlinoff told his colleagues that he himself had just received the same message from the Tsar. 'What are we to do?' asked Yanuskevitch. 'Do nothing', replied the other. The general mobilization orders went out, and the Tsar was told that nothing more had been done than to order some precautionary local mobilization on the frontier.¹ The chiefs of the army wanted war, and they thus made it inevitable.

¹ This revelation was made in the evidence of Yanuskevitch, when, after the Russian Revolution, Sukhomlinoff was put on his trial as one of the authors of what had been for the Russians a disastrous war. In his deposition Yanuskevitch revealed another interesting incident of the 29th July 1914. He told how at 3 p.m. that day, Major von Eggeling, the military attaché of the German embassy, asked him if the mobilization had been ordered, and he gave the Major his 'word of honour' that 'mobilization had not been declared'. In his evidence he added: 'I considered myself justified, because the mobilization order at that moment had not been actually issued, for *I had the decree still in my pocket.*'

The 30th July was the first day of the Russian mobilization. King George V was exerting his personal influence in favour of peace. That morning he sent the following telegram to Prince Henry of Prussia, Kaiser William's brother:

My government is doing all that is possible to induce Russia and France to stop their war preparations; if Austria would content herself with occupying Belgrade and the adjacent portion of Serbian territory, as the pledge for the conclusion of an agreement satisfying her claims, while at the same time other countries stop their preparations for war, I count upon the great influence of the Emperor [i.e. William II] to obtain from Austria the acceptance of this proposal. He will thereby prove that Germany and England are working together for the prevention of an international calamity. Please assure William that I am doing all that lies in my power in order to preserve the peace of Europe.¹

Austria agreed to the proposal, and the British Foreign Office made an unsuccessful attempt to have a Congress of the Powers convoked, but other States were following Russia's example. France, Germany, and Austro-Hungary were mobilizing their forces. Italy announced that she regarded the action of the Central Powers as 'aggressive' and broke away from the Triple Alliance, declaring herself neutral in the coming war, though in the north an agitation had begun for war with Austria to win the Tyrol, Trieste, and Pola, and minor ports of the Eastern Adriatic, where the winged lion of St. Mark on their old buildings told of times when they had belonged to Venice.

On the 1st August Germany declared war against Russia and the French army was mobilizing. England was preparing for war. In July there had been a trial mobilization of a large part of the British navy, arranged early in the year, as a test of calling up considerable numbers of the naval reserves. On the 15th July the King had reviewed, in the waters inside the Isle of Wight, what was probably the most powerful fleet ever assembled till then. Forty miles of warships were anchored in five lines. In the last week of July the huge Armada had begun to disperse,

¹ This important document did not appear in the Blue Book issued by the British Government on the outbreak of the war. It was first printed a few days later in the Austrian Red Book.

the order was suddenly countermanded and on the 1st August a general mobilization of the navy was ordered, and as the ships completed their crews and war stores they began to move to their war stations on the east coast. On the same day the Territorial regiments were assembling and moving to the districts assigned for their summer camps. That evening they were ordered to return to the towns and districts to which they belonged. Preparations for mobilization had begun. The actual order for mobilization was not issued till the 4th August, but it began on the 3rd at Aldershot, where the divisions first on the list for active service were stationed. Germany had declared war against France on the 1st August and next day a German force seized neutral Luxemburg.

In the afternoon of the 3rd (the August bank holiday) the House of Commons was crowded with members anxious to hear the promised statement of the Government's policy. Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary, began his speech in what seemed to be reassuring words. He spoke of the efforts made to avert war in Europe, and went on to make a statement that to most of those who heard him seemed to mean that the House was free to decide whether England was to be neutral or face the burdens and perils of war, for he declared that England had no treaty engagements binding her to either group of rival Powers. But then came disillusion. England had, however, engagements of honour that might lead to her being involved in the war in support of France. The French fleet was in the Mediterranean. England surely could not look on idly if the formidable fleets of Germany entered the Channel and raided the coasts of France. The Government had assured our French friends that if this were attempted the British fleet would intervene. He spoke as if this were a recent pledge between the Entente Powers, but the promise was at least two years old. His statement clearly involved war with Germany. He told the House that news had come during the day that the Germans were violating the neutrality of Belgium, which England was bound by treaty to defend. It might be necessary to send troops across the Channel. Here there was something like a sound *casus belli*, though it

might be argued that England was not bound to isolated action but only as one of a group of Powers.¹ As to this matter he expected definite information in the course of the evening. Before the House rose news arrived of the German advance on Liège. That evening an ultimatum was wired to Berlin. Germany was given twenty-four hours in which to withdraw her troops from Belgian ground. On the evening of Tuesday, the 4th August, at 11 p.m. (midnight according to the central Europe time of Germany) England was at war, and cheering crowds were marching to Buckingham Palace to express their joy at the event.

Three members of the Ministry at once resigned. It was a strange fact that the full terms of the secret alliance into which the entente with France developed were unknown to several members of the Cabinet itself. The public at large knew nothing of this hidden diplomacy. There had been at times suspicion that some secret engagements existed. In a naval debate three years before Lord Charles Beresford had remarked that it seemed to him strange that England had ceased to keep a large force in the Mediterranean, and was moving ship after ship to home stations and her northern fleets. But his remark drew no direct explanation. There were vague rumours of a British

¹ The Treaty of 1839 guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium was actually intended chiefly as a protection for the new State against French aggression, and *inter alia* the Powers imposed on Belgium the obligation of maintaining the old line of barrier fortresses of the Netherlands. Like all treaties signed by a group of States, it had the drawback of being open to evasion by no individual power being compelled to initiate action upon it. On the outbreak of the war between France and Prussia in 1870 Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, after taking the advice of the law officers of the Crown, made a separate treaty of guarantee with Belgium, valid only for the duration of the war. In 1914 the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, acknowledged in the Reichstag that the invasion of Belgium was a violation of treaty rights, but argued that it was justified by the necessity of the moment, and promised that Belgium would receive compensation later on. As a matter of fact the plea of necessity that knows no law was a very poor one. It may well be argued that the German staff might have stood on the defensive in Alsace-Lorraine, and flung the main offensive against Russia; or attacked without violating Belgian or Swiss territory with fair prospects of success. For the French barrier line of fortresses was anything but ready for a serious defence against an attack such as so easily destroyed the forts of Belgium with the fire of the giant Skoda howitzers, and the arrangements for the French mobilization were decidedly defective.

force being detailed for France in case of war, but several times in 1913 and the first half of 1914, in reply to questions in the House, the Government had stated that there were no engagements binding England to armed intervention in a continental war. Until August 1914 the secret was well kept.

Secret diplomacy, engagements between nations concealed by dexterous playing with the limits of truth and falsehood, are baneful features in the record of both the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. The war was prolonged by a series of secret treaties. It was this evil element in the policy of the time that wrecked the effort for peace in 1917, and made the Treaty of Versailles no permanent act of peace but the sowing of the dragon's teeth of further strife. The Covenant of the League of Nations included a well-meant attempt to end the evil system of secret treaties, by providing that all treaties between members of the League should be openly registered at Geneva. But this safeguard can still be evaded by concealing international agreements that may involve war, in the guise not of 'treaties' but of 'honourable understandings'. A real step towards ensuring the peoples from being hurried into needless wars for purposes of which they know little or nothing would be taken if it were generally recognized that, just as it is a dishonest and criminal act for an agent in mere business affairs to expose his principal to ruinous loss by engagements made in his name but without his knowledge, so it is a thousandfold greater crime for a government, or members of a government, acting in the name of a nation that makes any pretence to be a free people, to pledge them to engagements of which they know nothing, but which may entail the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives and, long after, years of misery and ruin.

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PREFATORY NOTE

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For practical purposes it will be better to adopt a less ambitious plan, and prepare an outline bibliography briefly noting some of the original sources for the history of the period, and useful works on the events and personalities of the time.

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'To study the pages of Madelin after reading or re-reading Carlyle is to measure the sensational advance that has taken place in our knowledge and interpretation of forces and events. Written in a spirit of critical detachment verging on severity, distinguished by the French clarity of arrangement, and furnished with full bibliographies, the work is indispensable to the

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THE PARAGUAY MISSIONS

By A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE

THE PARAGUAY MISSIONS

THE modern Republic of Paraguay occupies a much smaller territory than the Paraguay of the old Spanish period of South America, the time of colonization and conquest and of the earlier missions to the native tribes. The name was then used somewhat loosely to denote a much more extensive region between the Andes and the as yet undefined border-line of the southern Portuguese settlements of the Atlantic coast region. Long after Spanish rule was established in Peru and Chile and on the estuary of La Plata, this early 'Paraguay' was still, except in the south, an unsettled and mostly unexplored region of pampas and forests on both sides of the Parana river and its great tributary the Paraguay. Northward it extended to the belt of higher ground that forms the watershed between the basin of these rivers, and those that flow through the vast forest lands of Brazil.

The Indian tribes of this region were still in a primitive grade of civilization—hunters and fishers living a semi-nomad life, with few if any permanent dwellings, and no idea of tilling the ground or raising cattle. Until the closing years of the sixteenth century their only contacts with the white men had inspired them with fear and hatred of the new-comers. Portuguese raiders from the San Paulo colony had come as slave-hunters, and in the south Spaniards from La Plata had established a stockaded outpost on the middle Parana that developed into the future city of Asunción, scaring the Indians from their neighbouring hunting grounds. When the Jesuits crossed the Andes and tried to establish friendly contact with the Guaraní tribes along the Parana, the Indians either fled from the strangers or attacked them. In Peru and Chile the missionaries had the easier task of dealing with peoples who had made some advance in civilized and settled life. It was a more difficult problem to deal with the nomads of a vast wilderness, who by sad experience had been led to regard the white men as cruel enemies.

The solution of the problem was suggested by a layman, a

man of marked ability and high ideals—Hernando Arias de Saavedra, popularly known as ‘Hernandarias’. His father had married a Guaraní woman, who gladly accepted her husband’s religion. Her famous son was thus well fitted to act as a peacemaker between Indians and Spaniards. The colonists of Asunción had at this period the right of electing its governor, and three times their choice fell on Hernandarias.

He was first elected for the period from 1591 to 1595, then for the years 1600 to 1609, and for the third time in 1609. During his first term of office Asunción was repeatedly attacked by the Guaranís, but his successful defence made it safe for long years to come. This success did not tempt him to play the part of a conquistador. When he was elected for the second time he decided that an effort must be made to secure lasting peace, not by armed conquest, but by winning the Indians to the Faith, and gathering them into mission villages. The idea of such mission settlements was not an entirely new one. The essential feature of the proposal sent to King Philip III by Hernandarias was that the convert Indians should not become servants or serfs of the Spanish colonists by their new villages and tilled lands being handed over to white masters under the so-called *encomienda* or protectorate system, introduced with the best intentions in the early days of Spanish rule, but too often resulting in all but complete enslavement for the natives. In the proposed new settlements the converts were to be subjects only of the King, and the lands they tilled were to be held by the village community. There were to be no grants of land rights to Spanish colonists.

Negotiations for the enterprise began soon after Hernandarias assumed office in 1600, and involved a long correspondence in those times of slow communications between South America and Europe. At last, on the 18th December 1606, King Philip signed a royal ordinance (*Cedula Real*) addressed to Hernandarias, directing that ‘even if he could conquer the Indians on the Parana by force of arms’, he must not attempt this, but ‘must gain them over entirely by the sermons and instructions of missionaries sent for this purpose’. This was followed by an

ordinance on the 30th January 1607 declaring that the converted Indians were not to be liable to any kind of serfdom, and for ten years were to be exempt from all taxation.

This new mission was entrusted to the Jesuits, who had had some share in earlier missionary efforts in Paraguay. As so often elsewhere, the Franciscans had been the pioneers, and as early as 1590 St. Francis of Solano had made an adventurous journey west of the Andes, and established a few mission outposts in the borders of the wilderness outside the Spanish settlements. Most of these were soon abandoned, for the results were disappointing and the bishops withdrew the missionaries to the Spanish settlements, where they had not sufficient priests at their disposal to minister to the colonists. The Jesuits who had reached the country west of the Andes were also employed by the bishops in pastoral work in the Spanish centres, and some of them formed the teaching staff of the College of Córdoba, founded by the Dominican bishop of that city, and destined to develop into a famous university. When the royal decrees for the new missions of Paraguay were issued in 1607 the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, formally constituted the Jesuit Province of Paraguay, and appointed Father Diego Torres its first Provincial. But it was not till the autumn of 1609 that Torres was able to organize his first group of missionaries, and complete the preparations for his enterprise, with the help of Hernandarias and the Dominican Bishop of Asunción, Reginald de Lizarraga.

Like many other great undertakings it began on a very modest scale. Three districts were selected for the first venture and to each two missionary pioneers were sent. Mission stations were to be established among the Guaycurú tribes to the westward of Asunción, among the Guaranís to the south-eastward, and in a little-known region northward on the upper Parana. The mission to the Guaycurús was a failure. The Indians were not hostile, for they lived too far west to suffer from the lawless raiders of San Paulo, but after a short stay at the mission station they drifted back to their wandering huntsman life. The only baptisms were those of dying children and of elder folk won by

the kindly care they received in their last illness. After four disappointing years the mission was abandoned in 1613.

The first success was among the Guaranís on the Parana south-east of Asunción. The two Jesuits sent there had the good fortune to be helped by a survivor of the earlier Franciscan missions, Fray Luis Bolsano. He was the pastor of four small groups of Indian converts, and rejoiced at welcoming younger missionaries to take over his little flock. He gave the new-comers the benefit of his lifelong knowledge of the Guaranís, and made them a gift of his notes on the native language. Some leagues away in the forest lands the Jesuits founded the first of the Reductions, under the patronage and name of St. Ignatius.

They were soon able to send encouraging reports to Asunción, telling how land was being cleared for tilling and pasture, buildings erected, children gathered into a school, and increasing numbers of elder folk receiving instruction. Prolonged teaching and training were, except in cases of dangerous illness, the prelude to baptism for the Indian converts. It was nearly two years before the mission gathered in the first fruits of these patient labours. In one day more than a hundred converts were baptized, and the first native congregation was fully organized in the Reduction of San Ignacio. The Guaranís soon after proved their loyalty to their teachers by repulsing an attack of pagan tribesmen. This was a success that secured permanent peace for the missions of the lower Parana, and before long other Reductions were founded in the same region.

The third pair of missionaries, two Italian Jesuits, went by the upper Parana into the north-east district, then known as La Guayra (now a province of Brazil). At the outset they had the valuable help of a secular priest from Asunción who had already paid a visit to the district, and now acted as their guide and interpreter. The first two Reductions, Loreto and San Ignacio Miri, were founded in the summer of 1610. The first years of these north-eastern missions were marked by rapid progress, but before long the Reductions in this outlying border of Paraguay were posts of danger, for the slave-hunting raiders from San Paulo became the terror of the forest lands of the upper Parana.

The history of the Paraguay Reductions covers a period of a little more than a century and a half, from these first efforts of the Jesuits in 1609-10 to their expulsion in 1767. The Reductions were mission villages, though in the later years of the enterprise some of them might be described as towns, for these had by that time from 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants. In all, from first to last, the Jesuits founded about a hundred of these mission stations, but at no time were there so many simultaneously in existence. In many cases the original settlement had to be dismantled and re-established on a better site. Some were abandoned, or two small settlements were combined in one. The Reductions of the far north-east were withdrawn to the lower Parana when the raids from San Paulo at last made it impossible to maintain these border stations of the north except at the cost of continual warfare.

In 1767 there were between thirty and forty flourishing Reductions, in some districts grouped fairly near together, in others far apart. There were several large Reductions on the Parana, Paraguay, and Uruguay rivers, seldom on the actual river-side, but mostly on higher ground at some distance from it. There were four Reductions in the diocese of Tucumán, three of these being to the northward on the border of the Gran Chaco. There were two Reductions not far from Buenos Aires. Attempts to push the missions into Patagonia from this base had been abandoned.

The buildings of the mission stations were all arranged on the same general plan. In the centre was the Plaza, a large square with a great crucifix in the centre, and often a well or fountain and a statue of Our Lady. On three sides there were houses, single-story buildings, with porticoes or verandas along their fronts, forming a shaded walk, and outside of this a line of trees. In the middle of the remaining side of the plaza was the church, at first a small temporary chapel, later replaced by a stately church, a great stone edifice, with sanctuary, nave, side aisles, and several chapels, and a tower with one or more bells. These bells were at first obtained from the Spanish settlements, but later, as the Indians were trained in arts and crafts, they

were cast in the mission workshops. The existing ruins of the churches show that they were solidly built with an abundance of sculptured ornament, the work of Indian artists.

Near the church were the house of the missionaries, known as the *collegio*, and the school for the children, a hospital for the sick, and a house of refuge and garden for the aged and infirm. Eastward of the church beyond this range of buildings was the graveyard, a walled enclosure with a portico and a chapel where the dead were laid while awaiting burial. These cemeteries were adorned with rows of trees and parterres and borders of bright flowers. Beyond the central square, the houses were grouped in blocks of six to ten, forming with their little gardens groups of homesteads with streets at right angles through the residential part of the mission settlement. There was a guest-house with its chapel for visitors, and on the outskirts of the village the workshops and storehouses. Around the settlements extended the arable and pasture land gradually won from the wilderness. Most of this was communal land, but there were also what we would call 'allotments' held by heads of households, on which they could grow vegetable produce for the home, and many of them were also given a few cattle. It was at first a difficult task to train the Indians to make good use of these concessions, but working under foremen in field and workshop they were remarkably efficient and quick to learn.

The missionaries soon found that the Indians were delighted with music of any kind. It proved an unfailing attraction in their first efforts to make friends of the Indians in the forest lands. Later each Reduction had its choral societies and its orchestra that provided music at the morning mass of weekdays as well as Sundays. Songs and music lightened the hours of work in the fields and workshops, and enlivened the sports and games of the holidays. For recreation was not neglected, and in some of the missions there was sport in the form of hunting parties in the woods.

The Indians were associated with their pastors in the management of the Reductions. At a yearly meeting the heads of households elected a number of native officials—the *corregidor*, or

mayor, his councillors, a clerk and treasurer, and a standard-bearer. The list was sent to Asunción to be confirmed by the governor, and the elected officials had thus the rank of servants of the King. There was also an election of church officials—churchwardens, sacristans, and chiefs of the choir and orchestra. The mayors and their staff had places of honour on all ceremonial and festive occasions and wore silk and velvet robes of office. Through them the Jesuits directed the civil life of the settlements. After the first years of the Reductions natives acted as foremen of the land-workers in the fields and the artisans in the workshops.

At first the Provincial of Paraguay appointed the superior of each Reduction; later he submitted the names of the three priests to the nearest bishop, who selected one of them. For his maintenance the Government granted half the amount allotted to parish priests in the towns. Both the nearest bishop and the civil governor had the right of visitation at each Reduction. At their visitations the bishops administered the sacrament of confirmation. Their reports were practically unanimous as to the admirable results obtained by the missionaries, and they also noted that in such temporal matters as housing and daily fare the Jesuits lived as simply as their Indian converts.

Efforts were made to render each Reduction self-supporting. But it was soon realized that the produce of the mission lands would have to be supplemented by purchasing supplies of various kinds from the Spanish centres. At some of the Reductions cotton was grown, and spinning-wheels and hand looms produced a certain amount of textile fabrics, but much of these had to be imported. The woods gave timber in abundance, but there were no mines, and all kinds of metal had to be obtained from outside. Type and presses for the printing work of the missions had to be brought from Europe, as well as paper and parchments. For these and other needs the small official grants to the missions had to be supplemented by the sale of some of their produce. A useful resource was found in the cultivation and export of a native plant, the *yerba maté*, a shrub growing wild in the forests. Its dried leaves could be used for

making a refreshing kind of tea that was popular in the Spanish settlements. The missionaries were the first to cultivate it, and it was for some time known to Europeans as 'mission tea' or 'Jesuit tea'. It was the chief export, producing a useful revenue for the missions, but this business was always restricted to their actual needs, for from Rome there came warnings that there must be nothing like speculative trading or fortune making.

In this connexion it must be noted that when later the attacks that preluded the ruin of the missions began, a current calumny against the Jesuits was that they were accumulating an immense fortune by the organized trade of their 'vast estates', and that besides marketing their output of field, forest, and 'great factories' they were secretly working rich gold-mines. It was alleged that, though they sent very little gold to Europe on account of the difficulty of its secret export, they were hoarding immense stores of ingots. Never was there a more baseless fiction.

What little gold there ever was in the Paraguay Reductions was that to be found in the sacred vessels of the churches, mostly the gifts of the Spanish authorities or of private benefactors and a small amount imported in the form of gold wire and leaf for decorative and artistic purposes. There were not, and never have been, gold-mines of any kind in this part of South America. Yet the legend survived despite the disappointment of the enemies of the Jesuits at finding no trace of this fabled gold, when the missions were raided and ruined by the Government that had so long been their protector.¹

¹ Some ten years ago the 'Sacambaya Exploration and Mining Company' was registered and formed in London, with the object of locating and exploiting an alleged Jesuit hoard of gold ingots in South America. Let us grant that, wild as the story was, the promoters of the enterprise were themselves misled as to the value of the tradition set forth in their prospectus. It told how the Jesuit missionaries in the eighteenth century had for years been mining for gold in the Sacambaya district. This was not in Paraguay, but farther north, known in Spanish times as 'Alto Peru'. Here it was said they had accumulated a vast store of gold, and when they were in dread of expulsion from the country they decided to bury this great hoard of ingots, in the hope of regaining it in happier times, and for months employed more than 200 Indians in concealing the gold in a vast underground treasure-house and then massacred their hapless slaves in order to guard their secret. The expedition sent out by the company, after months of labour in the

After the first difficult years of pioneering, the life of the people in most of the Reductions was one of peaceful prosperity—a sheltered life in which crime was practically non-existent and the rivalries of political strife and business competition were unknown. But in some of the border settlements there were times of danger and difficulty from without. In 1629 in a raid of pagan Indians on the newly founded Reduction of All Saints on the Uruguay, Father Roque González, a veteran of the missions, and his younger colleagues, Fathers Alonzo Rodrigues and Juan del Castillo, were killed. But in the four following years new Reductions were founded in the same district on the Uruguay. In the north, on the upper Parana, and in La Guayra there were serious troubles almost from the outset, as the result of the plundering and slave-hunting raids of the adventurers from San Paulo and the pagan tribes of the border. Several of the outlying Reductions were surrounded by stockades, and after consulting Rome the Jesuits organized on a small scale native Christian volunteers for their defence. The missionaries were warned that they must take no direct part in training or leading these local forces, so they obtained the temporary aid of a few Spanish veterans to organize the defenders under Christian Guaraní chiefs. For a while the Paulista raiders left the Reductions in peace, limiting their activities to slave-hunting in the forests.

The raids were renewed on a larger scale after the arrival from Europe of a new governor of Paraguay, Don Luis de Cespedes, a Chilian who had visited Spain and secured the appointment by the influence of friends at court. Like some other Spanish colonists he considered the exceptional position given to the Jesuits as bad policy, and held it would have been better to leave the development of new lands to the civil power.

On his way to his new command, instead of coming by way of Buenos Aires, he landed at San Paulo and made a long stay

Sacambaya valley, during which, at first, hopeful reports were sent to London, could not find any trace of the legendary treasure. The whole affair was based on ignorant acceptance of an impossible fiction. It had amongst other weak points the radical defect that there never was a Jesuit mission of any kind in the country in which the scene of this brutal calumny against the missionaries was located.

there, during which he seems to have given the Paulistas the impression that while he ruled at Asunción he would not show much interest in the fate of the Jesuit missions of the boundaries. Early in 1629 he arrived at Asunción, and in the summer there were what proved to be well-founded reports that bands of Paulistas and their pagan native allies were gathering on the north-eastern border.

In the autumn the raiders sacked several of the northern Reductions, in at least one case plundering and burning the church, and they carried off a number of the converts as slaves to San Paulo. The Jesuits appealed to Cespedes for protection and efforts to liberate the captives. He told them 'they had better leave the poor Portuguese to help themselves' and broke off the discussion in a burst of anger. 'May the devil take all the Indians—write that to your missionaries' were his parting words.

In the three years 1629-31 there were frequent raids, and these border missions lost thousands of their people by death, flight, and enslavement. The Provincial of Paraguay then reluctantly decided that the north-eastern Reductions must be abandoned, and the converts transferred to existing and new settlements on the middle lower reaches of the Parana.

Abandoning their homes, some thousands of men, women, and children gathered on the river-banks under the leadership of a veteran of the missions, Father Ruis de Montoya. The journey was partly by the river on hundreds of rafts and canoes, but for many a weary mile, where the rapids made this transport impossible, it was a slow march on foot. At last the refugees reached the Reductions of the lower river; some were distributed amongst these settlements, others formed new centres; Montoya had led his people to a land of peace, but it was some years before this peace extended to all the eastern Reductions. There were here and there intermittent raids of the Paulistas, chiefly to secure Indian slaves from the pagan tribes.

The last serious raid was in 1641. By this time the eastern Reductions had formed a well-trained guard for each settlement. This native militia concentrated to meet the attack and was reinforced by a few hundred Spanish musketeers. The

raiders were routed in three days of fighting and a victorious pursuit. That same year a new governor, Hinestrosa, who was a good friend of the missions, arrived at Asunción. A veteran of the Spanish wars, with more soldierly determination than diplomatic tact, he became involved in a dispute with Cardenas the newly appointed bishop of that city, as to the limits of the civil and the religious authority. The Jesuits, as the friends of the governor, became indirectly involved in the dispute. Cardenas went so far as to say it would be well if they left Paraguay, and the Reductions became ordinary colonial settlements. After a brief conflict Hinestrosa was able to assert his authority, and peace was secured by Cardenas being transferred to the bishopric of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where, it seems, he lived on friendly terms with the Jesuits of the Reductions in this borderland.

After these troubles, for some seventy years, from 1650 to 1720, Paraguay was at peace, and the missions enjoyed a long period of peace and prosperity. Many of the Reductions developed into small towns, and there were several new foundations. The stronghold of the missions was the country of the Parana and between it and the middle course of the Uruguay river with some outposts on the east bank of the latter waterway. West of the Parana, between the great river and the Andes there were several flourishing Reductions in the diocese of Tucumán, with some outposts northward on the borders of the Gran Chaco, with seven settlements in the hill country west of the upper Paraguay. In the far south attempts to extend the missions into Patagonia gave scanty and disappointing results, but there were two Reductions on the border west of Buenos Aires.

These seventy years covered nearly half of the entire period of the Paraguay missions. It was a time when in most of the Reductions the population was mainly made up of the descendants of the earlier converts, and in these Christian villages there had grown up the tradition of a settled state of life in self-supporting communities that had developed a local art and industry—a life in which poverty was unknown, there was no need for anxiety for the morrow, no 'struggle for existence'. It was a necessary feature of the settlements in this stage of their

existence that the Indians should not be in contact with the strangely different life of the colonial cities. But there is no basis for the legend created by envious and jealous opponents of the missions that the Jesuits were building up an isolated state for their own advantage. After the first ten years each Reduction paid taxes to the colonial government. The mission supplied no funds for the Society of Jesus outside the province, and far from being carried on under a veil of studied isolation and secrecy the Reductions were under a twofold supervision from outside—civil and ecclesiastical. Officials of the colonial government came to inspect and report upon the work carried on and assess the annual tax. In the ecclesiastical order the Jesuit superior of each Reduction was a *cura* (parish priest) of the diocese in which the mission was situated. At the largest extension of these missions the immense territory of Paraguay was divided between five dioceses: Santa Cruz-de la Sierra in the north, Asunción on the Paraguay river, Tucumán and Córdoba west of it, and finally Buenos Aires. The bishops made regular visitations to the missions, usually administering the sacrament of confirmation, and they sent reports to the colonial government and to the Holy See in generous praise of the missionaries.

There were thus two independent sources of contact with the missions, and in this prosperous period when the Indians had been for generations under Christian influences, there were further modifications of the isolation of the pioneer days. At first only the local Indian language had been taught in the schools, and the Jesuits had produced a whole literature of instruction and devotion for young and old in the Guaraní, Chiquito, and other dialects. At the request of the Government in the opening years of the eighteenth century Spanish was taught in many of the schools. In some of the Reductions on festive occasions licensed Spanish dealers were allowed to sell to the Indians minor objects of their trade. Then there came other contacts of wide importance to which the Jesuit superiors reluctantly consented. The colonial authorities insisted on drawing upon the larger Reductions for cheap labour of various

kinds. It was arranged that artisans and labourers thus employed should not be absent for any long period from their homes and families, and one or more of the missionaries went with them. The colonial government was thus able to obtain gangs of skilled artificers and still larger numbers of hardy labourers from the Reductions for the erection of forts on the north shores of the Rio de la Plata, for the foundation of the new walled city of Montevideo, and for the extension of port facilities at many places on the rivers.

A drawback of this requisitioned labour was the loss to the missions of a number of Indians who made the mistake of drifting into the life of the colonial centres instead of returning to the Reductions. There were still more frequent losses when, in the disturbed period that followed the long peace, the Government embodied in its armed forces a succession of drafts and levies from the local guards of the border Reductions. Towards the close of the period of strife and revolt among the colonists that darkened the years from 1721 to 1735, between seven and eight thousand of these Indian auxiliaries were serving with the Spanish forces in central Paraguay. The strife began with a revolt headed by a rival claimant for the governorship, who for some time held Asunción. The war dragged on for years, and was complicated in its later phases by the rising of the 'Comuneros'—not communists but colonists—Spanish and half-breeds, who advocated an independent local government for 'the common good'. Both parties of the disaffected areas were hostile to the missions, their programmes including the abolition of the Reductions. Throughout this trying time the Jesuits had a good friend, the Franciscan Bishop of Asunción, Fray José de Palos. He defended them against the wild accusations of their enemies, and it was largely due to his influence that, despite local losses, they carried on their work, founding two new Reductions and restoring four others from which they and their flocks had been driven by armed assailants.

In Europe a campaign against the Jesuits had begun before the war and was intensified during it. The chief factor of this hostile agitation was the work of an anonymous French author,

wilderness, the fruits of a hundred years of toil, the new overlords were to pay the trifling sum of 28,000 dollars. It is not too much to say that seven millions would be a grudging estimate of the losses inflicted on these unfortunate people.

The Jesuits made representations to Madrid as to the injustice to be inflicted on their people. The most they could obtain was a delay of three years in which they were to try to secure new homes for their flocks and persuade the Guaranís to submit to the inevitable. Some parties of pioneers crossed the river and joined the western Reductions, others engaged in a search for new sites, but it was difficult to find any with all essentials of healthy positions, timber, land for cultivation, and good water. The people were reluctant to quit their old homes, and to many it seemed that their pastors were planning their ruin. There was a first show of resistance when at one of the Reductions the Guaranís admitted the Spanish commissioners but drove away the Portuguese. The fugitive officials reported that they had been threatened by an armed force, but the Spaniards declared that they had run away from a noisy mob of about sixty Indians.

At last orders came from Europe that there must be an end of the delay in clearing the Reductions, and a force of about 2,000 Spanish troops from Buenos Aires and 1,000 Portuguese took the field to occupy the seven settlements. In vain the Jesuits tried to avert a hopeless resistance. The bolder Indians made a desperate defence of their homes, while others took to the woods to harass the march of the invaders. Many fled to the wilderness or across the Uruguay. In a few weeks all resistance was at an end. It had never been well organized or really effective. The military operations had been the dispersal of all but unarmed crowds. In Europe the story was spread that the allied troops had won victories over formidable forces with artillery, guided by the Jesuits. Not one of these had taken the least part in the resistance, and the most serious fight was the dispersal of a badly armed Indian force of about 1,700 men in February 1756. They were scattered by a few volleys of musketry.

The affair of the frontier treaty had proved to be a misfortune for all concerned, most of all for its original promoter, the Portuguese governor, Andrade. At the outset he had regarded the Reductions as a successful business undertaking disguised as a mission, and he was inclined to believe the story of the Jesuit mines and hoards of gold. His agents in the advance to the Uruguay had convinced him that all the gold belonged to the region of mirage and fiction. When in 1757 a new Spanish governor, Pedro de Ceballos, took command at Buenos Aires and suggested to Andrade that steps might be taken to clear up the situation on the Uruguay, he found the Portuguese had lost all interest in the matter and were only anxious to get rid of an embarrassing situation. For on the Uruguay the officials found that the Indians in the villages had lost all energy and heart for work, and many were taking to the woods. The seven Reductions were in utter disorganization.

Ceballos appointed a commission of inquiry, which after examining over a hundred witnesses (his predecessor being one of them) sent him the evidence thus collected and their own impressions. In sending his report on the inquiry to Spain he declared there was full proof that the accusations brought against the Jesuits were 'a tissue of lies', and he advised that they should be employed to reorganize the seven Reductions, and that there should be a new settlement of the boundary question. Charles III had succeeded his half-brother Ferdinand VI at Madrid, and he decided that the best policy would be to cancel the treaty of 1750. After some delay he obtained the consent of the Portuguese Government. The lands east of the Uruguay were restored to Spain, and the Jesuits resumed control of the Seven Reductions. The 'provincial congregation' of the Jesuits of Paraguay, which assembled at Asunción in 1762, voted its thanks to Ceballos for this deliverance. The report as to the seven Reductions presented to the Assembly told how good progress was being made since the return of the missionaries, but instead of the 29,000 of 1750 the population was now only 14,000.

The hopes of a new period of peace were sadly disappointed.

Only five years after the meeting at Asunción there came the royal decree for the expulsion of the Jesuits from South America, and thus began the final ruin of the Reductions of Paraguay. The expulsion of the missionaries was the first blow struck in a conspiracy for the suppression of the Jesuit order throughout the world. In western Europe the movement was largely promoted by three of their enemies, the Prime Ministers of France, Spain, and Portugal—at Paris Choiseul, the patron of the French Encyclopédistes, at Madrid Aranda, a personal friend of Voltaire, and at Lisbon the Marquis of Pombal, who under a weak king was for some years the dictator of the Portuguese dominions. A leading feature in the anti-Jesuit propaganda, patronized and promoted by these allies, was the revival of all the legendary fictions against the missions of Paraguay. Detailed accounts were circulated of a Jesuit autocratic state in South America that had organized a great army well provided with artillery, and the fable of the Jesuit gold-mines and hoards of treasure was revived. Pombal, after his subsequent fall from power, admitted that several of the documents he had circulated were forgeries. Aranda had coins struck in the Spanish mint which were represented as specimens of the currency of a Jesuit empire of Paraguay, and he frightened the King with rumours of a Jesuit plot for his deposition.

Pombal expelled the Jesuits from Portugal and all its overseas possessions, and in 1767 Aranda obtained from Charles III an order for the arrest and deportation of all the Jesuits in the South American colonies. This order was to be kept secret until a day on which all their colleges, residences, and mission stations were to be occupied without even an hour's notice, all papers and property seized, and the Jesuits themselves arrested and sent under escort to the ports to be embarked for Europe.

The captives of the Government were treated as if they were convicted criminals. As they were hurried to the sea-port they were cut off from all communications with their friends. They were finally dumped on the coast of the Papal States in a ragged and penniless condition. Several of them had died under the hardships of the Atlantic voyage, for amongst them were many

veterans of the missions, advanced in years and broken in health.

As for the stories of the wealth accumulated in the Reductions, the legendary gold-mines, the mint for a Jesuit coinage, the arsenals of an army—no trace of such things was found in this plunder of the missions. The only gold was in the sacred vessels of the altars. Nor did the sudden seizure of all the papers and records of colleges and missions reveal a single document that could give colour to the stories of conspiracies against the Spanish crown. There was no resistance to the action of the Government. In some places where the Indians were wildly excited by the arrest of their pastors, the Jesuits did all they could to prevent any angry action of their people, aiding the officials to secure peace and order and holding out some hope that they might be allowed to return.

The Spanish Government called on the Franciscans to replace them as pastors of the thirty-four existing Reductions. For these Christian villages it was the beginning of a period of decay and ruin, but it would be unjust to describe the Franciscan missionaries as in any way responsible for this disastrous result. At the very outset they were informed that their activities were to be strictly limited to ministering to the spiritual needs of the Indians. They were to take no part in the general direction of the settlements, or in local government or the industries of the people. Spanish officials were to have absolute control of all temporal matters. Nor were the Indians to have any such voice in their affairs as had been given them by the Jesuits. The communal possession of land was abolished. Everything now belonged to the State, and the Reductions were to provide profits for it. This sweeping change was described as the emancipation of the Indians from the tutelage of their former masters. In plain fact it was the making every Reduction an *encomienda* of the State, reducing the Indians to a serfdom, and leaving it to strangers in temporary control of each settlement to show a profit for the colonial revenue, and incidentally make money for themselves during their term of office.

The whole system under which the Reductions had prospered

was disorganized. No wonder the Indians were depressed and alienated. As to their new pastors, they were handicapped by the Jesuits being suddenly removed, without even a few hours in which to introduce their successors to the people, or give them the least guidance as to the long tradition of the past and their successful methods of dealing with the Indians. The Franciscans had further to suffer from the arbitrary action of the officials, anxious to limit as far as possible the influence of the Friars on the natives. The lives and manners of the civil authorities and their escorts were in many instances evil examples of lax morality and indifference as to religious matters. The Indians had soon to realize that they had lost most of their former rights and privileges, and exchanged the fatherly rule of the past for that of bureaucratic taskmasters.

There began a steady stream of emigrants from the Reductions, some making their way to the Spanish settlements, others drifting back to the life of squatters or hunters in the forests. Within the lifetime of many who witnessed the departure of the Jesuits several of the Reductions were abandoned. In the eastern districts many were raided and broken up by Portuguese adventurers. It was only in the north, in the hill country of the diocese of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, that a few of the old Reductions survived to develop into Brazilian towns after the changing days of the South American revolution.

It was in those troubled days of the early nineteenth century that the ruin of what was left of the Paraguay Reductions was completed. Numbers of the old mission villages were abandoned during the Wars of Independence. Those in the far west were broken up by the wild tribes of the Gran Chaco. In 1817 Francia, the dictator of Paraguay, burned down five villages and removed the remnant of their Indian inhabitants, but it is said that he gave those he thus deported fair treatment in their new homes. In 1848 Lopez, the President of Paraguay, decreed that the 6,000 Guaranís still remaining in the old mission lands should be transferred to the Spanish villages and towns, and be subject to the common law, all men fit for active service being embodied in his army.

The sites of the old Reductions are now marked by little more than some massive fragments of their ruined churches, with the forests spreading over their once fruitful lands. In his popular work on the missions of Paraguay (*A Vanished Arcadia*, 1908), Cunninghame-Graham, who was partly of Spanish descent and spent some eighteen years of his earlier life as a traveller and rancher in South America, tells how he visited many of the sites of the Reductions, and often met old men 'who spoke regretfully of Jesuit times and cherished the customs left by the Company',¹ keeping up in traditions received from their forefathers 'the memory of a lost paradise'.

¹ Compañía de Jesus—as Ignatius styled his Order.

IRELAND'S PLACE IN EUROPEAN
CIVILIZATION

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IRELAND'S PLACE IN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

DURING the opening centuries of the Christian era, both geographical and racial conditions served to favour the early and effective development in Ireland of a distinct nationality. The country had never undergone that persistent and penetrative process of cultural and administrative assimilation to which the Roman Empire was able, over a sequence of many hundreds of years, to subject the main areas of the European continent, as well as those of other borderlands of the Mediterranean Basin which had previously been the victims of aggressive imperialism from the end of the second century before Christ. There had existed in the western half of Europe, from the shores of the Baltic to the Straits of Gibraltar, from the Hebrides to the upper valley of the Danube and to the alluvial plains of the Rhone and the Po, an *Imperium Celticum* of that type which is built rather on common traditions of race, of linguistic type, of regional co-operation, than on any intensive concentration of unified political administration. Spreading, in all probability, from the lands of northern Lorraine, this Celtic racial agglomeration extended its population no less than its formative influence into the Iberic and pre-Iberic populations of Spain, western and southern France, and northern Italy, before 400 B.C. It had, as the most recent writers on Germanic social origins fully affirm, given to the peoples between the Main and the Northern Ocean, between the Bohemic lands and the Baltic littoral, a strong and durable imprint of its efficacy in political ideas no less than in the organization of warfare. As Dr. Martin Bang writes in *The Cambridge Mediaeval History* (vol. i, 1911): 'There is no race to which the Teutons owe so much as to the Kelts. The whole development of their civilization was most strongly influenced by the Kelts. In the centuries next before the Christian era, the whole Teutonic race stood to the Kelts in a relation of intellectual dependence. The Teutons eagerly adopted the higher civilization of the Kelts.' From

these Celtic peoples Rome herself had drawn much of her vocabulary for movement over land-areas, as for instance the terms for cars and chariots of many kinds; much, too, of the vocabulary of social and military display, whether as to silver-work or as to enamel. With the Greek culture in the Rhone region, the Celts of the source-area on the Moselle had been in fruitful artistic contact, as is shown by the superb bronze flagons discovered in 1928 at Bouzonville near Metz, exhibiting in already finely developed craftsmanship those specially Celtic types of design which were to come to their full perfection more than a thousand years later in the Book of Kells, the Tara and Roscrea brooches, and the Cross of Cong. The flexible Celtic federation, in many ways akin to the structural forms of the Greek world of city-states, had in Gaul and elsewhere on the Continent shown itself not unfavourable to the development of larger walled cities, as Caesar experienced in the main campaigns within the years 58 to 52 B.C. On all the outer fringes of the Celtic lands, however, the urban type of civic order made little impression. Neither in Britain nor in Ireland, where the Celtic people arrived at a comparatively late date, was urbanism ever dominant. This difference made it possible later on for the Celtic State of Ireland, in its resistance to later aggressions made against it in its own land, to maintain itself substantially intact down the centuries to our own day. A highly urbanized civilization is often highly vulnerable, as has been shown in many lands from the Euphrates westward through Greece and Phoenicia to Spain and Gaul. The continental Celts experienced to the full the force of this fact of history, both in its relations with Rome and in its contacts with the wandering nationalities of the period after the slow collapse of Roman territorial power. In Ireland the Celts were not exposed to this national danger.

The stabilization of a true racial State in Ireland, fully assured by the close of the first century of the Christian era, was not unaccompanied by the presence of a definite measure of earlier civilizations. No less in the tradition of occupations than in that of place-names and even of physical types, these elements, indicated by the earliest incised forms of monumental stone-

work, persisted peacefully and without much evidence of oppressive antagonism, in numerous Irish areas, by no means confined to the western seaboard. Substantially achieved before Rome had fully established her military power in Britain south of the Grampians, the Celtic polity in Ireland had undergone only the barest contact with Roman influences when the coming of St. Patrick, in A.D. 432, gave Roman literature and cultural forms peaceful admission into Ireland. The previous contacts are indicated fairly well by the distribution of places where the coinage of the Empire has been discovered in the soil of Ireland; and this measure of trading-relations in no way establishes any approach to a wide and settled intercourse.

The significance of the date of the regular entrance of Christianity into Ireland cannot be too strongly emphasized. The whole evidence as to the Patrician age in Ireland shows that Roman Christianity met here a settled polity, a polity that welcomed it, but was not absorbed or replaced by it. There was no such total replacement of a Celtic by a Latin or Roman civilization as had taken place in Spain or in Gaul, or in Britain east of the Severn and the Dee. Long before any of the present nationalities of Europe had exhibited even an initial inclination to take definite and conscious form, Ireland with its now unified and mainly Celtic people accepted, but was not subjected to, the impress of Roman and Christian institutions. In the resultant order, achieved by A.D. 600, what was Celtic remained the typical and the characteristic form in the social and institutional order; the Roman influence was always accessory and distinct. The country and its people had a well developed unity, which was based on the maintenance of local rights no less than local services. That unity was exhibited by the conscious possession of one national name, given to a well defined area, and finding expression in a distinctively national literature, music, art, and architecture.

The polity of Ireland was thus both locally and nationally organized and effective when what long afterwards was, in various and changeable regions and populations, moulded into European nations, still presented only shapeless masses of

warring fragments, lacking even the primitive lineaments of any social or national unity, and as a rule totally devoid of any desire for such integration. While other nations of northern and west-central Europe cannot point to any linguistic forms, used in their modern territories in the first centuries of Christianity, as evidently and continuously their own, Ireland is in the distinctive position of being able to trace back in unbroken series its modern tongue, written as well as spoken, to that early period. Modern Irish, Later Middle Irish, Early Middle Irish, and Old Irish afford to students not merely of literature but also of phonetic evolution an ordered sequence of texts and inscriptions without any sudden break or revolutionary change. The national language never underwent any such decisive invasion by other languages and literatures as English exhibits at the epoch of the Norman settlements: nor does it undergo at any period of its development such a transformation as that which produced from Latin the derivative national forms of French, Italian, and Spanish. Latin exercised upon Irish vocabulary a definite but strictly limited effect: a moderate accession of Latin words underwent assimilation into Irish, without radical perturbation of Irish idiom or expression. So, too, in the later Middle Ages, the comparatively small accretion of terms from Norman-French and from English sources was bounded by the very fact that these two entries were made into the land of Ireland by populations only slightly fused into the Gaelic system of culture and of education.

No less significant was the fact that the wide and thorough academic and scholarly use of Latin and Greek in Ireland, from the fifth to the nineteenth centuries, though ultimately a use essentially popular and held in the highest esteem by the whole body of the people on the land, yet never led to any diminution of the full educational activities through the national language itself. It is a commonplace in the history of European culture that in the regions of Latinity, westward of the lands of the Greek culture and their derivatives, Latin did, all through the centuries of the Renaissance, maintain a cultural dominance, or rather despotism, that constituted a drastic repression of

national languages and a depression of their educational status and functions. It was far otherwise at all times in Ireland. Even long after the economic roots of the Gaelic school system, aristocratic, hereditary, territorial in its constitution and working, were cut into by the land-confiscations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Irish remained, as it always had been, a favoured medium of learned writing and exposition, coequal both as to its literary contents and as to its vehicular use with the classical tongues in all departments of higher education—history, poetry, medicine, and law. No such position was attained by the greater national languages of Europe, by French or German, Italian or Spanish, in the great academic centres of the eighteenth century. The cultural and scientific status of any one of these languages remained most definitely lower than that of Latin, even for its own national universities and schools; and what was true of the great continental peoples was equally true of English within England. In all its stages and faculties Gaelic education in Ireland was at once thoroughly national and thoroughly European. The typical young Renaissance Latinist of Oxford, that Edmund Campion who was selected to welcome Queen Elizabeth to his University in a formal classical address, within five years was a fugitive in the wooded glens of the Leinster plateau, ten miles south of the English city of Dublin. There, in ‘the common schooles of leech-craft and of lawe’, he observed Irish students, often over fifteen years at school, engaged on the texts of Hippocrates in Medicine, of the *Institutes* of Justinian in Law, two faculties that had already begun to decline into mere academic forms at Oxford. ‘They speak Latin like a vulgar tongue’, he wrote, as he put on record that the text-books for professional studies in the Dublin mountains were those in use also at Paris and at Bologna. At the same time judgements in Irish Law were being still regularly delivered and recorded in the Brehon Courts of the Irish midlands, and the positive use of the Gaelic language not only for poetry but for formal historical records, as well as for medical learning, was fully maintained in places as typical as Donegal and Clare, Galway and Tipperary. In a word, while all other national

languages in the Europe of the Renaissance epoch were being treated by men of learning within their own areas with neglect or even with contempt, while they were yet far from any recognition as regards academic status or scholarly use, Ireland had fashioned for herself a complete and thoroughly national system of education and of learned composition, in which the primacy was secured to the national language in all branches of general and professional studies, but which also incorporated and gave full recognition to all the cultural knowledge of the Roman world, Medieval and Renaissance alike.

These distinctive cultural positions are but the basis and prelude of the historic services rendered by the missionaries of the Irish and Celtic race—missionaries both for religion and for scholarship—who entered into work for the peoples of western and central Europe from the sixth to the twelfth centuries of the Christian epoch. Under their distinctive titles—that of the *Scoti*, or *Hibernici*—and known by their manifold national aptitudes in the arts of peace, the Irish people was recognized by all the populations, west of modern Russia, as a nationality one and separate. These continental races had the best of reasons for appreciating the national position held by Ireland—reasons proved not by the sword or flame but by strictly spiritual service. Professor J. P. Whitney, of King's College, London, thus summed up the primary work of the Irish workers on the Continent, in a chapter written in 1913:

'The Keltic missions came to give these new centres of Christianity; and, by a monastic framework, to guard their power. Keltic priests were spread more widely than we might suppose. As Keltic monasteries became stages in the systematic pilgrimages to Rome, a steady stream of Christianity was brought to bear upon the Teutons; the Keltic monasteries, besides, being centres of learning. The Keltic monks travelled for the most part in bands of twelve.'

It was the sustained activity of these Irish workers that pressed back the frontiers of Western Paganism from the line of the Marne, the Meuse, and the Moselle—where it stood in A.D. 600—to the line of Würzburg, where it rested in A.D. 800. Far to the east of this second line was it driven by Irish zeal during the

next two centuries, till by A.D. 1000 Irish monastic settlements held the foremost place in Bremen and Verdun, in Vienna itself, and far down the Drave and the Save. Before A.D. 800, too, Ireland had Christianized Britain from the Hebrides to the Humber, and from the Humber to Southampton Water, while many of her finest missionaries had entered, by Switzerland and by the eastern Alps, the Lombard Plain.

The nascent nationalities of central and western Europe—Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Belgium, Britain—for centuries benefited by the disinterested services of Irish scholarship in every centre of learning, from Iona and Lindisfarne, by Péronne and Cologne, Laon, Liège, and Metz, on to Vienna and to Pavia. The statement of these services in no way rests on Irish testimony, nor is it derived from records composed in Ireland. It is drawn by non-Irish scholars from the local records of the other lands of western Europe. These lands have in amplest measure acknowledged their debt to Ireland. Ludwig Traube of Munich wrote in 1891 that 'If any European writer, of the period A.D. 850–900, professed a knowledge of Greek, he was either an Irishman, or the pupil of an Irishman, or else his claim to Greek learning was a fraud'; and he added that 'wherever Greek passages survive in Latin writers, they are to be referred to Irish influence'. This situation, established by Irish workers on the Continent, is traced to its source by the late Dr. Montague Rhodes James, Provost of Eton College, in two paragraphs published in 1922:

The scientific study of Grammar, as the Romans understood it, was carried on by the Irish at a time when it was dead in Continental Europe. During the latter part of the seventh century, it was in Ireland that the thirst for knowledge was keenest, and the work of teaching was most actively carried on. There, the Latin language, and to a less degree the Greek, was studied from the scholar's point of view. Whatever the Irish came across in the way of ancient literature, they welcomed and treasured.

And again this most learned of modern English writers, in the same year, 1922, comes down to details, evincing the close union of religion and scholarly purity of style within

Ireland and her pioneer saints, in the Western Isles or in Lombardy:

In the sixth and seventh centuries a knowledge of Greek was far from uncommon in Ireland. Their Latin writers, between Columba (†597) and Adamnan (†704), include several who are without rival in their time. Columba's great hymn, and the playful poem in short adonic lines by Columban, cannot fail to impress the reader—the former in virtue of its achievement, the latter by the background of learning which it implies. The *Altus Prosator* has something of the learnedness and intricacy of Celtic decorative art: Columban's poem is the work of a man who merits the name of scholar.

This vigorous and productive spirit of national civilization, fully developed within Ireland, but overflowing from it into many other lands, enabled our country to withstand with far less loss than was experienced elsewhere the ravages of Norse and Danish raiders and settlers maintained through three centuries of onslaught, rapine, and conquest. More than half of England, far more than half of modern Scotland yielded to them with scarcely a struggle and underwent a full measure of intrusive plantation from overseas. Within a century after the reign of Charlemagne his successors yielded up to the maritime invaders the strategically vital province of France, close beside Paris. Normandy was thus by the eleventh century converted into a powerful and practically independent State, with a full Viking organization. A great Viking State was successfully set up in southern Italy and Sicily, with its Northmen as its feudal baronage and with its own code of laws. Another was established within modern Russia, on the broad plain between Kieff and Novgorod, Norse cities both. Every river-estuary and every coastal city on the European sea-front, from Hamburg on the Elbe, by the Scheldt, the Seine, the Loire, on to Bordeaux on the Garonne and Marseilles on the Rhone, was in the centuries from A.D. 800 to 1100 repeatedly plundered, burned, spoiled of its women and children by the Viking raiders.

Ireland, too, they ravaged and overran within those years. But there they met with resistance none the less tenacious because of constant suffering and spoiling. Before A.D. 850,

despite half a century of raids, the attempt of the Vikings to establish a land kingdom in central Ireland, on its hundreds of lakes and rivers, was definitely and finally defeated. At the most, the great sea-power enthroned on the Orkneys and all over Britain was successful in nibbling at the Irish sea-edge; it occupied a few estuaries, as at Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick. From these points and from overseas they could raid, but they never could conquer. The persistent reaction against Viking power in Ireland was based not upon perilous centralization but upon a strong and self-reliant local organization. This decentralized system of national polity enabled Ireland ultimately to shake off the attack, even as it enabled the real Spanish people, between 1808 and 1814, to baffle the seemingly triumphant military domination of Napoleon and his greatest marshals, intruded upon them with what appeared to be crushing man-power. A nation may be overrun: it is not thereby subdued. The final victory gained by Ireland over the massed armies of the Norse and Danish States from their homeland and from Britain, at Clontarf beside Dublin, on Good Friday 1014, was one that could not be matched, even could not be hoped for, elsewhere in Europe. All through those hundred years of stress, wrote Professor Allen Mawer, of Liverpool, in 1922, 'the strength of the Irish Clan system kept the races distinct. A succession of great Irish leaders, Niall, Murtach, Brian, made bold and often successful attacks on the Viking strongholds. At Clontarf, the Irish were completely victorious, and the Vikings lost their last and greatest fight in Ireland.'

The century that followed the final collapse of all the Viking efforts to dominate Ireland was that which also witnessed the culmination of direct Northman rule in Great Britain under Canute, and the overthrow, crushing in its thoroughness and in its permanence, of the unified Saxon kingdom of England by their own race in the transformed Northmen of Normandy. Writers who approach Irish history with the mentality of Victorian England, and who find that period of 150 years or less, from Brian and Malachy, the High Kings of 992-1022, to St. Malachy of Armagh and St. Lawrence of Dublin, nothing

but a period of turmoil, are simply destitute of that power of comparison which is essential to the historian. Ireland must be judged in the light of contemporary Europe; and she can well stand the revealing contrast. Most of all can she face it in the company of that House of Normandy and Plantagenet, from the Conqueror William through his sons Rufus and Henry, and down to that John of England who was the most detestable of his line. The great constructive reforms carried out within the Irish Church of the twelfth century, including the introduction of the sons of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, manifested fully the development of a progressive national power, as much at peace within itself as England or France was throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The national Celtic power, when the Normans thrust lawlessly into Ireland, proved itself fully as tenacious in resistance, and almost as successful in its result, as it had been against the earlier aggressors from the Baltic and the North Sea. The Norman race, whose avid land-hunger proved itself a main danger, down all the centuries, to European civilization and progress, were able within one year, by one decisive and shattering blow, to achieve the conquest of their less aggressive kinsfolk in England. But when they attempted the same type of conquest over Celtic Ireland and its assimilated Norse trading-ports, they were met by centuries of resistance, progressively successful from Henry III down to Henry VII, a period of 250 years.

The failure of the Normans to conquer, or even to administer, the land of Ireland during that long period was quite as complete as the corresponding period of failure on the part of the New English from Queen Elizabeth down to this generation. That land-hunger which made them the roving force of Europe also diminished within fifty years from 1170 all vestige of right or justice that they could pretend to in the earliest years after their coming into Ireland. Using their military power during the hundred years 1170-1270, when Ireland had not yet discovered the key to military success against Norman armies, they overran practically all the plains of Ireland south of that strategic line—the oldest in Ireland—from Donegal Bay to

Carlingford Lough. On Gaelic Ulster they made a temporary coastal settlement to the north-east—settlement that hardly survived that opening century of aggression. In the other three divisions of the land—central, southern, western—the usual Norman strategy, the strategy of the castle and walled town, was tried with uninspiring sameness from 1180 to 1480, and with no permanent results. The castle could be held, and so could the city, unless, as happened in most of the De Burgo lands of Connacht, the Normans themselves, like the early Teutons, accepted the superior and more scholarly Celtic civilization, and renounced Norman laws and customs. But while from these strongholds raids could at times be made, the land as a whole was never conquered, still less assimilated. From the beginning of the reign of Edward I, 1272, the decline of Norman power in Ireland had definitely manifested itself. His Lord Lieutenant, Sir John de Wogan of Rathcoffey in Kildare—ancestor of that Sir Charles Wogan of Rathcoffey who achieved the rescue of Princess Clementina Sobieska from Imperial Innsbruck in 1719—held the first Norman Great Council in Ireland during the year 1297. The Roll of that assembly, Barons and Prelates with Commoners, is the plea of dispirited men in every one of its many clauses.

The Irish are assuming a bold front: they rely on the woods and the deep marshes along all their borders. The King's roads are overgrown by timber or blocked outright. It is impossible to keep them clear: and no one, even travelling on foot, can move along them. After their raids on the King's lieges, the Irish can easily get away, unharmed, to their woods and marshes.

The days of the heavy cavalry had passed in Ireland. The initiative had passed everywhere to 'the skipping Kerne', the light-armed Irish spearmen. The mountains as well as the plains were finely timbered. In such a country, the Norman archer was almost as useless as the mounted Norman knight. The day of the set battle on the open plain was no more. And if the Irish had learned to rely on guerilla warfare, using the natural advantages of their land on all the 'fronts of war', the Normans had to witness helplessly their own lack of man-power,

proved by their inability to keep their own roads clear of obstructing timber. They had overrun too much land. Their land-hunger had led to voracious excess, with all its consequences in the political order. Even the great House of Butler had to abandon their frontier castles of Nenagh and Roscrea, and concentrate on Kilkenny.

The celebrated Statute of Kilkenny, passed near the close of the reign of Edward III, under the King's son, Lionel of Clarence, as Lord Lieutenant, was a full admission of the situation. It was a despairing attempt to hold for Norman England certain limited areas of English land in Ireland, areas small indeed even as compared with what could be held under his predecessor, the first Edward. The Great Barons could not be induced to man the frontier castles. The Norman religious houses, always a sure index of attempted conquest, were fast passing under Celtic influence. Brehon law ruled over two-thirds of Ireland, 'the law of the land' ruled less than a sixth, and was being encroached on by 'the law of the Marches', a variable blend of Celtic and Norman legal practice. Under Richard II, at the close of the fourteenth century, a great English army, summoned in desperation across the sea, achieved nothing. A small Norman Ireland was all that the King sought, and land bounded by the Boyne, the Barrow, and the sea, and lying next to the great English port of Bristol. But even this was effectively dominated by the Irish clans on the Leinster plateau, secure in that combination of wood and mountain, five hundred square miles in extent, which lay in the centre of that chosen region, and which reached within six miles of Dublin Castle. The next century drew to a close with Norman power in Ireland literally digging itself in between the valley of the Liffey and the valley of the Boyne, 'a little precinct of less than twenty miles in length and breadth', as Henry VIII's Justice Luttrell wrote to his master in 1537. 'The Irish had at last coursed them within their English Pale, whereout they durst not peep', wrote Edmund Campion in 1570. 'Within sight of the smoke of Dublin, the Irish do not obey the King's law', wrote Sir Peter Carew in 1595.

Compared with the progress of Norman power in all these centuries, as exhibited on the Scottish and Welsh marches, or compared with their success in France, the failure to achieve conquest in Ireland is indeed startling. Even greater was their failure to assure themselves that they were, as they officially declared, Lords of Ireland. The Rolls of Parliament, from the beginning down to 1472, were published within the present century. They show that wherever the Normans were able to secure a hold, the Celtic race of Ireland was expropriated; its language, its customs, its very names, family and personal, were proscribed. But the very invaders themselves, while so comporting themselves towards the Irish people, confessed in their own most solemn records the separate nationality of that Gaelic race. Their own feudal laws, enacted by themselves within their walled cities, afford the clearest evidence on this capital point. They always, and always in the same detailed terms, name three classes of people within Ireland. In their invariable Norman-French, these are styled 'the English *lieges*' of the English King; and 'the English *rebels*' of that King; but 'the Irish' are always styled 'the Irish *enemy*'. The very words tell their own legal story. They are a total confession of inability to implement what the Norman intruders into Ireland had undertaken in 1170, achieved on parchment by 1175, and had utterly failed to realize even three centuries later. The term 'Irish enemy', never 'Irish subjects' or even 'Irish rebel', is an avowal of separateness and of nationality. The existence, in a permanent way within Ireland, of 'English rebels' against the English king is proof of the vigorous power of that Irish national being which attracted most of the Normans, as it had previously won over the finest among the Northmen. It was a Thorkil who sought to create a central Norse State in Ireland, A.D. 830-50. It was MacThorkil, ruler of Dublin, who nearly achieved the overthrow of the Norman forces at the conquest of that city, under Henry II.

The sole result of these four centuries of Norman intrusion into Ireland was the production of a precarious English Pale within Ireland. That miserable colonial dependency was quite

incapable of producing a civilization, a culture, a tradition for the remnant of a marauding people that still inhabited it when the Tudor epoch opened. To no nation could it be a national asset. But it was by no means without great power for evil. The greatest of modern English historians, writing on Ireland, compared the Norman Pale to a spearpoint fixed into a living body, inflaming and disintegrating the tissues on which it could act. Even the very substance of the spearhead was poisonous. Within its own meagre lands, that English State in Ireland was an area of constant private warfare, of utter disorder: it was compact of lawlessness and of crime. No other race in Europe, ancient or of recent formation, had to endure such a besetting source of contamination and disease. Hence, in the general history of the Irish Gael from 1170 to 1570, a remarkable cessation of activities on the European mainland is observable. Down to the epoch of the fruitful friendship of St. Malachy of Armagh and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, in the middle decades of the twelfth century, Ireland had given freely of her best minds, both in spiritual action and for scholarship, to the frontier lands of the Rhine and Danube, where the struggle of Christendom for the winning of central Europe was longest and hardest. But from 1170, for full four hundred years, few such names appear as that of Peter of Ireland, who taught theology to St. Thomas Aquinas. As if under a deep instinctive impulse towards national self-protection, Ireland concentrated her constructive forces within her own clan-system, to fortify and safeguard its strength. By doing so she was able to develop a range of national activities that extended from education, national and international in medium and in content, Roman alike and Gaelic, to a well-organized system of overseas trade with the littoral lands of France and of Spain. She had nothing to learn from England in art or architecture, literature or professional skill; and England was unable to hinder, at that period, the full use of the natural resources of the greater regions of Ireland, through an active coastal and maritime trade with the nearer European lands. These lands were organized on Roman Law. Ireland while using her own national code in all its ample

development, taught and esteemed the European code, the *Institutes* of Justinian, to an extent never attained within England.

It was under the administration of the usual type of Tudor officials in Ireland that the English Pale in Ireland reached its lowest point, both as to extent and as to security, in the years 1527-37. At that stage King Henry VIII assumed personal direction of State policy in Ireland, displacing and even beheading any officials who opposed his plans—one of those executed being Lord Leonard Grey, his Deputy in Ireland. With speedy and remarkable success, he dealt with the Irish chieftains directly. The royal offer of earldoms and other titles won many of them over. O'Neill became the King's Earl of Tyrone; O'Brien became Earl of Thomond. They were nobly received at London; their titles were made, with their estates, to come under the English law of feudal succession by primogeniture, and thus they were made independent of the Gaelic law of election to chieftainship within a defined range of kinship with the actual head of the clan. On the ecclesiastical side, the Tudor power over its nominated prelates in England, usually Crown servitors on the legal side, had from 1530 onwards shown its lamentable weakness before all Europe. No small measure of that lack of principle and of loyalty to their sworn religious duty was manifested by the Tudor nominees to Irish bishoprics, as the recent exhaustive studies by M. V. Ronan have explicitly and fully shown. The Catholic cause in Ireland was thus, by 1540, in definite danger. The King commanded the services, at least for a time, of many transformed Gaelic chiefs, who were not disinclined to share with their Norman and new English official colleagues in the Parliament of 1541, the confiscated monastic properties that were being lavishly distributed during the previous five years. Not a few of the Bishops temporized, and by so doing enabled the official declaration in Parliament, of Henry VIII as King of Ireland and as Supreme Head of the Church in Ireland, to be made with some appearance of national acquiescence.

But from the very initiation of the policy of schism it was plain

that the ordinary Irish people were in complete opposition. The whole of the Irish nation alined itself with the Catholic lands of Europe in fidelity to the See of Peter and to the Catholic Faith. What certain of their chiefs, tempted by personal and family ambitions, might do during a visit to London or to Dublin mattered not to the plain people. Some Bishops might prove themselves weak men, dissemblers, apostates even: but the main body of the Catholic clergy, and especially the Observantine and Franciscan friars, stood firm, and were everywhere among the people. 'In the Irishry', reported one of Henry's creatures, whom he made Bishop of Kildare in his new State Church, 'the common voice runneth that the supremacy of our sovereign lord is maintained only by power, and not reasoned by learning.' Three of Elizabeth's Bishops, Curwen of Dublin, Loftus of Armagh, and Brady of Meath, had to report through the Dublin Castle officials to the Queen's council at London that 'the work' of Protestantism 'goeth slowly forward, by reason of the former errors and superstitions inveterated and leavened in the people's hearts'. 'The common secular clergy', wrote the English lawyer, Antony Trollope, to the Queen's Minister, Walsingham, after a full investigation ending in October 1587, 'will not be accounted ministers, but priests, and do all they may to allure the people from God and their prince, and persuade them to the Devil and the Pope. And sure the people so much hear them, as there is in effect here a general revolt from God and true religion, our prince, and Her Highness's laws.' 'False teachers', wrote the Queen's Bishop of Cork in 1595, 'draw men away to the palpable and damnable blindness, to obey Her Majesty's capital and mortal enemy, that Anti-Christ of Rome.' Having described the weakness of the Irish chiefs, the Protestant and Cromwellian historian, Bagwell (1885) admitted that

with the people it was different. They could appreciate virtue; and in the austere self-denial of some friars they could discern a higher light. Against the friars Henry had no available weapon; they could not be prevented from preaching. Under the very shadow of Dublin Castle the King could give no peace to his reformed Church, of which the only sincere supporters were some few new-comers from

England. . . . On the side of Rome was ranged every popular feeling and prejudice, and Rome was to have the support of crowds of devoted men who could exhort the people in their own tongue, and whose example was sometimes more eloquent than their words.

Nor was this abiding fact concerning the stand taken by Ireland, in the sixteenth century, confined to the Gaelic nation. The Norman walled cities, thoroughly 'English-hearted' though they avowed themselves always to be, would have none of the Tudor religion. 'In 1578', writes Bagwell, 'Waterford, in the opinion of English Protestants, was thoroughly given up to "superstition and idolatry", to "Rome Runners and Friars"; and so it remained.'

It would be easy to supplement these capital facts by a cloud of English witnesses testifying to the utter unfitness, and worse, of the officers and adherents of the new State Church set up by the Tudor sovereigns within Ireland. 'Of the thirty bishops' placed in Ireland by Elizabeth, writes Bagwell of the year 1587, 'not seven were able to preach; and the practice of alienating property was rife.' 'Whatever disorders', wrote the English poet Spenser, himself one of the Queen's newly planted landlords in Ireland, 'you see in the Church of England, ye may find in Ireland, and many more: namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontineny, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in common clergymen.' With them, the Queen's clergy, the poet contrasted the zeal of the Jesuits and friars who came continually from France, Italy, and Spain, 'by long toil and dangerous travailing thither where they knew peril of death awaited them, and no reward or riches is to be found, only to draw people unto the Church of Rome'.

The tribute extracted by the evidence of facts from the English poet and planter of the sixteenth century has its confirmation from another unexceptionable witness, of planter stock in Ireland, who so spoke and wrote in the year 1735. It was then that Bishop George Berkeley, as a Prelate of the English State Church in Ireland, made his first Visitation of his diocese of Cloyne, the exact region of Southern Ireland known to the poet, Edmund Spenser, at the close of Elizabeth's reign.

Acquaint yourselves with the State of Popery in your parishes [said Berkeley in his published First Visitation Charge]. Measures have formerly been taken which failed in the desired effect. Other measures are now set on foot by schools, which it is hoped may have better success. Every one of you set his hand to the plough. If it were once set about with the same earnest and hearty endeavour which the Popish clergy show, we should in a little time see a different fact of things, considering the great advantages you possess.

To territorial and racial aggression persistently maintained since 1170, England superadded, from 1540, a new type of activity, directed against the Catholicity of Ireland. Protestant historians and contemporary Protestant workers, as has been shown, admitted its failure from its very start. But the new policy was sharpened by every form of religious persecution. It was when this menace became finally and definitely persistent, about 1566-70, that once again Ireland turned to Europe, and resumed, rapidly and on a large scale, her cultural connexions with continental lands. She had sent out her scholars and her pioneers in mission effort, to work in the regions from Flanders to Lombardy, from Lorraine to Dalmatia, from the Alps to the Baltic, between A.D. 600 and 1100. Beginning from 1565 to 1570, she now sent her sons, equipped with the sound traditional classical training of the Irish schools, to continental universities and colleges for higher professional studies. For the new Tudor system of State education the Irish nation had no use. Parish schools 'for to learne English' were set up by Henry VIII in 1537, by an Act which was always the foundation stone of State policy for English education in Ireland, and which was in full operation all over the country till 1871. It deplored 'the savage and wild kind and maner of living' of the Irish people, and held up as a model 'them that be civill people, and do profess Christ's religion, and civill lawes, as doth his Grace's subjects of this his land of Ireland, that is called the English Pale'. In her turn, Elizabeth Boleyn, in 1570, created State Church secondary or grammar schools, to be staffed by Englishmen if possible; and did so 'for as much as the greatest number of people of this Realm hath long time lived in rude and barbarous states,

sparing not dayly to commit manifold and heinous offences, in ignorance that Holy Scriptures commanded a due and humble obedience from the people to their princes and rulers'. Finally, in 1591-2, the Tudor State set up its 'English College near Dublin', that Trinity College built on the confiscated abbey lands of All Hallows, and staffed for many a decade by Puritan ministers from the University of Cambridge, not desired in England, yet suitable for export in furtherance of the State policy for education in Ireland. The Queen founded her College at Dublin, as the Royal Letters declare, 'for the instruction of our people there, whereof many have usually heretofore used to travaille into ffrance, Italy, and Spain, to get lernynge in foreigne Universities, where they may have been infected with Popery and other ill qualities', and so 'retorne freight with superstition and treason'.

The significance of the resumption of cultural relations between Ireland and Europe, 1565-70, did not fail to attract the notice of the English officials in Ireland long before 1590. The Queen's Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, father of the celebrated scholar, soldier, courtier, Sir Philip Sidney, wrote to the Queen in 1577:

The number is trebled of Your Majesty's subjects whose sons, kinsfolk, and friends are now kept by them at the Universities. And there be some principal gentlemen that have their sons at Lovain, Dole, and Rome, and other places, where Your Majesty is rather hated than honoured. I have great cause to mistrust the fidelity of the people, of this country birth, of all degrees: they be Papists.

The same sense of danger, arising from the full education of Irish Catholics on the Continent, was expressed by Edmund Spenser in his *View of Ireland*. A stringent law was required, so he pleaded, against all recourse from Ireland to the European universities, and especially the Spanish universities and the University of Louvain.

The cultural emigration of Catholic Ireland at once became very considerable. Irish colleges in France, Spain, Italy, central Germany, and Flanders provided a steady stream of excellent prelates and clergy, as well as doctors of medicine and laymen

well skilled in Renaissance letters and in law, to supplement the output of the Gaelic schools, an output that was magnificently fertile both in letters and in historical research, down to the epoch of the Four Masters (1632-6) and of Geoffrey Keating and Duaid MacFirbis (1640-70). Nor was the output of academic scholarship and administrative ability from Ireland without marked service to continental universities. Five Irishmen attained the position of Rector of the University of Louvain from 1640 to 1740; and one of them, Thomas Stapleton of Fethard, a skilled canonist unswervingly loyal to the See of Peter, was elected more frequently than any other head in the long and honourable record of that great centre of learning, from 1430 to 1795. The existence at Louvain, Salamanca, and Paris of open competition based on merit was an inestimable advantage to the Irish scholars who arrived there, necessarily without money or influence. It was thus that such scholars as Peter Lombard, Michael Moore, John O'Sullivan, Hugh Brady, and Patrick Curtis attained high academic status at Salamanca, Paris, and Louvain in the post-Renaissance epoch. Irish philosophers contributed powerfully, through such men as Richard Lynch, John Ponce, Baron, Archdeacon, Colgan, Ward, to the revivals of critical literary scholarship, philosophy, and legal studies within the seventeenth century.

With the emigration of Irish 'swordsmen', begun about 1630-40, and maintained unceasingly for some 150 years afterwards, another most powerful contribution of Ireland to the resources of many continental States was initiated. The taking of service with France is that which by long tradition was best known; but it was also and for long an established practice in Spain and in Austria. While the officers of Irish emigrant families everywhere attained the highest social rank, as well as the highest administrative offices in both the civil and the military or naval administration of these countries, a tendency to divide these streams of emigration was early observable. The Gael sought advancement rather in France and in Spain, where the typical names of O'Donnell, Dukes of Tetuan from the last century, and MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, Marshal of France, Presi-

dent of the French Republic, serve as instances in point. The Norman families of Ireland turned by preference to Austria, and in later times to Russia. In the service of the Imperial House of Habsburg the record of field-m Marshals such as Browne and Nugent, of statesmen such as the Taaf family of Sligo in Ireland more than once gave Austria, is conspicuous. The corresponding position attained by the great Munster house of De Lacy of Ballingarry in the Russian Empire, and in the new Polish Republic, is equally well known. The laws of these great States, and especially the laws of France and Spain, as well as Austria, made exceptional provision for the full naturalization of Irish families, and their full civil rights abroad. This was begun when at the crisis of the Thirty Years War, 1634-5, the Emperor Ferdinand ennobled, in the Imperial Chapel at Vienna, that splendid example of military fidelity and of firm Catholic action, Walter Butler of Roscrea; with the chain taken from the hands of the Archbishop of Vienna, Ferdinand also there admitted him to the Order of the Golden Fleece. Had the advice of another Irishman, in the perilous days of 1789-91, been taken by Louis XVI and his ministers, events in France might then have taken a very different turn. The man who offered it was in the days of the Restoration to be known as Count O'Connell, Lieutenant-General in the army of France, the uncle of the Irish Liberator.

The significance of Ireland in Europe is plainly indicated in the words used by Mr. Pitt's principal agent in Ireland, that Lord Chancellor, John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, whom the great English War Minister against revolutionary France selected and elevated into chief power in Ireland as the eighteenth century was nearing its close. Fitzgibbon, a Norman who had placed himself at the head of Cromwellian ascendancy in Ireland, who despised those men in power in Ireland whom he led and provided with a policy, had Pitt's mandate in 1800 to 'stun into sobriety', as he said, the English landlord class within Ireland, and to make them see and admit the need of legislative union with England. He did so with masterly directness, and he achieved his end by historical argument, summarizing the situation of Ireland in the seventeenth century, the

century of the selfish Stuarts and of callous Cromwellian rule. He reminded his hearers in the Dublin House of Lords that there was, and is, a true and historic Irish Nation, compared with which they, the inheritors of confiscated estates, were an upstart colonial autocracy, put into Ireland and maintained there ever since by England. Here are his clear words:

The whole power and property of the country has been conferred, by successive monarchs of England, upon an English Colony, composed of those sets of English adventurers, who poured into Ireland at the close of three successive rebellions. Confiscation is their common title. The situation of the Irish Nation, at the close of the Orange Revolution, stood unparalleled in the history of the civilised world. If the wars of England, carried on in Ireland from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inhabitants of Ireland would have retained their properties, under the established law of civilised nations. But the continued and persevering resistance of Ireland to the British Crown, during the whole of the last (17th) century, was rebellion. The slender reliques of Irish possessions became the subject of fresh confiscations, when after the expulsion of James II from the throne of England, the old inhabitants of Ireland made a final effort for the recovery of their power of old. Previously, a new Colony of new settlers, composed of all the various sects which then infested England—Independents, Anabaptists, Seceders, Brownists, Socinians, Millenarians, and Dissenters of every description, poured into Ireland, and were put in possession of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants. The opulence and power of the Kingdom of Ireland centres at this day in the descendants of this motley crew, this collection of English adventurers, civil and military, to the total exclusion of the old inhabitants. Many of these were innocent of rebellion, yet lost their inheritance.

From its first settlement, this English Colony in Ireland has been hemmed in on every side by the old inhabitants of the country, brooding over their discontents in sullen indignation. What, then, was the security of the English settlers in Ireland, for their physical existence? What is it at the present day? The powerful and commanding protection of Great Britain. If by any fatality this fails, you are at the mercy of the old inhabitants of the island.¹

¹ *Speech of John, Earl of Clare, Lord Chancellor, moving the Second Reading of the Union Bill, House of Lords, Dublin, 1800. Published by its Author, 1800.*

How did that 'motley crew of adventurers', that 'collection of various sects that infested England', manage to fasten itself upon Ireland? The answer is in the history of Ireland down through the whole seventeenth century. The land-hunger which was so characteristic of the Norman who passed through England and Wales into Ireland between 1170 and 1270 was no less observable in those 'New English', the camp-followers of Tudor and Stuart aggression between 1570 and 1670. Six counties of Ulster were not enough to satisfy that hunger between 1605 and 1620; for appetite had been whetted by the Elizabethan confiscations in Munster forty years before. The policy of spoliation under the external forms of manipulated law was applied in other Irish regions under James I, and the processes of chicanery and rapine were being applied by Strafford, with the fullest consent and approval of King Charles I, when their power ended in 1640-1. This vast system of legalized robbery was enforced as thoroughly against the loyal Anglo-Norman stock as against the Gael; it was reinforced by that bitter hatred of Catholicity which was the mark of the English people once that the new nobility and the new landlordship, set up by Henry VIII, ratified under Mary Tudor and Elizabeth Boleyn, were firmly planted by a century of possession. Parsons, Percival, Petty, all the progenitors of those who were to hold 'Irish peerages' in the next century, were typical of the rapacious land-thievery of the seventeenth. James II while Duke of York was mean enough and unjust and ungrateful enough to possess himself of over 100,000 acres of Irish land, filched under the confiscation laws from many an Anglo-Norman family that had been loyal to Charles I unto the last. That King Charles II who was to sign the execution warrant of Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, well knowing him to be innocent of any treason, confirmed the Cromwellian settlement of Irish lands, and so stabilized the power of those bitter sectaries who brought his father to the headsman's block.

Nor were these 'men of the sourest leaven', as Chief Secretary Macartney termed them a century later, alone in their rooted determination to forbid liberty of conscience, to forbid liberty

of life and property, to Catholic Irish families in Ireland. There was a short period, soon after his marriage with the daughter of Henry IV of France and Navarre, when the faithless Charles I of England seemed not unlikely to sell to Catholic Ireland those elementary civic and religious liberties which both he and his father always refused to concede as a natural right. Forthwith the Anglican Prelates of the State Church in Ireland, headed by James Ussher of Armagh, declared their mind, and had it uttered from the pulpit of Christ Church, Dublin, before the Lord Deputy Falkland and his Council, by the Calvinist Downham, Bishop of Derry. That declaration of the 23rd April 1627 was confirmed by the loud-spoken *Amens* of the special and official congregation assembled to hear it. It affirmed that 'The religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their Church, an apostate Church. To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin.' The markedly Puritan character of the State Church maintained by the Tudor and the Stuart sovereigns in Ireland has always found expression in terms such as these, and should long ago have opened the eyes of Catholic Ireland to the realities of English control. Yet all through the history of the Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny, from 1641 to the end of the twelve years' war that followed, the weakening influences of the Anglo-Norman Catholicism, loyal to England, were felt. That they had little grounds indeed for their loyalty was long evident even to the immediate votaries of the House of Stuart. The utter lack of respect for the truth and for their own pledged word, so persistently evidenced in every English king of that worthless line, was of itself enough to end any loyalty. The Irish Jesuit, Mahony of Cork, had noted this when in 1645 he argued, in a terse treatise published at Lisbon, that the rights of English sovereigns over Ireland, if they ever existed, had long ceased to exist, and when he went on to urge the Irish to elect a Catholic King, a vernacular or natural Irishman, he was adopting a line of advocacy that might have been followed with success, for it certainly would have the

support of the great mass of the plain people of Catholic Ireland. It evidently, too, would have the full adherence of the Nuncio Apostolic, Archbishop Rinuccini. Scarcely less significant was the letter of Queen Henrietta to her husband, Charles I, in November 1647: 'I wonder that the Irish do not give themselves some foreign King: you will force them to it in the end, when they see themselves offered as a sacrifice.' Words of all the greater moment, because that Catholic Queen of England was no friend of Catholic Ireland.

But if the Catholic gentlemen of property, Gaels alike and Normans, still looked to the principle of monarchical loyalty as the basis of their civic action, the great mass of the people were already well forward on another line of political thought. The weakness of their chiefs, the weakness of even the aristocratic scholar-families that directed national culture as late as 1640, had since the middle of the sixteenth century begun to turn their thoughts in another direction. The completion of the Cromwellian confiscation, the wreck of the older landed power, the extinction of the concept of military leadership as naturally inherent in that power, all tended to evoke in the great silent masses of the Irish race, living on and by the land, a deep sense that they themselves alone could embody the true and historic Gaelic nation of Ireland. This feeling was all the more fully effective because the age-long racial cleavage between Gael and Norman in Ireland, still very marked and fully expressed in all the historical documents of the period from 1600 to 1650, was eliminated by 1700. The Gael had absorbed the Norman, and had done so within one half-century, in consequence of the collapse of the Norman landed power and the expulsion of the Norman-Irish from their ancient walled towns. Both these injustices were thoroughly inflicted by the Cromwellian system of confiscation and of drastic religious persecution, and were given full executive effect both under Charles II and under William and Mary. The Gael and the Norman alike were, by deliberate and sustained State policy, reduced to the position of tenants at will on the land, under the new landlordism, and landlordism almost entirely of English Puritan origin.

No place will be provided in these pages for the political history of the true Irish people during the period from the close of the Jacobite war, 1693, down to the foundation of the Catholic Association, 1823. In the interval between the abandonment of his country by Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, at the head of his Irish regiments, and the belated conversion of O'Connell to democratic political action and organization, as the real weapon to attain Catholic civic rights, two facts, and two only, merit consideration on the political side. One is that the sham 'Irish nation', 'the gentlemen that call themselves the dignified and independent Irish Nation', as FitzGibbon, Pitt's Lord Chancellor in Ireland, scoffingly described them to their faces in 1800, the 'Patriots' and other members of the Dublin Colonial Parliament, 1660 to 1800, had nothing whatever to do with the real Irish Nation. The real Irish Nation, all through the epoch of the Penal Code, framed and perfected in 1661 down to 1782, had its own life, separate, isolated. That was *The Hidden Ireland*, as a great contemporary Irish writer names it in a memorable book of the last decade. It had no use for Grattan or his Parliament, a Parliament composed of those whom Berkeley called 'men of vulturine beaks and bowels of iron', whom Swift characterized as 'ferocious rackrenters', whom Chesterfield, followed by Lecky, described as 'Protestant Bashaws', and whom FitzGibbon, as Mr. Pitt's Attorney-General in Ireland, spoke of fairly in 1787, when he described 'the peasantry of Munster' as 'ground to powder by relentless landlords'. Some few of that governing caste of Protestants deserted the cause of the Ascendancy and alined themselves on the side of the people. Their intentions were good, their claims to leadership, though they got every opportunity and support, were proved futile by their sustained inability to organize, to persevere, to lead. This was as true of Hamilton Rowan and of Lord Edward Fitzgerald in 1795-8, as it was of Emmet and his associates in 1803. Only when the real Irish people acted in one county, the County of Wexford, in 1798, was any demonstration of effective action against Cromwellian landlordism in Ireland afforded. When the Irish people of Wexford were in the field, when the insurgent

bands still held out within the Leinster plateau northwards from Wexford, the Protestant leaders of the United Irishmen were in action on another front. They were disclosing all their plans of the past six years to Mr. Pitt's Executive Government and to the Cromwellian House of Lords in Dublin.

The other, and the only other vital, fact in the political history of Ireland from 1693 to 1823 was the achievement of John Keogh, in 1793. Keogh, a Dublin Catholic silk mercer, despite the opposition of powerful forces, won over Pitt and Dundas to the view that the Catholic farmers of Ireland must be given the parliamentary franchise. This was within the three months before England declared war on France, 1 February 1793. Keogh attained this result, despite the unconcealed dislike of such a democratic measure exhibited by Grattan and his 'Patriotic' colleagues in the Colonial Parliament; despite the indifference of the remnant of the Catholic landed aristocracy; despite the bitter opposition not only of Dublin Castle but of the Dublin Houses of Parliament. By a majority of ten to one, less than a year before, they had rejected with contempt the Catholic petition for a very limited share in the franchise. The great Huguenot Dublin banker, La Touche, took that petition off the table of their House of Commons when the vote was declared. Amid loud and general cheers he kicked it over the bar. It was John Keogh, then, who made Pitt envisage the state of Europe and apply what he read there to the elucidation of Irish affairs. The English Prime Minister's action was rapid and decisive. He prepared a thoroughly democratic Relief Bill, as far as the franchise went. Every farmer in Ireland having land valued at two pounds per year was to have the vote. With it he prepared the King's Speech of 1793. Both were sent over to Dublin with Pitt's peremptory orders that the Bill was to be placed by his Dublin Castle Ministers before the 'Independent Irish Parliament', and passed into law at once. War with France was at hand. The Independent Legislature, detesting what they were ordered to do, obeyed the mandate of Pitt. This was how John Keogh, silk mercer, won in London and Dublin, January 1793, the Clare Election of June 1828.

It is therefore not on the political front that the real history of the real Irish people, 1693 to 1823, is to be observed and studied. It is to be examined and understood in the record of how, by popular education illegally obtained, thoroughly Catholic, thoroughly independent of all governmental control, they equipped themselves for nation-wide intellectual civic action in the years 1823-8, and were so equipped that instead of O'Connell leading them in those eventful years, they led him, and taught him what he could do, and what should be done. This was the work of an educated democracy. It was, and is, a great and permanent lesson for the civilized world.

The practical origins of the Penal Laws, planned and executed concerning Catholic popular education in the early years of the eighteenth century, are to be sought not so much in the Tudor and Stuart policies of the period A.D. 1530-1640, as in the executive acts and in the legislation of the Cromwellian Council of State which operated from Dublin Castle, during the years A.D. 1653-7. The reasons for this determination of sources are fairly evident, though they have no parallel in the case of penal legislation in Great Britain. The Cromwellian interest went out of power in Great Britain once Charles II was restored there; and it is broadly true that they have never recovered their power. It was quite otherwise within Ireland. The governing class in Ireland, local and central alike, was given an assurance of permanent status within the reign of Charles II. This status was translated into real power on all such matters, legislative as well as executive, by the definitive enthronement of William of Orange. The 'Irish' peerage and the members of the 'Irish' House of Commons, the grand juries at assizes and quarter sessions, the whole of the landed power, were completely controlled by the sons and by the grandsons of the officers of Cromwell's army, and by the descendants of the holders of the Cromwellian War Loans. This was completely effected by A.D. 1730, when the remnant of the older proprietors, Catholic or Protestant, Elizabethan or Stuart, in their dates of settlement in Ireland, had been reduced to insignificance, or totally absorbed by the dominant element.

That dominant caste had in its keeping the Cromwellian tradition. They might drink to the immortal memory of William III as a glorious and as a pious act. But they were careful to keep festival all over Ireland, domestic festival, on the 30th of January each year, the date of the execution of King Charles I. Sir Jonah Barrington, who grew up to manhood in the later years of the eighteenth century, knew well of this customary festival, the chief dish being a calf's head. He had often shared in it in the 'big houses' of the Midlands.

The close connexion of the legislation on Catholic schools and teachers, A.D. 1695-1730, and the preceding plans and actions of A.D. 1653-7, will therefore repay study. For the study of the character and spirit of the Cromwellian epoch, when Henry Cromwell, Oliver's ablest son, governed Ireland with his Council, there are ample materials left in transcripts from the Dublin Public Record Office documents. A small but representative selection from them will serve to outline the Cromwell policy concerning education, as affecting the main body of the Irish nation. As usual, the attention of Dublin Castle was first evoked by a report received from one specified region. This was early in March 1655.

Popish Schoole Masters to be suppress.

Lord Deputy and Councel of Ireland.

Whereas it is informed that severall Popish schoole-masters doe reside in severall parts of the Counties of Meath and Lowth, and teach the Irish youth, trayining them up in supersticion, Idolatry, and the evill Customs of this Nacion, these are to require the Commander-in-Chief of those Counties, and all Officers of the Army and Justices of the Peace, and every of them uppon complaint thereof made, to take order for the speedy suppression of such Schoolemasters, and thereof to make return to this Board in case of Obstruccion, that further Order may be given for their due punishment as shall be thought fitt. (P.R.O., A. 5. 99.)

The 'further Order' was not long delayed. It was of general scope, and it most obligingly develops the motives for the action of Dublin Castle at the close of March 1656.

Whereas by diverse Orders and Declaracions by Authority of this

Nation, published, Popish Schoolemasters have been prohibited to train up youth, or to teach them litterature, for that instead thereof such Popish Schoolemasters have made it their principall designe to corrupt ye youths committed to their charge, and to infuse into them dangerous principles; And it being also contrary to the Law to permit such Schoolemasters ye Liberty of Teaching: It is now Ordered, That the Commissioners for Transplantacion doe make diligent enquiry after all such Popish Schoolemasters, and cause them to be apprehended and kept in Safe Custody until further Order from the Board; and to transmit close sealed up to ye Councel a List of ye Names of the Popish Schoolemasters so secured, and of ye places where they kept their Schooles, and for what time, for the further consideracion of this Board. (P.R.O.)

The process of suppression, it will be observed, took a positive shape. The unintended tribute to the work of the Catholic teachers is amplified both on the side of religion and on that of nationality. It leads up to an order for their imprisonment, accompanied by the direction to prepare what was probably the first Teachers' Register, with appropriate columns to contain a record of their length of service, and of the places where they assumed to use 'ye Liberty of Teaching' 'contrary to Law'. Unfortunately that official register of illegal teachers does not appear to have survived. We know otherwise of two names that may well have been entered on it, though neither of them was actually apprehended. James Forde, S.J., taught school in a cabin amid the Bog of Allen at that time; and so also, in another cabin set in the roadside ditch outside New Ross, did Stephen Gelosse, S.J., at the close of the Protector's years of rule. They escaped the fate of those Catholic teachers who were arrested under the general Order of March 1655, and dealt with under this Order of April 1656:

Order touching Popish Schoolemasters. The Councel has taken into consideracion that such persons corrupt the youth of this Nation with Popish principles. Such Schoolemasters to be secured, and put on board of such ship as is bound for the islands of the Barbadoes. (P.R.O., A.X. 101.)

This was the provision for retirement accorded to all those

on the Teachers' Register, Ireland, 1655-6, composed of regional lists transmitted 'close sealed up to ye Councel' at Dublin Castle.

But the plans of the Cromwells, father and son, and of their Council, were not limited to repressive measures. They had designed also, and had taken steps to carry into effect, a general plan for dealing with the entire child population of the 'Irish natives'. It is significant that this scheme found uses for the large families affirmed by it to be so usual in Catholic Ireland. It is no less striking that the proposals had as their aim the provision, for England and for her Colonies, of conscript child labour from Ireland, as well as for the strengthening of the Protestant interest in Ireland by wholesale 'conversion'. Given its scope, it was fitting that these constructive measures should come not directly from the Commonwealth Council sitting in Dublin but from the Protector himself, in London. His official message was issued in March 1657:

Oliver P.

Whereas the poorer sorte of Irish in Ireland doe, as well as the rich, abound in children, and have for the most part noe other meanes to support them and their said children, but either by begging or stealeing or both, by which meanes they not onely prove very burthensome but alsoe unnecessary members of the Commonwealth; and whereas the said children would (noe doubt) in time prove of excellent use, if there were some course layd downe whereby they might att the age of tenn yeares and upwards bee taken from their Parents and bound Apprentices to religious and honest people in England, or Ireland, that would not onely make it their business to breede them as well principally in the fear of God, as in such honest callings whereby they might bee enabled when they come out of their apprenticeships, to gett their liveings by their owne Industry; And whereas it is likewise found by dailey experience that there is a greate want in England of labourers and servants of all sorts, occasioned partly by the late warr and partly by carrying of both men and women to forraigne Plantacions; as also for that (noe doubt) it would be a worke most acceptable to the Lord to have the said children bred and brought up as aforesaid; That for the effecting and carrying on of a work of soe greate piety a publike Colleccion

be appointed to be made upon a certaine day, once every yeare, in all the respective Parishes within Ireland. (P.R.O., A. 27. 53.)

The death of Protector Oliver came in the year after these decrees were prepared and issued. The rejection of the entire body of legislative and executive Acts of the Puritan Commonwealth, enacted at once after the Restoration of Charles II, naturally prevented these measures from being carried into execution at that period. But when the events of 1689-92 had armed the sons and grandsons of these land-owners of Ireland, officers of Cromwell, subscribers to Puritan War Stock, with adequate legal and administrative power within Ireland, they gave legal sanction and actual effect to all these points, devised by men of their own families between 1653 and 1657. The Cromwellian spirit, no less than the detailed administrative methods of that earlier period, was in all its aspects vigorous in the period 1695-1760. The finished Penal Code of that time was the code of English Puritanism. Its application was made in that ruthlessness which was always characteristic of English Nonconformity, a Nonconformity that had, with consummate skill, got into its hands all power in both the English State and its Established Church in the Ireland of the eighteenth century.

Accordingly, in the Ireland ruled by the new Cromwellian Ascendancy, the eighteenth century opened with the development of two parallel policies towards education. Repressive laws of the most ferocious character were enacted, especially from 1703 to 1709. No Catholic could teach any one anything in Ireland. A Catholic child sent abroad for education lost all rights to property, and was an outlaw in respect of all civil rights. The Catholic teacher was equally an object of attack with the Catholic priest; the penalty provided was transportation into penal servitude, either on the sugar plantations of Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Georgia, or on the tobacco plantations and swamps of the Carolinas and Virginia. We have some fragments of the assize records for certain Irish counties from 1711 to 1724. In the county Limerick alone, twenty Popish schoolmasters were in these years indicted by the grand jury, and conviction almost invariably followed indictment: many priests

kept them company. Ten pounds were voted in one Limerick case (1717) to an army captain 'for his service in taking Thomas FitzGerald, a popish schoolmaster'.¹ In 1731 Henry Maule, Anglican Bishop of Derry, reported to the Dublin House of Lords that 'there are not any Popish schools' in his diocese, and that if any Popish schoolmasters venture to 'set up in some of ye mountainous parishes', the Church officers, constantly active, menace them with presentment before the grand jury, so that 'they generally think proper to withdraw'. Archbishop Edward Synge of Tuam reports that in 1731, even in Clonfert and in Kilmacduagh, Popish schoolmasters have recently been convicted, and that the terror of this closed all the Popish schools. The Mayor of Wexford was able to report that there were no Popish teachers in or near that city; the Mayor of Clonmel reported that there was just one teacher who had no school; the Mayor of Cork feared that there were several round that city, and did so 'with the utmost concern'. Even in country districts, such as those of the diocese of Cashel, the ministers of the Established Church, in the same year's returns, were zealous to 'use all means to expell'² even a solitary Popish schoolmaster. The Anglican Church Convocation in Dublin at its meetings in 1711 passed with enthusiasm the proposals of Archdeacon Parnell of Clogher that all Popish children should be compelled to attend Protestant parochial schools, under Protestant teachers, where they should be forced, from the age of ten to the age of sixteen, to learn the Protestant Catechism during four months of each year.

The Charity School movement, from 1705 to 1730 followed by the Charter School movement, 1733 to 1831 and later, were the positive or constructive sides of this policy. The Charity Schools, favoured by Dean Swift and by Bishop Berkeley as being cheaper and more effective in their range of operations, were officially defined to be places 'wherein the children of Popish natives may be so won by our affectionate endeavours, that the whole nation may become Protestant and English'.

¹ Grand Jury Records, Limerick, P.R.O., 1710-25.

² House of Lords Papers, P.R.O., Dublin, 1731.

This was in 1721. In 1750 Berkeley declared in *The Querist* that it was 'a vain attempt to project the flourishing of our Protestant gentry, exclusive of the bulk of the natives', and immediately added that 'therefore it doth greatly concern the State, that our natives be converted, and the whole nation united in the same religion and interest' (*Queries*, 288, 289). He held that the Charter School money could be better used 'for binding the children of the native Irish apprentices to Protestant masters' (*Query* 259), thus recalling Oliver Cromwell's own plan of 1657. This became ultimately a special feature of the Charter School aims, under Archbishop Hugh Boulter's plans, started in 1733 as 'the most rational push' towards the Ascendancy goal, to use his own phrase of 1736. A widely circulated plan of 1735 urged a compulsory scheme to make

every poor Romish family in the Kingdom part with one or two of their miserable, half-starved naked children, between 8 and 12 years of age, males and females; and have them bred up in the Protestant religion in workhouses. And that their parents might have no access to them, the children taken in one province might be sent to another. Could possibly a charity be better disposed? Could any policy whatever establish Protestant numbers with less grievance?¹

The Oliver Cromwell of 1657 clearly lived in the grandsons of his army officers, the Irish landlords of 1700-50, and the clergy of the Established Church. When Swift and Berkeley planned such schemes, and felt gratified with their outcome and prospects, as they did in the *Querist*, the *Drapier's Letters*, the *Wretched Condition of Ireland*, and in their *Correspondence*, from 1705 to 1745 and later, we can easily infer the disposition of the rest of the Cromwellian Ascendancy forces.

This Cromwellian policy in education, organized fully between 1695 and 1740, pressed forward by every means, legal and financial, from 1695 to 1829, utterly failed in its main purpose. Some tens of thousands of Catholic children were, no doubt, seized and perverted. The Charter Schools were able to deal with some two thousand poor children at a time; but even they were a confessed failure. They were governed by a Board

¹ Pamphlet by Daniel Webb, Dublin. *R.I.A. Collection*, vol. 121, n. 4, pp. 31, 32.

of Established Church Archbishops, Bishops, Ministers, and by Grand Masters of the Orange Order, down to 1829, but their reputation, even in Dublin Castle, was so utterly vile that the annual grant, often over £40,000 a year, had to be withdrawn from very shame at the shocking revelations made about them from 1782 to 1825. Some of the remaining Catholic families which had landed possessions, as the Kavanaghs of Borris, the Aylmers of Donadea, saw their Catholic children taken from them by the arm of English Colonial Law in Ireland and educated as Protestants. But this policy, as a whole, was defeated.

It was defeated by the people, the Catholic people of Ireland themselves. They transformed, in the years between 1700 and 1750, their older aristocratic educational system, based on Latin literature and the sciences of law and medicine treated in their texts, and on Irish literature treated in its poetry and history, into a popular system of literary and mathematical education; using Irish and English, Latin and Greek, in local schools. Even in 1731 the Committee of the Colonial House of Lords reported that there were still some 550 illegal Popish schools in Ireland. In 1740 Sir Richard Cox, of Dunmanway, in a judicial charge, called on the magistrates to be more active in suppressing these popular schools and teachers. The law of the land, he said, aimed at securing 'that Papists who would give their children any education, might be put under the necessity of sending them to Protestant schools. If the offenders are within your knowledge, you ought to prosecute them. These are the men who lay the foundation of that lamentable ignorance in which Irish Papists are bred.' This judicial direction was printed and reprinted; it reached a third edition within six months, for circulation among the grand jurors, landlords, and magistrates within Ireland. The law was active even as late as 1761, when the lapsed Catholics of Westmeath, freeholders having votes as Protestant farmers, were deprived of their votes by the high sheriff at the general election of that year. These unhappy perverts were convicted of 'educating their children as Papists', as the Voters' Roll has it, and were disfranchised.

But from 1760 onwards the number of local and popular

Catholic schools increased rapidly. In 1764 Sir James Caldwell, M.P., a henchman of Sir Thomas Maude in Tipperary, complained bitterly in print that Catholic children were 'all taught Latin in schools kept in poor huts, in the southern part of this Kingdom'. In 1769 the Charter School Society sought power to open day schools to combat the 'great number of schools dispersed in many parts of this Kingdom, under the direction of Popish masters, contrary to several Acts of Parliament'. The Visitation Book of the Diocese of Cashel from 1750 to 1760 gives ample evidence of this forward popular movement, and of the care taken in the humble schoolhouses of illegal Popish teachers, to have Christian Doctrine well and systematically taught. There is similar and even fuller evidence in the Catholic Visitation Book of Meath for the years 1782-5. Arthur Young, F.R.S., toured Ireland, visiting one landlord after another, in 1776-9. He kept his eyes open as he travelled, and wrote down what he saw. 'Education is general in Ireland. Hedge-schools, as they are called (they might as well be termed ditch-schools, for I have seen many a ditch full of scholars) are everywhere to be met with, where reading and writing are taught; schools are also common for men.' And again, writing at Derry Castle, by the eastern shore of Lough Derg, on the 6th October 1777, Young records in his diary that 'Dancing is very general among the poor people. It is an absolute system of education. Other branches of education are much attended to, every child of the poorest family learning to read, write, and cast accounts.'¹

The universal eagerness for education among the Irish people, given effect in the excellent hedge-school system created by themselves, is recorded with amazement by a long list of English travellers, often bitterly hostile in their attitude towards it, from 1760 down to 1830. They could not but contrast it with the dreadful illiteracy, and the apathy towards education of the people, prevalent in England then and long afterwards. The 'craze' for popular education in Ireland was protested against by an English Protestant visitor, Robert Twiss, as early as 1775.

¹ Young, *Tour in Ireland*, 1st edition, London, 1780: (a) Part II. General Summary; (b) Diary, under date cited.

This was seven years before the Colonial Legislature enabled Anglican Prelates in Ireland to license (at and during their mere pleasure) Popish school teachers, with the declared purpose of 'regulating the education of Papists' in Ireland. 'Without exception, every father in the county sends his children to a neighbouring school, where they learn to scrawl a little writing, to read as they are taught, and some of the rules of arithmetic',¹ is the complaint published about the county of Leitrim by the Royal Dublin Society in 1802. 'The people of Ireland are, I may almost say, universally educated', wrote Wakefield in 1812, in his elaborate work on Ireland, published in London. Henry Monck Mason in 1825 declared that 'the people's attachment to their ancient language exists to a degree of enthusiasm: it is as strong a feeling in their minds as any other prejudice they possess'.² So, with his 'Irish Society', from 1818 onwards, Monck Mason started out to set up proselytizing schools using Irish texts, with the express purpose of winning the people over gradually to use English instead. William Hickey, from 1823 to 1830 and later an influential Parish minister in Wexford, yet admitted that these popular schools gave facilities that no rich city in England or Scotland could match.

The hostility of these English and Ascendancy critics becomes manifest from 1800 onwards. In a long succession, Archbishops and parsons of the Established Church, with English travellers, Castle officials, proselytizing societies, all combined to denounce 'the common country schoolmaster' who taught elementary subjects as well as Classics and mathematics, in the popular hedge-schools. A Royal Commission of 1812 found over 4,000 schools of this kind; another such body found over 8,000 in 1824. They averaged from 40 to 50 pupils each; where payment was made, it was accepted; but poor scholars, taught free and supported by the poor themselves, were very numerous. Still, the hedge-schoolmaster was an abomination in the eyes of all these hostile writers and administrators. He 'teaches rebel-

¹ *Survey of Co. Leitrim*, by J. McPartlin, M.D., 1802, p. 62.

² Evidence of Dr. Monck Mason, at the Royal Commission on Education in Ireland, 22nd January 1825.

lion and treason' is the constant cry from 1800 to 1830. He is 'not safe'; he is 'of the people, too influential; he has skill even in politics and in law'. The Kildare Place Society expressly sought to replace him by a more amenable type of teacher. They were powerfully aided by Sir Robert Peel when Chief Secretary. 'Hedge-schoolmasters, many of them without character or principle; many of them agents in the Rebellion', is the description of one defender of the Kildare Place Schools in 1822. Lord John George Beresford, Anglican Archbishop of Armagh, demanded in 1825 'a provision for the training of a safe body of schoolmasters. Teachers in every way unsuited to the country and the time have been suffered to multiply. It now remains for the legislature to remedy these evils.'¹

This demand was due to the realization that just as the Charity School and Charter School movements of the eighteenth century had completely failed, so the new aggression, that of the confederate and allied proselytizing school societies, launched in 1800-1, had also proved futile. It began with a subtle move on the part of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, in the last session of the corrupt Colonial Parliament at Dublin, to induce the Castle to undertake to 'regulate the education of the lower orders, to license teachers annually, to supervise books', and to set up a Board of Control. The Protestant School Societies, which were numerous and varied, were at least frank as to their purpose. Not so such bodies as the 'London Hibernian Society', 'The Friends of Education', the 'Irish Society', the 'Kildare Place Society', organized from 1806 to 1820, and liberally subsidized by the English State. One and all they were expressly subversive of Catholic aims in education and in religious teaching. They were able to make some small progress down to 1820-5, when their chances were ended by the explicit directions issued by the Holy See in 1819, the opposition of O'Connell and of Dr. Doyle, of Father John England in Cork, and of Dr. Michael Blake and Roger Therry, active organizers of Catholic education in Dublin.

The organization of Catholic schools, as a constructive policy

¹ Letter to the Royal Commission on Irish Education, 1825, First Report, 1826.

in safeguarding the faith of Irish children, and of developing their mental power, was vigorously promoted by both priests and people at the same period. It was in the towns and villages, with their rapidly growing population, that the new plans were most needed. Edmund Ignatius Rice began his great work for Catholic urban education of the people in 1802. The development of convent schools was steady and progressive in the decades preceding 1830, especially on the part of the nuns of the Presentation. A fair beginning was made with classical seminaries between 1790 and 1825. Yet the most remarkable record of sustained zeal amid great difficulties is to be read not in the progress of schools for Catholic children in comparatively easy circumstances, but in the trying conditions of what even then well deserved to be called slum life. Dublin, Cork, and many other cities of Ireland gave remarkable evidence of such zeal during the sixty years preceding 1829. Even in the darkest days there were many illegal vernacular schools, many illegal classical schools as well. As early as 1700 to 1725, workers such as the Archbishop Byrne, of Dublin, in that period of savage repression, gathered round them a score or more of teachers, laymen who were Irish poets and scholars, such as the Archbishop himself. The succession was maintained in Dublin between 1750 and 1785 by teachers such as Father John Austin, S.J. The Carmelite Fathers had excellent popular schools before 1760. The splendid work of Nano Nagle for the Catholic girls of Cork city was started at that period. When the Brief of Pope Clement XIV, in 1773, changed Father Thomas Betagh, S.J., from his own Order, and advanced him to the ranks of the pastoral clergy in Dublin, another great worker for Catholic popular education entered on his special activity for souls. Father Betagh, Vicar-General of Dublin, died in a venerable and zealous old age early in 1811. In 1821 his panegyric was preached and published by Dr. Michael Blake, then a parish priest in Dublin, later to be Bishop of Dromore. Its central sentences may be cited:

Look to that Free School where three hundred poor boys, poor in everything but genius and spirit, receive their education every evening, and where more than three thousand have already been

educated. Can you estimate sufficiently the value of the man who established that institution, who supervised their instruction, who rewarded the most promising of them with a classical education, and who at the age of 73 would sit down every night in a cellar to hear their lessons.¹

Many similar passages from our own records could be adduced to testify also to what has been already illustrated from hostile sources, the expansion of the work of Catholic lay teachers for classical, mathematical, and elementary schools. The exhaustive records of progress available for the work of such prelates as Bishop William Coppinger, in Cloyne and Ross (School Census of 1807), and Bishop James Warren Doyle in Kildare and Leighlin (School Census and Record of Building for 1826), are fair specimens of what was being done in most of the Irish dioceses at the time. This progress was commensurate with the development in all the towns and cities of Ireland, from 1800 onwards, of organized lay sodalities of the Christian Doctrine to which Pope Pius VI had earnestly devoted himself down to his captivity and death in exile at the close of the previous century. The Catholic lay teachers of Ireland were the core and mainstay of that great movement for systematic catechetical instruction; their work amazed by its extent and thoroughness the Royal Commissioners of 1825, all of them convinced partisans of 'mixed education', almost all of them bitterly hostile to all things Catholic.

Nor did the education of the whole mass of the Irish people fail to have its well-developed relations with the fine arts and aesthetic culture. The testimony of Arthur Young, F.R.S., as to this factor in popular training, recorded in his *Tour in Ireland* (London, 1st edition, 1780) under the date of October 1777 would alone be conclusive on this important issue. But in the domain of music there is equally cogent testimony from another English traveller in Ireland, 1789-91, Charles Topham Bowden. His words summarize the whole situation in eighteenth-century Ireland:

Tipperary town is remarkably well situated in a fine country.

¹ Pamphlet of 1821, Haliday Collection, R.I.A.

The habitations of these poor wretches are formed by sods, mud, switches, and straw. The whole county was almost appropriated to pasturage. The landowner loses every idea of the miseries he is occasioning. The wretched peasant is not better than a beast of burden: he neither enjoys the necessities of life, nor the just reward of his labour. Among the unspeakable misery of those half-fed wretches, they enjoy in a very exalted degree poetry and song. There is a sympathy of the Irish language and Irish airs, that charms a state of poverty and sorrow. I have often sat under a hedge, and listened to the rustic songs of those peasants while at labour, with transcending pleasure.¹

The open-air schools of Ireland struck forcibly, and not unfavourably, not only Arthur Young in 1776-9, but also another English traveller of 1810-11, William Reed. His *Irish Tour*, printed privately in London, 1815, records that:

Through the country, I found several very humble seminaries, called hedge schools. Not having any other convenience, the scholars are taught reading, writing, etc., in the open air, under the shade of some embowering hedge, or branching tree; and very often the green bank and the smooth shelves of the rock answer the purpose of the bench and the desk.²

The hedge-school was also, and obviously, the cabin school. That rigid English Protestant, John Howard, F.R.S., who regarded the State 'Charter' Schools as 'a noble charity', noted them in his journeys through Ireland, and candidly records his judgement on the fine education provided by the poor Irish people for their children:

The lower class of people in Ireland are by no means averse to the improvement of their children. At the cabins on the road-side I saw several schools, in which, for the payment of 3s. 3d. Irish per quarter, children were instructed in reading, writing, and accounts. Some of these I examined as to their proficiency, and found them much forwarder than those of the same age in the Charter Schools. They were clean and wholesome. I hope I shall not be thought, as a Protestant Dissenter, indifferent to the Protestant Cause.³

¹ C. T. Bowden, *Tour through Ireland*, 1791, p. 159.

² William Reed, *Rambles in Ireland*, London, 1815, p. 52.

³ John Howard, F.R.S., *Works*, London, 1792, vol. ii, p. 119.

These humble local schools enabled even the poorest Irish Catholic families to have their children prepared everywhere for education of a more advanced type in the great Catholic States of western Europe. Sir James Caldwell of Castlecaldwell, an unflinching advocate of the Penal Code against Catholic Ireland, adduces this educational connexion as one of his reasons for making no relaxations in 1764:

The Papists are not only connected in general tie of Religion with France and Spain, but there is not a family in the island that has not a relation in the Church, in the Army, or in Trade, in those Countries; and in order to qualify the children for foreign service they are all taught Latin in schools kept in poor huts, in many places in the Southern Part of this Kingdom.¹

That member of the Colonial Parliament at Dublin made no secret as to his objection to the high level of popular education in Ireland, under the Penal Code, in the illegal Catholic Schools. Sixty years later, on the eve of Catholic Emancipation, an influential Irish peer gave utterance in turn to his fears.

In Ireland, education has done great harm, for it is turned to no useful purpose. With a greatly overcharged population, and comparatively no occupation for it, it produces nothing but speculation on their own condition, and the means of amending it. Ireland is enjoying the blessings of an ultra-popular franchise.²

The Earl of Donoughmore, who thus expressed his mind to Sir Robert Peel's confidential agent, travelling through Ireland during the months that followed O'Connell's election for Clare, in 1828, had himself served with distinction against Napoleon in Egypt and elsewhere. That the Catholic nation of Spain benefited most thoroughly by the higher education given in her academies to the Papist boys that had been 'taught Latin in poor huts', to qualify them for service in the Spanish Army, it will be apposite to cite recent expert testimony, that Lord Donoughmore would have been well qualified to appreciate.

¹ *The Penal Laws and Property in Land*, 1764, Haliday Collection, R.I.A., vol. 322, n. 1, p. 27.

² Earl of Donoughmore to Thomas Creevey, at Knocklofty, Clonmel, 5-7 October 1828: *Creevey Papers* (1905), ii. 176.

Sir C. W. Oman, Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, in his *History of the Peninsular War* (issue of 1904), writes as follows:

Three Spanish-Irish Regiments (Hibernia, Irlanda, Ultonia) were in the first Spanish National Defence Armies, giving 2,000, out of 85,000 raised in all Spain. An astounding proportion of the officers who rose to note on the Spanish side during the War of Independence (1808-14) bore Irish names: Blake, the three O'Donnells, O'Neill, O'Daly, O'Ronan, O'Mahony, de Lacy, O'Donoghue, Sarsfield. No defeats could tame them.

The popular classical education that enabled such Irishmen to reach high positions in foreign armies did not lack attention from English and Protestant observers, impartial or hostile, as the eighteenth century passed into the nineteenth. 'Many of the peasantry are to be met with, who are all good Latin scholars, yet do not speak a word of English; Greek is also taught in the mountainous parts by some itinerant teachers', was recorded by the artist, George Holmes, in the south-western region of Ireland, 1797, and published at London in 1801. The Rev. William Hickey, M.A., a rector of the Established Church in County Wexford, well known as a writer of practical text-books for the English National Board of Education in Ireland, wrote with sustained hostility against the popular classical schools, from 1823 to 1830 and later, under the name of Martin Doyle. 'There is a bad, unprofitable kind of education, which you should avoid', he told the Irish farmers. 'In what? In Greek and Latin. A school of this description is a nuisance among you. The lower branches of instruction would be ten times more useful to you. This kind of education is not only useless, but injurious for the lower classes. Such knowledge creates pride. The master is wrapped up in the pride of classical knowledge.'¹

Yet while classical and popular culture was universally available before 1831, the unquestionable testimony of hostile witnesses proves the excellence of 'the lower branches' and of mathematics, and does so in a chain of evidence reaching far

¹ William Hickey, M.A., *Hints to the Smallholders and Peasantry of Ireland*, Dublin, 1833, ii. 175.

down into the nineteenth century. An unwilling witness is found in that 'Member of the Late Irish Parliament'—who as such must have been a Protestant—writing on the population of Ireland, in London, 1803.

The lowest class of Irish . . . possess a degree of subtlety rarely to be met with among the same description of people in any country. The majority of them are perfect masters of the courtly arts of penetration and dissimulation, especially the latter. They set so high a value on learning, that the poorest labourers will often appropriate a part of their scanty earnings to the education of their children. The more abstruse parts of arithmetic, and also mensuration and navigation, are taught in many of the poorest unendowed schools of Ireland. The art of writing is often carried to its utmost perfection among the poorest of this class; and their attainments in orthography, and perspicuity of style, have frequently, to my knowledge, excited the amazement of strangers.¹

Equally emphatic and unwilling are the findings of James Glassford, a leading member of the Royal Commission on Education in Ireland, 1824–6, who visited (5 October 1824) Newtown Barry, co. Wexford, and reported: 'Chapel School, Roman Catholic. Master's appearance respectable; and specimens of handwriting very good. Arithmetic was the favourite object with parents.' From Bunclody, as it is now renamed, he proceeded to Waterford, and made entry in these terms: 'October 14, 1824, at Waterford. Visited large Roman Catholic School of Mr. Rice. Well managed; good arrangement and discipline; no birchen rule. Great proficiency in Arithmetic, and in its higher as well as in the common branches.' Yet the writer, a Scottish Presbyterian Advocate of notable commercial stock, saw in this excellent situation only a reason for doing as did the Colonial Parliament in 1782: he would 'regulate the education of Papists'. Hence, in 1830, he wrote, in his notes for private circulation among his friends:

To neglect the education of the peasantry is to play the game for the Roman Catholic . . . the whole wisdom and art is to guide it aright. Education is in truth making more vigorous and rapid

¹ *Essay on the Population of Ireland*, R.I.A. Collection, Dublin, 1803.

progress in wild Ireland than in long-civilized England. In England the plan of popular education continues very defective, both in amount and quality. The grade of teachers also, in the parish schools and common schools of England, continues to be low as to qualifications of knowledge and intelligence.¹

Such is the conclusion reached in Glassford's *Notes of three Educational Tours in Ireland, 1824-1826*: a conclusion that, with much beside, he was clearly not inclined to publish, though he ultimately did put these 'Notes' into public circulation in 1831. They are addressed to English friends by a Scottish expert fully conversant with all the facts concerning all grades of education in Ireland. With them, the Irish part of this argument from the conditions of popular education, owing to the limits of available space, may rest.

There at once arises, however, the comparative issue thus stated by an unimpeachable because reluctant and hostile witness, coming from Presbyterian Scotland. Here are two democracies: that of Protestant England, that of Catholic Ireland. Where stood they, as regards education; and as to that fitness for political action that it gives? The transition epoch, 1760 to 1830, the passage from aristocratic to popular government in both lands, is the proving ground. Protestant England, claiming to be in the van of cultural progress, and most of all as regards the due exercise of political power, had enjoyed three centuries of opportunities for educational progress. Catholic Ireland had been beset by every imaginable difficulty during the same period, the period from 1530 to 1830. Catholic Ireland, in face of all its troubles, had fully educated itself, equipped itself for civic action, for political progress, on unified lines. Was the democracy of England, developed under the full Protestant traditions of three centuries, in any such position?

The years 1930-1 have at last provided, in comprehensive and accessible form, a group of excellent works that give ample information as to the condition of popular education in the England of 1760-1850. Professor Adamson's *History of Education*

¹ Glassford, James, Advocate: *Notes of Three Tours in Ireland, 1824-1826*, London, 1831.

in England, 1787-1902, came first. J. L. and Barbara Hammond cover the close of the period in *The Age of the Chartists, 1832-1854*. Professor Frank Smith, of Armstrong College in the University of Durham, has written fully and specifically on *The History of English Elementary Education, 1760-1902*. And these records do not stand alone. One and all, they admit the deplorable conditions of English education, and not popular education alone, after three centuries spent under Protestant action. The record of these three centuries must here be summarized to show the measure of Ireland's greatest contribution to European civilization, a Catholic democracy universally and highly educated.

Such competent and first-hand investigations as those of A. F. Leach and J. E. de Montmorency have shown the extremely full and thoroughly localized and popular provision made by Catholic England, down to 1530-40, for education, elementary, secondary, and university. That full provision was to have been improved and consolidated by a great educator and churchman, a son of the people, Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey. His main work in England, 1524-30, was educational, and was planned on the boldest democratic lines. The plunder carried out under Henry VIII and Edward VI stopped all such progress. Increasingly, down to the present epoch, the classes placed in power by the confiscations under Henry VIII and Edward VI have seen to it—by suppression, by encroachment, by social monopoly—that the people of England shall not have that free, universal, liberal education which is necessary for the progress of a nation. The destruction of schools from 1533 to 1553 was overwhelming in its effects. The universities managed to survive; but alike in resources, in students, in range and quality of work, they were maimed and crippled like the schools that fed them. Mark Pattison put it plainly in 1855:

The period of Oxford Studies, which we may say terminated with the commencement of the agitation of the matter of the King's Divorce (1527-8) was the latest era in our history at which we find Oxford in the enjoyment of all the extant culture. . . . The disastrous years that ensued . . . blighted all culture, crushed all spirit, and checked progress. . . . From that time to the present, the (two)

Universities have ceased to originate, to rule, even to respond to, such intellectual activity as the nation has possessed. The whole of that sphere of thought in which a liberal training consists, or by which it can be accomplished, has been abandoned by them.¹

Led by such men as Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, uncle of Anne Boleyn, father of Catherine Howard, the beneficiaries of confiscation, the old nobility as well as the new, the covetous classes of England converted to their own family uses the educational endowments of what was Catholic England. Norfolk found the greatness of Wolsey, 'the small grazier's son', an 'irritant beyond bearing'. 'His determined and tireless hatred' was 'high in the factors which dragged Wolsey down.' Norfolk and Somerset secured thirteen abbeys each; Suffolk, another duke, got thirty; Cromwell, Earl of Essex, got six, including the Benedictine Abbey of Ramsey inherited by that Oliver Cromwell who became Protector of England. With the abbeys went the schools which were for centuries before placed by pious founders under durable religious administration. The lesser plunderers dealt with over 250 chantry school foundations, mostly local classical schools, under Edward VI. Scarcely ten survived. In vain did Cranmer and Latimer protest. In vain did Speaker Williams, on the 15th January 1562, tell Elizabeth of the destruction wrought on education in his own north country; Strype records his words:

Being chosen Speaker to the lower house, he was presented to the Queen, and in his speech to her took notice of the want of schools: that at least a hundred were wanting in England, which before this time had been. He would have England flourishing with ten thousand scholars, which the schools in this nation formerly brought up. That from want of these good schoolmasters sprang up ignorance: and coveteousness got the living by impropriations, which was a decay, he said, of learning, which grew greatly to the dishonour both of God and of the Commonwealth.

Neither the newly enriched classes, nor their executive heads would have any dealings with popular education. They soon evolved a philosophy of limitations and imposed it on England.

¹ *Essays*, 'Oxford Studies', ed. 1889, i, pp. 448-9.

Their philosopher was Richard Mulcaster, headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School, London, a chief agent of Cecil and Elizabeth in the education and perversion of orphan Catholic boys, 1561-86. His views are candid, conclusive, of great historical moment:

Certainly there is great need, the thing is more than needful, to restrain the number that will to the book. While the Church was a harbour for all men to ride in, which knew any letter, there needed no restraint. The state is now altered. There is as great difference between suffering all to book in our days, and the like liberty in the ruffe of the Papacy among us, as there is between the two religions. The expelled religion was supported by multitude. The retained religion must pitch her defence in some paucity of choice. So that our time, of necessity, must restraine. If not, what you breed, the adversary part will allure.¹

To effect this policy of educational restraint, it was not sufficient to seize on the school endowments of the poor, such as those of Winchester, Eton, and such others as contrived to survive the destructive plunderers of 1533-53. Any new endowments must also be wrested to the service of the landed proprietors and the new merchant class. Hence their universal occupation of such schools as Harrow, Shrewsbury, Rugby, Dulwich. Hence, within the last seventy years, the propagation of the legal view that a bequest for the education of the children of *pauperes et indigentes* is to be interpreted so as to mean the sons of the gentry, younger sons, and not otherwise. By continuous and omnipresent encroachment, the 'upper' and the 'propertied' classes in England have most successfully absorbed that educational property of the poor which still remained in the days of the daughters of Henry VIII. By quiet but steady intrusion they achieved in 300 years what the school of Voltaire and of La Chalotais, operative from 1760 to 1790 on French political thought, bitterly hostile and derisive of all popular education, was able in 1790-3 to effect by universal confiscation of the educational endowments of the people of France. The effects in France from 1793 were as those in England from 1553. The

¹ Richard Mulcaster, *Positions*, ed. R. H. Quick, 1888, p. 148.

opportunities of these entire peoples for free, democratic, universal education, of the best humanistic type, were in both cases destroyed. Their recovery, in these years 1931-3, is barely commencing.

Nor is this all. Voltaire repeatedly wrote, 1762-6, that the working population of France, rural and urban alike, must be debarred from all chances of learning to read and to write: 'Il me paraît essentiel qu'il y ait des gueux ignorants; on n'a besoin que d'une plume pour deux cents ou trois cents bras.'¹ So in England—most of all from 1770 to 1850, the age of the industrial revolution—mill-owners and squires, shopkeepers and manufacturers were determined that the people of England should have as little education as possible. Even education societies attuned themselves to this miserable policy. Even reformers were determined to give the workers of England as little education as possible. The State Protestant Church of England was in substantial accord with this design. Thus in England, rural, urban, metropolitan even, there was no inclination to carry the education of the children of the people—where there was any education given them at all—beyond reading alone. Not one pupil in ten had ever the chance of learning to write. Many devoted educators, many well-known educational reform movements, proclaiming the duty of educational progress very loudly indeed, expressly rejected the idea of teaching writing, much less arithmetic.

The Charity Schools, under the S.P.C.K. from 1698, required a master to be able to teach the three R's. But in their schools no mistress need be able to teach writing or arithmetic. Yet these schools, as Dr. Smith's work states, 'only affected a small proportion of the children of the poor'.² The vast majority did not learn even to read: there were no schools, no teachers for them. Locke, following the efforts of Thomas Firmin (1675 onwards), pleaded in 1698 that reading be taught: but he was not heard. The English Sunday School system, greatly im-

¹ *Œuvres*, vol. lx, p. 252: cf. vol. lviii, pp. 70-1; vol. lix, pp. 333-4.

² On these issues, see F. Smith, *History of Elementary Education in England, 1760-1902* (University of London Press, 1931), esp. pp. 43, 50-4, 56, 79.

proved by the efforts of Robert Raikes of Gloucester, from 1786, never aimed at giving more than reading. 'The children are to be taught to read', and 'to be instructed in the plain duties of the Christian', says Raikes in his own Rules; there is no mention of handwriting or arithmetic. The York Church of England Sunday School Committee regulations (1786) are even more definite still; they lay it down that 'the exercises shall be restricted to reading in the Old and New Testament, and to spelling as a preparation for it'. The full significance of what this meant, as indicative of English urban educational provision, is pointed out much later by Professor Smith. The really splendid investigation conducted by the Manchester Statistical Society, 1834-36, extended to Salford and to Bury, as well as to Liverpool, where 'more than half of the children attended no school of any kind'. Dr. Smith sums up as follows: 'Out of every ten children, four went to no school at all, three went to Sunday Schools only, two attended the dame and common day schools.' These latter, it is accepted, could not teach beyond reading, save in the rarest cases.

As regards the Established Church in England, the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, as regards popular education, is largely connected with the names of the sisters Hannah and Martha More, and that of Andrew Bell. The two ladies, influential, highly connected, worked in the south of England, from Somerset to Kent. Bell's name, like theirs, recalls the directing power of the Established Church in England at that period: he was the organizer of what came to be known as The National Society, whose schools numbered, and still number, many thousands all over England. Their views on the due scope of organized and reformed, popular and progressive elementary education are hence of great practical significance. For Hannah More, the friend of Johnson and Burke, Reynolds and Gibbon, William Wilberforce, the leader of English Evangelicals, the great Reformer, organized a School Fund. The *Mendip Annals* tell us of the plan of Hannah More (d. 1833) and her sister, who began school organization in 1788.

When I settled in this country, thirteen years ago, I found the poor in many of the villages sunk in a deplorable state of ignorance and vice. This drew me to the more neglected villages. My plan of instruction is extremely simple and limited. They learn such coarse work as may fit them for servants. I allow no writing for the poor. My schools were always honoured with the full sanction of the late Bishop of Bath and Wells.¹

The Rev. Andrew Bell began his educational reforms in 1798, at London. By 1805 he was nationally influential in English education, and in that year he issued his plan:

It is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner, *or even taught to write and cypher*. There is a risk of elevating above their condition, by an indiscriminate education, the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labour; and thereby render them discontented and unhappy in their lot. It may suffice to teach the generality, on an economical plan, to read their Bible.²

When such was the mind of a great promoter of schools under the Established Church, we need not be surprised at the following account of an Anglican parish in the city of Winchester, 1840-2:

Violent opposition was made to the establishment of parochial schools, not only by a number of small shopkeepers, who were bitterly prejudiced and ignorant, but also by the old High Church gentry of the parish, who looked upon schools as dangerous innovations.³

What was true of the cathedral city that in 1500 enjoyed a full provision for popular Catholic education in all grades was equally true of the typical country parish. Witness the educational conditions of the Anglican parish of Eversley, Hampshire, England, when duty was taken up there by Charles Kingsley (1819-75; Rector of Eversley, 1844-69;

¹ 1801: *Life* (1834), iii. 133, 136.

² The chapter on Education (48 pp.) in J. L. and Barbara Hammond's *Age of the Chartist, 1832-54* (London, 1930) should be consulted.

³ *Life of the Rev. F. W. Robertson, M.A.*, by Stopford A. Brooke, M.A., Chaplain to the Queen, 1873, i. 55.

Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Queen Victoria, 1859; Canon of Westminster, 1873):

There was not a grown up man or woman in the parish, of the labouring class, who could read or write. For as boys and girls they had all been glad to escape early to field-work, from the parish clerk's little stifling room, ten feet square, where cobbling shoes, teaching, and caning all went on together. As to religious instruction, they had none.¹

The same spirit of hostility to popular education in England was touched on (1843) by a representative Cabinet Minister, Sir James Graham of Netherby, when he told the English Commons of their national duty unfulfilled. 'While all the other Governments of Europe had directed their earnest, their unceasing attention' to education, 'England alone had neglected this all-important duty.' But the opposition was from many strange sources. It was voiced by mill-owners, such as Bright; by mine-owners, by many landlords, by most of the shopkeeping population of the towns and cities. It was shown even by the famous William Cobbett. The first vote of public money for education in England was in 1833. It amounted to £20,000, to be apportioned between the two Societies of Bell (Established Church) and Lancaster (Nonconformist), in aid of local efforts to build schools. Carried in a small House by 50 to 26, it was denounced by Cobbett with great vehemence. His line of argument has been heard of even a century later, so it is worth citing here. 'Education has been more and more spread. But what did it all tend to? Nothing, but to increase the number of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses—that new race of idlers. Education has spread: crime too has increased.'

Brougham found this attitude towards popular education almost universally prevalent in 1815–20. Hannah More records it for Somersetshire in 1780–1800: 'The principal adversary is a farmer of £1,000 a year, who says the lower classes are *fated* to be wicked and ignorant, and that, wise as I am, I cannot alter what is *decreed*.'² Furnivall marked it in Hampshire in 1860.

¹ *Letters and Life of C. Kingsley*, 1877, by Mrs. Kingsley, vol. i, p. 123.

² 1798: *Life*, (1834), ii. 51.

Writing in 1930 Dr. Alfred Percival Graves tells us, in his *Return to All That*, that it was universal among the West Country squires and magistrates and farmers, 1880 to 1890. The workers must not even learn to read. Protestant England in 1845 was, as to the elements of popular education, immensely inferior not only to Catholic Ireland, but to Catholic France in 1780-90, before the disciples of Voltaire destroyed the local schools of all France, and threw education back at least for a century after 1791.

Exhaustive analysis of marriage registers in Normandy for the years 1783-8 from Caen to Lisieux across to Avranches has shown that well over 80 per cent. of the adult population could write. According to the Registrar-General's figures for the years 1839-45, the corresponding figures in England were only 42 per cent. at the best.

It now remains to show how the educated Catholic democracy of Ireland, of the period 1820-30, was the first planner of organized political and civic action for legislative and social reform. It was the democracy of Catholic Ireland, able to act politically because of its thorough education, which showed the English Protestant people, from 1830 to 1850 and later, how to act in public affairs. Incidentally, we shall see why Windthorst and the Reichenspergers, 1870-90, found it necessary to study the political action of Catholic Ireland, and of its agent, O'Connell, as developed from 1820 to 1830.

Reviewing at considerable length, in the *Berliner Jahrbuch*, Prince Pückler-Muskau's *Letters on a Tour of Ireland, 1828-1829*, Goethe commended very specially this Prussian nobleman's clear insight into the character of the Irish people, and of their national leader, as shown in the great movement then reaching its climax. Far from friendly to the religious convictions of our people, the Lutheran traveller was struck by the power that people showed to 'organize for one determinate end', by 'intellectual means, the simple weapons of public discussion and the press'. 'Taken in a body', he declared, 'they unite the frank honesty and poetical temper of the Germans, the vivacity of the French, and the naturalness of the Italians.' O'Connell, visited

in Kerry, was found by Prince Pückler-Muskau to be 'much more like a general of Napoleon's army than a Dublin advocate', and to have 'a considerable education, European in its interests, apart from his professional skill'. To his remarks on the organization of the Catholic Association, the Prussian traveller appended, in one of his rare footnotes, this finding: 'All the Catholic children in Ireland are carefully instructed, and can at least read, while Protestant children are often utterly ignorant.' The educational conditions of the Irish people, which enabled them in the three years 1823-5 to create and perfect a national political force entirely new in the civilized world, deserve some investigation. It so happens that just a hundred years ago an educational census of the whole people—the first census of its kind in Europe—was completed here in Ireland. This was in the winter of 1824-5. In the spring of 1825 the popular organization, the Catholic Association, was suppressed by law enacted at Westminster.

The circumstances of that suppression are a further reason for considering the education of a people who could thus act as the leaders of Europe in creating 'a universal organization for one determinate end', an organization which was suppressed because it was at once legal, absolutely novel, and thoroughly effective.

The real difficulty [wrote Sir Robert Peel in his *Memoirs*] was not violation of the law, but in the novel exercise of constitutional franchises, in the application of powers recognized and protected by law—the power of speech, the power of meeting, the systematic application of these powers to one specific purpose—that is, the organization of a force which professed to be a moral force, but had for its purpose to acquire a strength which might ultimately render irresistible the demand for civic equality.

When moving the second reading of the Emancipation Bill, 1829, Peel expressly avowed that he was 'resigning the struggle' against it, yielding to 'a moral necessity which I cannot control', imposed by 'the multitude and physical strength of the Irish people. They were forthwith deprived of the votes secured in 1793, because these votes were in 1828 exercised with educa-

tional and intellectual skill, systematically applied to one specific purpose.' The organized ability of the whole Irish people was, in fact, described in almost identical terms by Sir Robert Peel and by Prince Pückler-Muskau.

It was a political portent, an absolute novelty in Europe. No English statesman had ever contemplated such organized popular action as possible in England or elsewhere. William Conyngham Plunket, Attorney-General in Ireland, spoke of it at Westminster (1825) as 'not illegal in the strict sense, but directly opposed to the spirit of the British Constitution'. 'I deny', he said, 'that any portion of the subjects of this realm have a right to select persons to speak their sentiments, to debate their grievances, to devise means for their removal'—unless the persons selected are the members of the Parliament at Westminster. In a word, the English people and their statesmen had then, in 1825, no concept of that organized popular action which has since 1829 become the ordinary method of European politics. They were educated into this 'novel exercise' (as Peel called it) of political power, by the example of Ireland in 1823-5. Ireland led the way, even when just emerging from the dark night of the Penal Law period, in showing how the weapon of democratic 'organization for a specific purpose' could be forged and perfected. The lesson was taken up, slowly and imperfectly enough, by the English people and by the national masses of Europe. The Irish example of how to do it was in no way preceded by the France of 1789-1815, nor by the America of 1770-1815. The French Revolution was devised by the propertied middle classes, and was based on that detestation of democracy in which Jansenism and infidel philosophy united. The American Revolution was mainly directed by an aristocratic caste of slaveholders whose grip tightened in the twenty years that also saw the consolidation of Imperialism in France. Democratic and civic action did not appear in the modern world till the Irish people organized in 1823-5. Without good widespread development of education such political organization, rapid, effective, novel, carried on despite specially restrictive laws, could never have been achieved.

The census of scholars in the autumn of 1824 showed the vast extent of that popular education movement in Ireland. It was so thorough that it could serve as a model for use to-day. Taken independently by two sets of enumerators in each parish, the Catholic clergy and the ministers of the Protestant bodies, the returns were almost identical. Eight per cent. of the population were found to be actually in the schools, though the census fell in the harvest period. No such figure could be recorded for England then, or for a score of years later. The French figure, 1833-5, did not reach four per cent. Of the 561,000 pupils in Irish schools, 400,000 were in schools utterly independent of the English State. There were fully 9,000 of these really Irish schools, created by and for the people, and entirely maintained by them. Schools founded and favoured by the English State, or by proselytizing groups acting with the aid of that State, numbered about 2,000.

The 9,000 independent and popular schools were the big fact, a fact by no means lessened in its significance by the further fact that the Irish people had to and did pay for the education there given. It was under the Penal Code that these popular schools had grown up, this, too, was a disquieting thing in the judgement of the Ascendancy. An able and bitter opponent of the Irish people and their religion summed up the situation thus:

A mere knowledge of letters is not rare in Ireland: it is not what is wanted. In fact, every village has its school; and there are few parishes where there are not two or more, either permanent or occasional. Reading, writing, and some knowledge of arithmetic are in this way acquired by all who are able to pay the very small stipend of the schoolmaster. But this kind of education produces no general good result; the people are not *improved*: their manners and habits *continue unaltered*. The country schoolmaster is *independent of all system and control*. *He is himself one of the people*, imbued with the same prejudices, influenced by the same feelings, subject to the same habits. To his little share of learning he generally adds some *traditional tales of the country*, of a character to keep *alive discontent*. He is the chronicler and pedagogue of his little circle: he is the centre of the mystery of rustic iniquity, the cheap *attorney of the neighbourhood*. Possessed of important secrets and of useful acquirements, he is

courted and caressed. It will be admitted that *nothing good can be expected from an education conducted under such auspices.*¹

Excellent and quite unintended testimony is this, to the thoroughly democratic and Irish character of the local educational means provided for themselves by the Irish people. It was the obvious outcome of their distinctive national position: its Irish quality is its real offence in the eyes of its penetrating critic. He in no way understands its hold on popular opinion, and its universal acceptability. Other unfriendly critics tell the same story. In 1816, advocating a large parliamentary grant to the proselytizing schools of Kildare Place, Dublin, Sir Robert Peel, then Chief Secretary, told the Westminster Parliament his own conviction on this point: 'I can state as a fact within my own knowledge, that the greatest eagerness and desire prevails among the lower orders of Ireland for the benefits of instruction.'² The Protestant bankers, merchants, and lawyers, who set up in 1812 the Kildare Place system to control education in Ireland, and to do so by controlling the public purse, successfully urged the same plea in that same year. 'The lower orders seek education with avidity.' The Education Commission of 1808, composed exclusively of prelates and other members of the Anglican Established Church within Ireland, reported in 1812: 'From the facts, we conceive it clearly to appear that the mass of the people of Ireland are extremely anxious to obtain instruction for their children, even at the expense which, though small, very many of them can ill afford.'³

The fact was that of the 9,000 popular schools in the opening quarter of the nineteenth century, hardly one was other than illegal. It was absolutely illegal for a Catholic to do any educational work from 1560 to 1772, and it was illegal to do any such work, from 1782 to 1829, save under severe limitations. Such a licence was entirely a matter of favour, and it could be withdrawn at will, without reason given. It was often refused even

¹ (O'Driscoll), *Thoughts and Suggestions on the Education of the Peasantry of Ireland*, London, 1820, 2nd edition, Cork, 1820; in Haliday Collection, R.I.A.

² Speech in House of Commons, 27 February 1816.

³ *Fourteenth Report, House of Commons*, 1812, pp. 330-1.

when sought. But in few cases indeed was it asked at all. There were thousands of illegal schools, descended in right line from the Celtic system of education so widely prevalent even down to 1650. The teacher-families in the Celtic system were landholders of good position: the confiscations under Chichester and Cromwell, and the assurance of power to the Cromwellian landlords after 1691, brought these hereditary educators to be absolutely one with the whole mass of the Irish people. Such teachers were inheritors of the poetry and of the law of Gaelic Ireland, as the writer of 1820, already quoted, obviously realized. How tenaciously these men of art and song among the Gael managed to cling to their ideals, to their work, and to their local influence in the illegal schools of the people throughout the Penal Epoch, the eighteenth century, may now be read about with much pleasure and enlightenment in the pages of Mr. Daniel Corkery's *Hidden Ireland* (Dublin, 1924).

Primarily for the land of Desmond, the south-western region of Ireland, Mr. Corkery has set out finely the culture of the veritable 'Irish public' of that time, the veritable Irish people who dwelt on the land and bided their time. Into that Gaelic world, instinct with poetry and tradition of Irish law, no 'statesman' of Dublin, no English-minded historian, no one of the line from Swift to Grattan, from Flood to Plunket, from Leland to Lecky, might enter: and that for the best of all reasons, that they were ignorant of it. What did the so-called 'Anglo-Irish' public men know of the true Ireland? Nothing whatever. Mr. Corkery truly points out how the Gaelic people in the days of their oppression kept their own cultural core intact, by covering it over with a protective coat of Englishry. Even so acute an observer as Arthur Young did not find entrance to it. 'The Connells he learned of, the O'Connells he knew not.' Thousands of teachers from the very heart of that hidden Ireland, men nurtured on Gaelic tradition, versed in the work of the Courts of Poetry held in forge and wayside inn and cabin school and ploughman's hut, were available for the local education of the Irish people.

To all these teachers, to their scholars, and to all Gaeldom in

Ireland, the proceedings of the State in Dublin and its alien life, whether before or after 1782, were hardly present. They are scarcely ever alluded to; and no void was thereby experienced. The Irish nation was in constant, direct, and universal contact with the civilization of Flanders, of France, of Spain, Portugal, Italy. Renaissance culture and its analogue in the older Bardic schools were fruitfully absorbed into the one Gaelic people, not by mere blending or by crude fusion, but by that healthy selective assimilation which leaves racial tradition intact.

The schools of the Gaelic nation gave far finer results than those of the English State in Ireland: Howard is in full accord, in 1787, with Pückler-Muskau in 1828. A principal reason of this was the high educational standards of the Irish teachers. They were mostly accomplished Gaelic scholars, accumulators of Irish manuscripts, often able to speak Latin fluently, highly skilled in elementary mathematics, as their excellent text-books, issued in Irish towns from 1780 to 1830, fully prove. Mr. Corkery's valuable study of south-west Munster in the eighteenth century shows clearly how the learning of the Irish nation became universally spread, democratic in its influence, vigorous and splendidly productive at the same period, the hundred years from 1730 to 1830.

The public results of the great 'fondness for learning', attested by friend and by enemy alike during the last half-century of the penal times, were rapidly and strikingly evinced between 1823 and 1825. From 1795 to 1823 the movement for Catholic Emancipation was in the hands of the wealthy and respectable classes. They made no headway, beyond securing the lip-service of a small number of English and Anglo-Irish Whigs, men who were bent on subjecting Catholic Ireland to a new Vetoist Ascendancy. O'Connell had tried to no purpose an abjectly humiliating policy in 1821. Wyse, the historian of the Catholic Association, testifies that in 1822 there was utter dejection and unrelieved gloom among all the Catholics of rank or wealth, in town and in country. In 1823 O'Connell turned in desperation from those on whom he had hitherto depended, and set

out to organize the plain people of Ireland. Educated during the century of the Penal Code in a way still broadly and fully Irish, they responded to his call, organized themselves for the great objective in a way that proved perfectly 'novel' in the eyes of Plunket and Peel, a way that has since their day become the universal model for organized civic action in Europe. No other people in Europe, neither in England nor elsewhere, could have so responded to any leader's call at that time. For that permanent addition to European civilization O'Connell has received marked credit on the Continent from Goethe in 1830 down to Windthorst in 1880; as the representative of the Irish nation, he well deserves it. But without the finely national and entirely democratic education provided for itself for a century beforehand by the one Gaelic Nation of Ireland, a popular culture unsurpassed at that time in the civilized world, O'Connell's adoption of organized popular political action would have been in vain.

The effort of the Irish nation to preserve its distinctive racial, religious, cultural, and political forms, once an effort made under aristocratic leadership, became democratic within the last one hundred and fifty years, and like the national resistance of Poland in the same epoch, has gained in spiritual and material vigour by being democratized more and more down to the present day. That democratic movement has within the last hundred years struggled to recover, for the fullness of our national life, those formative elements of which alien aggression seemed to have finally stripped our persecuted people. Ever more and more conscious of and aiming at its full national rights, the Irish race has by its own political skill, and by the practical aid of the millions of our people abroad—those millions whom the ruling caste rejoiced to see take the way into exile—steadily recovered the elementary rights of religious freedom, social culture, and ownership of the land of our fathers. Cromwell and his followers claimed that they had made Ireland English: to them and to their descendants 'Ireland' meant merely 'the English in Ireland'. We have undone his work; and in the long struggle for our national life we have welded

together for ever the Celt and the Norman in Ireland. That the nationhood of a people is unified, strengthened, and purified by its very trials and reverses, when these are borne with patient courage sustaining what resistance is in the nation's power, as it strives to safeguard its life and tradition, is the lesson taught by the story of the American Revolution, from the gloomy days of Valley Forge on to the triumph of Yorktown. The same result is looked forward to by our own nation: it has had a long night, leading to inevitable day.

Throughout all this struggle to safeguard what is our very own and inalienable right, our nation has, in spite of all alien intrusion, been at one with more than the unity which has never been challenged in the cases of Poland, Bohemia, Belgium, Spain, and Switzerland, and which was unquestioned in the case of the nascent American Commonwealth, within whose borders a cohesive body of 'Tories' and 'Loyalists', active supporters of alien rule and numbering at least one-third of the whole population, found neither separate recognition nor special guarantees, during or after the War of Independence.

But our title to full national rights and attributes does not rest solely on our enduring retention of national life and cultural unity in the past. Self-preservation is the first duty and the first right of a nation; yet as with the individual, so with the nation, life is not given from on high for themselves alone. The world knows that the very finest of our national resources, millions of our young men and women, have left Ireland during the past eighty years, and have gone to build up the great American nation, and those other nations of rich promise in Australia, Argentina, New Zealand, Canada. What these lands have gained has been to us an almost irreparable loss; we have, in less than ninety years, lost half our population, while in neighbouring lands the record of the census has been one of invariable and often great progress. The loss was due not to natural causes or defects, but to the misrule, under which Irish people went forth from Ireland to add to the resources of many nations overseas. Yet even when still under the harrow of persecution, Ireland may justly be said to have given to the civilized world, by

her example and leadership, gifts which enrich those who receive, without impoverishing those who give. Impartial opinion will set down to the credit of the Irish nation some of the important advances in the political, social, and moral order which have been made in the world, especially during the past century. They show in full measure that our people possess not only the right to control their own destinies, but also the aptitudes needful for the wise exercise of such powers.

Political wisdom dictates that a nation should welcome without grudge or jealousy the co-operation of other races in the peaceful development of economic resources. The spirit of narrow racial exclusiveness has never prevailed among the Irish people: their own sufferings taught them to aid and work with other national groups. Their education and culture, while Irish, has always been receptive of European influences. When the Norsemen ceased to aim at domination in Ireland they were made welcome to the enjoyment of our harbours and trade routes, as friendly settlers enjoying their own distinctive polity. The same welcome was ever ready for any of the Norman clan that could cease to exercise the lawless tyranny of the conqueror. When the Irish people twice enjoyed a brief respite from political and religious persecution, in 1642 and in 1689, they worked out twice a plan for full political and religious equality between the various races in Ireland, only to have it twice rejected with scorn by the alien minority, who had bitterly declared it a deadly sin to extend political and religious toleration to the main body of the Irish people. Finally, in the years which followed the downfall of Napoleon, the Irish democracy, though still shackled by the Penal Code, brought to perfection the powerful instrument of political agitation, at a time when the people of Great Britain and of the Continent scarcely knew the meaning of public political meetings and civic agitation for reform. For it was from the democracy of Ireland and from the first political leader of a European democracy, O'Connell, that the masses of the people of England, of France, and of Germany learned how to agitate for their political and social rights.

The political ability of the Irish nation appears with no less

clearness in the successful agitation for social and economic reform, conducted amid severe trials and in spite of every discouragement, during the forty years between the days of Duffy and Lucas, and the days of Parnell and Davitt. In 1842 the English judges in Ireland declared that the tenants of land in Ireland—the main mass of the people—had no rights to the land: and the inhuman clearances of estates which followed appeared to prove the statement true. But by our political effort as a national democracy this has all been changed. The land of Ireland has become the property of the dwellers on and workers on that land; a landlordism alien in its main connexions has disappeared for ever. By further progress the landless labourer of the past has it now fully in his power to secure a share in the soil of his native country. This great social revolution indicates the measure of advance beyond the situation that obtained in the middle of the nineteenth century. Within the five years 1846 to 1850 fully one million people died of 'famine' and of the diseases that followed it; within the same five years over one and a half millions had to emigrate from the land that should have supported them. The land, indeed, had done its part, and so had its people. Every year of that 'Famine' period the workers on our land had produced, in wheat and meat, ample food to supply twice over all the needs of all the people of Ireland.

With our destinies fully in our own hands the recovery of population will begin with fair auspices. For our birth-rate, when scientifically calculated, is still equal to the highest in Europe; and infantile mortality, even in the poorest and most backward region of Ireland, is less than a third of the rate which is the shame of splendid, wealthy, and highly organized cities in Great Britain.

Finally, in the year 1918, we may fairly claim to have given the world proof of moral courage and the national self-respect which should be displayed by every people worthy of its freedom. The drafting of the whole of a nation's vigorous manhood into any war, however righteous in itself, is the most momentous use of civil authority, and cannot be lawful save when done by

the free and clear will of a whole nation acting for and on its own people. That lesson clearly emerges from the history of the Commonwealths of Australia, South Africa, and Canada during the last fourteen years. To the exercise of that extreme act of power by any alien authority, in defiance of a nation's own judgement, it is the duty of every nation to offer the most determined resistance, irrespective of the merits of the conflict in which it is sought to compel them to fight. The nations of the earth have always admired the vindication of the national rights of a little nation, most of all when they are upheld despite the menace of overwhelming material force. By the complete and instant co-operation of many types of political opinion, and by the concerted action of our whole democratic people, safeguarded by authoritative religious and moral guidance, the Irish nation was enabled to vindicate its essential national right. The moral lesson of that exercise of a supreme public duty by the people of Ireland must ever remain.

The main contributions of Ireland to European civilization, medieval, modern, and contemporary, may now be summarized, at the close of this rapid review of the positions taken up during the one hundred years since her educated democracy taught the processes of civic and political action to England and to Europe in the decade 1820-9.

First, she has given the civilized world the essential lesson that any attempt at forcible assimilation, racial or political or religious, of one people by another, ought always to be resisted, even at the expense of centuries of suffering and spoliation in the material and intellectual order. Secondly, the value of local organization of such resistance, as proved by the example of Ireland especially against Northmen and Norman, is even greater than the worth of centralized power, serviceable though that may be for brief periods. Thirdly, even a small people may render great service, especially in religious, intellectual, and military leadership, to the larger national areas of Europe and of the world. Fourthly, the mass of a people is the most reliable source of its own culture, education, and political power: it may at times be aided by, but it should never depend on, the leader-

ship of any aristocracy aloof from popular thought and feeling. Fifthly, a nation's history is never rightly understood even by itself, save by minds in fruitful contact with other national positions and traditions, as standards of comparison and judgement. Sixthly, a nation's life and being must be at once national and fully international, within the range of its own civilization type; at its peril can it be under the intellectual suzerainty of any one other nation; it must be in social contact with the generalized values of many. A true citizen of Ireland is, and always has been, a good European.

THE JEWS IN THE EUROPEAN SYSTEM

By JOSEPH BONSIIVEN

THE JEWS IN THE EUROPEAN SYSTEM

WHAT claim has a chapter on the Judaism of the Dispersion to figure in a history of Christian civilization? A twofold claim! The Jews, dispersed throughout the world, show a distinct civilization, which, dependent in many respects on Christian civilizations, exercises in its turn a certain influence on the civilization of the rest of the world.

Let us observe from the outset that through Christianity, the heir of Israel, our civilization contains numerous elements of Jewish origin, derived above all from the Bible. Considering these elements, certain historians over-estimate the legacy of Israel and its influence on our history, our spiritual and social life.¹

We leave on one side this particular aspect in order to consider the Judaism of the Dispersion only, and not in its history, but in all the cultural manifestations proper to it.

This account will be divided into two parts, corresponding to the two great periods into which the history of Judaism falls. During the first period the Jews, reduced to an inferior social status and compelled to keep to themselves, present distinct collective formations, and, therefore, a particular type of civilization. During the second period, which commences towards the end of the eighteenth century, political emancipation leads to the gradual disappearance of closed groups and the extinction of a collective Jewish life, but also, as an offset, to a more intense development of individuality and the entry of the Jews into the main stream of modern culture.

Part I

THE UNIVERSAL DIFFUSION AND THE UNITY OF JUDAISM

Even before the year 70, Strabo had written that 'the Jews have penetrated into all countries and it is not easy to find, in the whole world, a single place which has not welcomed this race and of which it has not become mistress'. These remarks

¹ These legacies are elaborated in a remarkable volume, *The Legacy of Israel* (Oxford, 1927), of which we have made use. We have also consulted: *Jewish*

were to prove even more true after the Fall of Jerusalem (70) and the bloody crushing of the revolt of Bar-Kokba (135); Jewish slaves abounded in all markets and numbers of eastern Israelites deserted their devastated country.¹

What was the numerical importance of the Jews thus spread over the world? The figures given by Josephus are obviously exaggerated; if it is remembered that in the Middle Ages, according to the estimate of Benjamin de Tudela (1173), the European Jews did not reach a million, we can surmise that in the first century they did not exceed this figure.

The Jews, thus dispersed over the entire world, were unequally distributed; they were found to be more crowded in certain countries, viz. Palestine, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Italy, Spain, southern and north-eastern France, Rhenish Germany, and lastly Poland, Lithuania, and Russia. Such were the successive centres of Jewish civilization.

It is important to note that these Jews were not all authentic descendants of Jacob; they included numerous strangers drawn to the Mosaic religion, either individually or *en masse*, as, for example, the Chazar nation. Thus is explained the existence of the Indian, Chinese, and Abyssinian type of Jew. On the other hand, the Jews were divided into two distinct groups, the Sefardim, the more noble, and the Ashkenazim, the more numerous.

And yet, in their diversity, all these Jews possessed common physical and moral characteristics so numerous that one must regard them as constituting one and the same people.

On what basis is this Jewish unity founded? It cannot be solely on that of race, since Israel is the product of an ethnical fusion. It is a psychological bond that, throughout time and space, maintains the unity of the Jewish nation: the same

Contributions to Civilization, an Estimate by Joseph Jacobs (Philadelphia, 1919). Louis Israel Newman has studied the supposed influences of Judaism on the Reformation and the heresies which prepared the way for it: *Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movement* (New York, 1925).

¹ All information will be found in Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain* (Paris, 1914). We do not agree with the figures at which this author estimates the Jewish population in the first century of Christianity.

aspirations and traditions, the same will to maintain their existence, the same feeling of deep spiritual unity, the same brotherly solidarity—all factors which can be traced back to religion. It is fidelity to religion which constituted the nation and which keeps it alive.

But as the Jewish religion has been from the beginning the religion of a nation and for this reason has taken on national characteristics, it was inevitable that the followers of this religion should find themselves, by that very fact, belonging to the same nation.

It is natural, therefore, that religion should play a preponderating part in Judaism; it involves particular forms of social, civic, and economic laws; it will ever appear in the life of the nation as its most precious and most characteristic treasure.

Religious Life

Without describing this religious life, let us note its most characteristic points.¹

From the time of its constitution as a religious community—a process which commenced with its return from the Captivity—Israel shows itself as an essentially religious race. First, by its inviolable attachment to its religion: many, under Antiochus and under the Roman emperors, died martyrs for their faith; during the Middle Ages, crowds summoned to allow themselves to be baptized, preferred to be butchered, or to die by their own hands. Apostate Jews were to be found, however, especially in countries in which they enjoyed great prosperity; but often these renegades remained secretly faithful to the religion of their fathers, as witness those called the Marranos in Spain.

Fidelity to religion was further manifested by fervent observances, embracing every moment of their existence. That is one of the most distinguishing traits of the Jewish religion. It includes public worship in the Synagogue, a purely lay cult composed of prayers, readings, and sermons. This public worship

¹ The reader is referred for details to the author's work: *On the Ruins of the Temple, or Judaism after Christ* (London, 1930).

is supplemented by domestic worship, absolutely necessary for sustaining the fervour of souls at a proper pitch; it is domestic worship that transforms the home into a sanctuary and multiplies those rites which mark the dominion of God over our lives and our bodies: the peace and joy of the Sabbath, the covenant of circumcision, the style of dress, continuous asceticism in the laws regarding diet and purity. Besides, belief in certain fundamental dogmas was insisted upon—strict monotheism, belief in the choice and the Messianic mission of the people of God.

And throughout the centuries this religion manifests its living force by the way it develops:

Liturgical development; the worship in the Synagogue continues to grow, especially by the addition of prayers and poems, in which we find almost the same language and the same spirit of prayer as in the psalms of the Old Testament:

Disciplinary development, which shows itself in an immense legal literature:

Internal evolution by religious movements; Judaism, so little dogmatic, is a soil as unfavourable to theological progress as to the growth of heresy. It counts, however, one heresy—Caraism (i.e. the cult of the Scriptures). This sect, which had its birth about the year 760, sometimes called the Protestantism of Judaism, rose against the doctrinal authority of the rabbis, whom it accused of misrepresenting the Law. These heretics, always strictly literal in their translations, have enriched Jewish literature with beautiful interpretations of the Scriptures; they did not succeed in shaking the authority of the rabbis.

Although kept within the bounds of practical wisdom by their rabbis, ever distrustful of mysticism, Judaism has known outbreaks of enthusiasm. Faith, always lively with regard to the coming of the Messiah, secured fervent disciples for all those illuminati who proclaimed themselves to be the Messiah. The most typical of these Messianic adventures was that of Shabbati Sevi (1626–75) which disturbed the peace of the whole world.

Mystic enthusiasm manifested itself chiefly in the Cabbala. It responded to the desire which urged ill-balanced souls to seek to penetrate the secret of divine life and to work by magic the

springs controlling the universe. This twofold tendency, already apparent among certain ancient rabbis, has never ceased to grow, being a reaction against Talmudic legalism and the rationalism of the Aristotelians. In the thirteenth century it found its highest expression in the *Zohar* and in a whole literature of its own. The Cabbalistic movement expanded still more, attracting in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Christian savants, such as Pico della Mirandola and Reuchlin, and perfected itself in the teachings of Isaac Luria (1534-72), and of Safed (Palestine), whose doctrines on the exercises, penances, meditations, and prayers intended to produce ecstasy, had an immense success and still number numerous adherents.

Another mystic movement was that of Hassidism, created by Besht (the initials of Baal Shem Tob, 1700-60). This dreamer of Podolia taught his disciples to unite themselves to the divinity which is in each man, by the cult of joy, and to steep themselves in mystic inspiration and ecstasy. The man thus immersed in God, the *Çaddiq* (Just) enjoys a miraculous power. These simple forms, which have none of the aristocratic reserve of the Cabbala, found great favour with the populace in Poland and Central Europe. There still exist crowds of Hassidists, who have recourse to the *Çaddiqs*, or miraculous rabbis, to renew their faith.

Social, Civic, and Political Condition

The relations of the Jews with the nations that admitted them, although varying with the period and the empires concerned, maintain common features throughout, imposed on the one hand by the exigencies of the Mosaic religion and, on the other, by similar social and legal ideas.

It is difficult for us to realize the unique spectacle which the Jews presented, living for centuries in the midst of races, desiring to mingle with them and yet forced to remain foreigners among them.

They kept the double resolve, indeed, not to participate in foreign forms of worship and to practise in its entirety their own exclusive cult: an original position out of harmony with ancient

constitutions, which intimately bound national unity and religious unity together. This peculiar situation was at all times recognized by different States. Roman Law and afterwards Christian Law granted to the Jews the free exercise of their religion and dispensed them from all civic duties which would oblige them to violate it, for example, from *corvées* or forced labour on sabbath days, and from military service.

The division, caused by religious differences, was increased by observances which forbade the Jews unclean contact and in principle removed them from all intimate relationship with strangers—arrangements sanctioned also by the ancient laws.

Another cause of separation was that the Jews lived closely grouped together. Like all emigrants, they tried, in the towns, to take up quarters side by side. In Alexandria they congregated in the Delta quarter. Later the Laws compelled them to crowd into districts reserved for them, variously named according to the country, but generally called 'the Ghetto' (a Venetian term)—in Germany about the thirteenth century, in Avignon in 1344, and in Rome in 1555.

Moreover, the Jews generally were established in autonomous communities, having their own civil and religious authority, their own charitable institutions, schools, and property. They loved this community life, living fraternally within it, and never marrying outside it. The Civil Laws, Roman and Christian, recognized the legal existence of these communities, which before the law enjoyed the rights of private persons. They gave official rank to their heads, styled in the Middle Ages *episcopus* or *Magister Judaeorum*, *Seniores*; their civil, and sometimes their criminal jurisdiction was acknowledged; the community was held responsible for its members and especially for the payment of their taxes.

On the other hand, these communities were considered as a group constituting a true and real nation. With the disappearance, in the year 425, of the Patriarch of Judea, whose authority over Universal Judaism was acquiesced in by Rome, the Jewish people everywhere gave the impression of forming a united and strongly coherent body. In Europe the princes loved to collect

all the Jews of their realm under one official and responsible head.

Being members of a particular nation-religion, the Jews were necessarily treated as foreigners. In the Roman Empire, up to the time of Caracalla (year 212), they were called *peregrini dedititii*; in the Christian kingdoms they were long looked on as citizens of secondary rank or as slaves (*in servitute publica*), having no rights; they were tolerated on the same grounds as pagans or mussulmans. The Church, with true tolerance, always opposed forced conversions and wished that they should practise their own religion, while at the same time she used every means to convert this stiff-necked race.

In spite of the inferiority of their civic status, the Jews were anxious to maintain commercial and friendly relations with those around them and to conform to the customs of their adopted home. They adopted its language, not without corrupting it with Hebrew; hence the widespread Judean Spanish and Yiddish or Judean German. They adapted themselves to the laws of the countries. 'The law of the Empire becomes our law' was a dictum since the days of Mar Samuel (died in 235). Their loyalty to their adopted country was such, and sometimes so cruel, that it imposed on them the painful task of fighting against their co-religionists marching under enemy flags. In Spain at the time of their prosperity, we see them rivalling the caballeros in luxury and in feats of valour. There and elsewhere, princes employed them, on occasion, as ministers, ambassadors, financiers, doctors, and astrologers.

This desire for assimilation was more often rudely repulsed.

Ecclesiastical regulations, sooner or later adopted by Christian States, forbade Christians to intermarry with the Jews, or take part in their festivals or meals. The Jews were forbidden to hold public office, to possess Christian slaves, to have Christian nurses, or to own lands. They were not allowed to appear in public during Holy Week, and they were required to distinguish themselves from the Christians, either by a badge or a *rouelle*, or by the *pileus cornutus* (Germany), or by a special dress. Their evidence was not accepted against a Christian; before Christian

courts they were subjected to the humiliating oath—*more Judaico*. They were crushed with taxes, capitation, donations beyond all that was usual, corporal toll (*Leibzoll*). These various degrading measures made the Jew the pariah of Christian nations.

Moreover, more often than not, the people showed themselves full of animosity towards the Jews. Why? Was it ecclesiastical instigation? No, but the feeling that the Jews belonged to a race radically different and accursed, and then antipathy for their proud and enterprising temperament; to which may be added economic jealousy regarding a formidable competitor.

This hatred manifested itself in and was fed on dreadful accusations: the Jews were traitors ready to betray the Christians; they practised black magic; they killed Christians and used their blood to mix with their unleavened bread at Easter; they profaned the Consecrated Host.

This hatred on the part of the populace broke out on the slightest occasion. Before setting out for the East the crusaders massacred the Jews; when the Black Death ravaged Europe, the report was spread that the Jews had poisoned the wells and there were new hecatombs. In fact this hatred was one of the causes which brought about the complete expulsion of the Israelites from England in 1290, from France in 1394, from Spain in 1492, from Portugal in 1496.

Meanwhile the bishops endeavoured to save the Jews from popular fury; the popes contradicted the accusation of ritual murder. Princes, from selfish reasons, took them under their protection, declaring them their serfs (menials), *servi camerae*, *Kammerknecht*; a favour which often caused additional troubles and new taxes.

Thus, throughout the Middle Ages, the Jew was 'the unclean one, spat upon by all' (Michelet) except in Spain from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, in Provence, to a small extent in Italy, and in Poland. In the sixteenth century the situation improved. Some Spanish and Portuguese Jews, who took refuge in Hamburg, Amsterdam, and Antwerp, acquired riches and were treated with respect; from there they came to England, where Cromwell tolerated them. In Germany, princes making

use of the good offices of certain Jews took them under their protection (*Hofjuden* and *Schutzjuden*), and treated the rest a little better. But, legally, the Jews remained foreigners, exposed to every form of tribulation, outlaws.

Their Position and the Part they played in Economics

The social and civic condition of the Jews—a result of their religious attitude—governed their economic situation. Were they, in this domain, as they have been accused of being, leeches who drained the Christians of their money by usury? Did they, as Werner Sombart alleges, destroy the ancient economic order to procure the arrival of the capitalistic régime?¹

Let us examine the facts! In Palestine Israel was chiefly settled on the land. With the Dispersion, like all exiles, the Jews went to live mostly in the towns, there to earn their living in business or at a trade. East and West, during the early Christian centuries, Jews were to be found in all professions—painters, lawyers, doctors, merchants. A greater number were weavers, dyers, glass-blowers, tailors, silk-weavers; but the majority devoted themselves to business, especially on a small scale. As against a few bankers and ship-owners, we have swarms of dealers in old clothes, jobbers, fortune-tellers, and beggars.

This commercial activity kept on increasing. In the ninth century the Jews appear to have had the monopoly of trade between the East and the West: trade in slaves, spices, precious stones, and other articles of luxury. In the tenth century the possession of Christian slaves and the privilege of corporations being denied them, there only remained open to them, henceforth, the professions of brokers, hawkers, dealers, money-lenders, money-changers. This traffic in money was to become the speciality of the Jews. Their successful trading had put them in possession of vast capital, much in demand at that time. They alone could lend at interest—a practice forbidden by Christian law. Thus they became the accredited money-lenders of the Middle Ages, but competed against by the Lombards, the

¹ *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (Leipzig, 1911). Translation by M. Epstein, 1913: *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*.

Cahourcians, and others. The Jewish usurers charged enormous rates of interest, as was customary at the time; it seems, however, that they sold their money at a lower rate than their rivals.

This calling drew down upon them the hatred and the persecution of the masses. Often they saw their loans cancelled, in part or entirely, by princes or popes; kings despoiled them of their wealth or of a large portion of their profits. It is reckoned that an important portion of the revenues of certain emperors came directly or indirectly from Jewish usury.

Meanwhile, the fortunes amassed by traffic in money were to put the Jews in a position to play an important but not a preponderating role in the evolution of economic affairs. The merchants knew best how to organize their business in order to render it more lucrative, thus putting the system of the old corporations out of gear. The collection of wares of every description in the one shop (called 'bazaar'), quick sales, the selling off of certain articles at reduced prices, advertisement on a large scale, the creation of limited liability companies for the exploitation of industry—all helped them to obtain quicker returns.

From the sixteenth century Jews played a great part in the affairs of important exchanges like Antwerp, Amsterdam, Rouen, Hamburg, Bordeaux, and London. They were conspicuous in traffic in gold, precious stones, and colonial produce. Several became military suppliers, thus gaining entrance to the courts of Germany and France. Meantime, in the Germanic countries and especially in central and eastern Europe, Jewish petty trading developed to such a degree that in certain regions nearly all trade was in Jewish hands.

The capital gained in commerce did not lie unproductive, and thus Israel carved for itself a strong position in the world of finance. Several princes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries took for ministers of finance Jews, who lent them or found them capital. The Jewish bankers, a very numerous body, found no difficulty in adapting themselves to the transition from cash payments to a credit trading system. They were aided in this by their cosmopolitanism and their custom of using trade bills of exchange and paper money. They understood and

adopted the mechanism of joint-stock societies; they became members of the Stock Exchanges. Certain banks of theirs such as those of Rothschild, Stein, Oppenheim, &c., became international banks. The end of the eighteenth century was for Jewish finance the period of its rise to power.

Literary and Artistic Production

Israel, 'the People of the Book', has always professed a sincere love of study; its communities have never ceased to accept the heaviest sacrifices in order to maintain schools of various degrees. It was, and still is, the most lettered race of all. It is, therefore, not surprising that it has produced an immense literature, one that touches on all subjects.

The field which had been cultivated from the most ancient times and with the greatest joy was that of legislation: the rabbis were essentially doctors of law. Their decisions and the scholastic disputes which they directed are recorded in the two Talmuds—the Palestinian and the Babylonian. These collections of rules and judgements cover the whole field of sacred and profane knowledge. The Talmud has remained the fundamental book which they never tire of quoting and expounding. From the deliberations of renowned doctors have come the various collections of 'Questions and Answers'. In short, this immense juridical material has been condensed into systematized works and codes.

The Holy Scriptures were also the object of pious and scientific study. Their first concern was to fix and collate the text and determine its pronunciation: this was the work of the Massora (Tradition) which was completed only in the tenth century. The original language of the Scriptures being no longer understood by the masses, translations—certain ones official—were compiled in Aramaic and in Greek. The oratorical or legal commentaries gave rise to the Midrashim (Commentaries)—a series of dissertations by various authors (thrown together) of no exegetic value. It was through contact with the Arabs that we have the beginnings of Jewish philology: textual interpretations, grammars, and dictionaries.

Intercourse with the Arabs promoted another kind of religious literature: the theological exposition, in which Jewish doctrines are propounded in systematic form, defended against objections and brought into harmony with Greek philosophy. In spite of their enormous differences the Cabbalistic treatises, which have their origin in The Midrash and in philosophy, can be ranged side by side.

It was as disciples of the Arabs indeed that the Jews developed their scientific knowledge, already well advanced; they rose to be masters of physical and natural sciences, and of mathematics. It is chiefly through this channel that Europe learnt to know the numeration, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, of the Indians and the Greeks. Graeco-Arabic astronomy progressed in their hands; they established, and kept up to date, the first astronomical tables, called at first Tables of Toledo (1070), then Alphonsine Tables (after Alphonsus the Tenth of Castile, 1252-84); those of Abraham Zacuto were used by Christopher Columbus. They perfected the astrolabe, called *quadrans Judaicus*. They also made out navigation charts for the Mediterranean. Being astronomers they were necessarily also astrologers; many Christians of note had recourse to their services.

Still oftener were they employed as doctors. They transmitted to Europe the great works of Graeco-Arabic medicine, and many of them were practitioners of merit, professors of the faculty at Padua and Montpellier, and attached to the person of sultans, popes, and kings.

Jewish literature includes also productions of purely literary value, such as poetry, restored and remodelled upon Arab poetry.

From the multitude of Jewish writers we can scarcely give more than a few names; the greater number of the authors distinguished themselves in several of the aforementioned branches; they flourished almost solely during periods and in countries where the Jews enjoyed peace and prosperity.¹

¹ Texts and notices are to be found in E. Fleg, *Anthologie juive*, 2 vols., Paris, 1923. Translation: *The Jewish Anthology* (New York, 1925).

Saadia ben Joseph (892-942), was one of the first to write in Arabic and to take into consideration the Graeco-Arabic philosophy. He annotated the Cabbalistic book of *The Creation*, and composed the treatise of *Beliefs and Opinions*, a systematic and apologetic exposition of Judaism.

Samuel Halevi (or Hannagid, the Prince, 900-1055), Minister to the Caliph Habous in Granada, the Maecenas of Jewish writers, wrote an introduction to the Talmud, a work of broad intellectual outlook, and a remarkable Hebrew Grammar.

Solomon ibn Gabirol (a Spaniard, 1021-69), a serious and melancholy poet, a Neoplatonic philosopher, was celebrated especially among Christians for his book, *The Source of Life*.

The Duties of the Heart, by Bahia ibn Paquda, a judge in Saragossa (end of the eleventh century), is still read. It is remarkable for its lofty moral teaching. Rif or R. Isaac ben Jacob Alfassi (1013-1113) is celebrated for his clear and practical résumé of the Talmud. The *Dictionary of the Talmud*, by Nathan, a Roman (1101), remains the basis of all works of this kind. The collections of sermons by the Provençal, Moses Haddarshan (the Preacher, beginning of the eleventh century), are widely known.

If Spain abounded in talent at the time, the Rhenish countries and north-eastern France had doctors and rabbinical schools of great authority. Let us mention Gershom ben Juda (960-1030), surnamed the Light of Exile, celebrated for his commentaries on the Talmud, his broad-minded decisions, his interpretations of the Scriptures, and his work as a lexicographer. Rashi or R. Shelomo ben Isaac, of Troyes (1040-1105), wrote copious annotations of the Talmud, which are still used, and a commentary on the Scriptures which is reasonable, edifying, and legendary all at once, and which succeeding generations continue to consult.

Juda Halevi, a Spaniard (1085-1140), the greatest Jewish lyric poet, a passionate admirer of Palestine, a philosopher who had kept the faith, left, in his *Khozari*, an apology for Judaism, directed at the same time against Rationalism, Christianity, and Islamism.

Abraham ben Meir ibn Ezra, a Spaniard (1092-1167), very learned and of rationalistic leanings, wrote treatises on grammar, a philosophical work, the *Yesod Mora*, commentaries on the Scriptures with a critical outlook, and sacred and other poems. He was known among Christians as a mathematician under the name of Abraham Judaeus or Avenare.

Maïmonides, or Moses ben Maïmon, born at Cordova in 1135, died at Old-Cairo in 1204, turned out to be the greatest of these great minds. A famous physicist and doctor, a theologian and a jurist, he tried to reduce to order Jewish legislation, by his commentaries on the *Mishna* and by his *Mishne Tora* (a recital of the Law), which methodically expounded dogmatic and practical doctrine. As a philosopher, he attempted, in his *Guide to the Perplexed*, to reconcile Jewish faith with Aristotle, not without naturalizing Revelation. His legal and philosophic works were passionately attacked and defended in Jewish learned circles.

We may note the Kimhi family—grammarians—of whom the most remarkable is David Kimhi (Redak, 1160-1232), with his Biblical commentaries, his grammatical and lexicographical works, and the Tibbons (twelfth to fourteenth centuries), a family of translators.

R. Moses ben Nahman, of Gerona (Ramban, 1200-72), whose works bear on his many professions, was a doctor, a poet, a philosopher, exegetist, talmudist, and cabbalist. Shelomo ben Abraham ben Adereth, of Barcelona (1234-1310), drew up a collection of 3,000 replies on all subjects and a Talmudic code.

Together with its legal, exegetic, and philosophic researches the thirteenth century saw in Spain and in Provence the development of Cabbalistic speculation, especially by way of opposition to rationalistic philosophy. In Worms, Eleazar ben Juda had distinguished himself before this by his esoteric teachings and the loftiness of his moral standards. Joseph ben Abraham Gikatilla (a Castilian, 1248-1305), in his *Guinnat Egoz* (Garden of Walnut Trees), rejected philosophy for revelation and mysticism.

Abraham ben Samuel Abulafia, of Saragossa (1240-92), ascetic and ecstatic, who posed as the Messiah, sought for divine

union by mystic contemplation. Towards 1287, Moses ben Shemtob de Leon edited the *Zohar* (Splendour), which became the inspired book of the Cabbala. It is a compilation of fragments gathered together from various periods, and presents, in the form of Jewish pictures and traditions and in a crude mass of maxims on all created and uncreated beings, theories which are allied to Neoplatonism.

The period following this is one of decadence, which produced many mediocre writers; poets abounded, who, after the fashion of the period, wrote fables, *fabliaux*, tales, songs, love poems, and didactic works. We may mention Juda ben Shelomo Alharizi, of Granada (thirteenth century), whose *Tahkemoni*, which treats of God and Nature, is well known, and Immanuel ben Shelomo, of Rome (1270-1330), a very prolific writer of pleasing inspiration and an imitator of Dante.

Levi ben Gershom, of Bagnols, in Languedoc (1288-1344), who cultivated every branch of learning, shows naturalistic tendencies in his philosophic works, especially in his *Wars of the Lord* (against the Lord, said his opponents).

Let us point out a very representative man, Isaac ben Juda Abrabanel (1437-1508), adviser and minister of Alphonso the Fifth of Portugal, and of Ferdinand the Catholic, banished in 1492. A pious and liberal-minded man, cultured, skilled even in Christian Scholasticism, he is of interest not so much for his Aristotelian and religious philosophy as for his clear and balanced commentaries on the Bible.

From this period on we have a dull 'Middle Age' which produces little original work. The Talmud was studied, especially in Poland, where the best pupils could hope to make a rich marriage. In the East a profound study both of the Law and of the Cabbala was undertaken. It was at Safed that Joseph Caro (1488-1575) drew up the *Shulhan Aruk* (or 'the Table arranged'), a legal code which remains a classic. It summarized the *Arba Turim* (or Four Files) of Jacob ben Asher (1340). It was at Safed also that Isaac Luria worked out his Cabbalistic system, which was spread abroad by his disciple Haim Vital (1543-1620).

Grammarians flourished, amongst others Elias Levita (Elia ben Asher Halevi, 1472-1549), who came to Italy from Nuremberg. In Italy at this time there were numerous Jewish scholars and writers, such as Azaria ben Mose de Rossi (1514-78), founder of the science of archaeology and of Biblical and historical criticism among the Jews.

Must we rank amongst Jewish philosophers Spinoza, who was excommunicated by the Synagogue? It seems that he was somewhat influenced by Maimonides, by Levi ben Gershom, and above all by Hasdai Crescas (1340-1410), an opponent of Aristotelianism and an upholder of a kind of Determinism.

Is there such a thing as Jewish art? As a general rule, Israel has adopted the artistic forms of other peoples. The Temple of Herod and the ancient Palestinian synagogues belong to the Hellenistic style. The two beautiful synagogues of Toledo of the fourteenth century are inspired by Arabic art. Some originality and a somewhat national style are revealed in the synagogues of Poland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They are of wood and stone with paintings of an original kind.

As far as we can reproduce the music of the Jews in the Middle Ages, it has been ascertained that it was influenced by the musical forms and melodies in existence around them, but slowly. It was late in adopting polyphony, and a personal note ever characterized the Jewish songs.

We see that in the domain of intellectual life Judaism only showed real originality when dealing with religious subjects, and then, in proportion as it continued in the footsteps of the ancient rabbis. For all that bordered on profane culture or a mixture of the profane and the religious, the Jews did not show themselves creators properly so called. They learned the first principles of the sciences and of philosophy from those amongst whom they dwelt, merely elaborating these in a more or less individual fashion. Within these limits intellects of great talent or genius, numerous amongst this lettered race, have produced valuable works that have enriched the intellectual patrimony of humanity and have exerted an influence on intellectual development.

Legacies of Judaism in the Intellectual Order

The Jews have played in this domain, as in all others, the role of intermediaries: they brought to the Western world the intellectual riches of the Greeks, which the Arabs had restored to circulation, cultivated and turned to account for religious ends.

The Middle Ages were very partial to Graeco-Arabic writings, but could only read them in translations. Many of these translations were done by Christians, who, knowing only Western languages, were aided by Spanish Jews. A greater number are the works of Jews. Jewish literature comprises quite a library of translations, many, like those of the Tibbons, only into Hebrew, others into the Romance languages. These translations bear quite as much on works of astronomy and medicine as on philosophy.

We find amongst these translators Pierre Alphonsi and Jean de Seville (Hispalensis), converted Jews. This last, known also under the name of Avendeth, often had as collaborator Dominicus Gundissalinus, the Archpriest of Segovia, by whom Arab thought was expounded. Amongst the professional translators of the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries are also Farrachius (Farradj ben Salim, of Girgenti), Moses of Palermo, Kalonymos ben Kalonymos, Elie Delmedigo, Abraham de Balmes, Jacob Mantino.

Through these channels Christendom was put in possession of Graeco-Arabic sciences and philosophy. Moreover, the doctors of scholastic philosophy profited in particular by the works in which the thinkers of Islam and of Judaism attempted to harmonize the philosophy of the Ancients with monotheistic revelation. Thus, obliquely, Jewish philosophers have exercised an influence on Christian theology.

The first teacher to reveal Jewish influence is Guillaume d'Auvergne (died Bishop of Paris in 1249). Well acquainted with all Jewish literature, he quoted and made use of Maimonides and showed a special regard for Avicbron, whom he believed to be both an Arab and a Christian, since he professed the doctrine of the Logos. Ibn Gabirol enjoyed a like esteem in

the Franciscan school, by reason of his Neoplatonism and his conception of matter as a component part of all, even spiritual, creatures—a theory rejected by the Dominican school since Albert the Great.

The last mentioned, and still more his disciple Saint Thomas Aquinas, followers of Aristotle, both made abundant use of Maïmonides. It has been possible to say that 'without Maïmonides we would have neither Albert the Great nor Saint Thomas' and that 'Maïmonides has been the Teacher of the whole Middle Ages'. It is certain that the Scholastics drew inspiration from his theories on the Creation, on the distinction between the sphere of reason and that of faith, on the knowledge of God, on Providence, and other theories; and yet on these and other points they did not hesitate to criticize and reject him.

Christian doctors also quote R. Isaac ben Salomo Israel, a doctor of medicine (died about the middle of the tenth century).

At the end of the Middle Ages, and during the following centuries, the Christians still quote the great philosophers of Judaism, but they study rather its scholars, its philologists, and the Cabbalists.

Very early in Church history a need was felt for a knowledge of Hebrew in order the better to understand the Old Testament. To this end it was necessary to have recourse to the learning of the Jews. We know what Origen and St. Jerome owe to them. The few doctors of the Middle Ages who occupied themselves with the *Veritas Hebraica* also had recourse to Jewish scholars; as did Rhaban Maur (775–856) for his commentaries on the Books of the Kings, and Stephen Harding (1060–1134) for his revision of the Latin text of the Bible. The Hebrew professors were, naturally, converted Jews, for instance, Paul de Burgos (1351–1433). The Jews also contributed to the setting up of certain versions of the Bible in the vernacular, for example, that called after the House of Alba (about 1422), and to the composition of glosses, species of dictionaries, giving the meaning of the Hebrew words. We can guess that both Raymond Martin (thirteenth century) for his *Pugio fidei*, a work well documented, and Nicholas of Lyra (1279–1340), who profited

largely by the works of Rashi in his commentaries, utilized Jewish erudition.

If the Middle Ages were but little skilled in Hebrew, the Renaissance brought about a revival of Hebraic study. Chairs of Hebrew were created in the great universities. These were rarely occupied by Jews, but the latter helped in the study of Hebrew by becoming teachers of the language and by co-operating with the printers—mostly Christian—who began to publish books in Hebrew. Pico della Mirandola and Reuchlin (the first Christian to compile a Hebrew grammar) were initiated by the Jews into a knowledge of the Holy Tongue and also to the Cabbala. Elia Levita, the founder of modern Hebrew grammar (1468–1549), taught Hebrew to Cardinal Aegidius of Viterbo and to other prelates, and became the collaborator of Bomberg and Fagius in editing Hebrew volumes. Thus grammars, dictionaries, and commentaries multiplied and were spread abroad, permitting of an easier and more exact study of Hebrew.

The Protestants, by reason of their Humanist leanings, and their cult of the Scriptures, took an important part in the study of Hebrew. Hence on this head an influence on the Reformation has been attributed to Judaism, and the saying is oft repeated: 'Si Lyra non lyrasset, Luther non saltasset' ('But for the music of Nicholas of Lyra, Luther would never have danced'). It is true that Luther studied the commentaries of Nicholas, who was inspired by Rashi. This, however, is a very insignificant factor and one which is far from having played a decisive role in the birth of the Reformation.

Part II

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Israel as a whole was reduced to a sort of political and intellectual pupillage. Except in a few countries they were treated as second-rate citizens, almost complete outlaws, and, far from participating in intellectual progress, they jealously confined themselves within the narrow circle of Rabbinical studies. From this status of one under age, Israel was about to find itself gradually emancipated.

Here we have a revolution a good deal more alarming than the destruction of the Jewish State in 70, because Israel was now about to gain possession of absolutely new forms of life, without analogy in its previous history. Accordingly, for a century and a half Judaism found itself in a state of instability, exposed to endless fluctuations, and to modifications more numerous and far-reaching than all those it had encountered during the four thousand years of its existence.

Political Emancipation

Several factors helped to bring this about. First, that liberalism which was irresistibly gaining public opinion. The representatives of this new spirit, Lessing and Mirabeau, claimed 'complete civic liberty' for a race which was then producing enlightened spirits such as Moses Mendelssohn and the brilliant Jewish society of Berlin. On the other hand, the financial and economic services rendered by eminent Jews prevented their compatriots from being maintained in their humiliating state of exclusion.

In several countries liberal measures had already been taken in favour of the Jews. In America, where they had been allowed to become citizens since 1740, they were, after 1776, granted complete religious liberty. In 1787 Prussia repealed the law of corporal toll or *Leibzoll*.

France was the first country in Europe to grant political emancipation to the Jews. The Constituent Assembly abolished the exceptional measures which pressed heavily on them and decreed 'that they should enjoy the full rights of citizenship' (27 September 1791). Napoleon, after assuring himself that the Jewish law was not in opposition to French law, established the religious status for Jews in France, counting Judaism among the recognized religions (1808). Civic equality was fully achieved in 1846 by the suppression of the oath *more Judaico*.

Let us recall the saying of Count de Clermont-Tonnerre in 1791 which exactly expressed the spirit in which the French State, and then others, granted emancipation: 'To the Jews, as a Nation, nothing, to the Jews as individuals, everything.' Such

a formula sounded the death-knell of Jewish communities, and of that traditional 'particularism' which had up to that time safeguarded their religion; therefore, one can see why pious Jews looked with dread on the 'formidable gift of emancipation'.

According as the triumphant French Revolution spread from country to country it proclaimed all around political equality for the Jews; but this was in great part undone by the reaction of 1815. Gradually, however, and above all under the impulse of the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, nations emancipated their Jewish subjects, not without taking every precaution to break their 'particularism' (with its claim for distinctive treatment): Denmark in 1849, Austria in 1867, Germany in 1871, the Balkans in 1874. In England the Bills passed in 1830 and after by the House of Commons, recognizing the civic equality of the Jews, were several times thrown out by the Lords. It was only in 1858 that the exemption from the Christian oath allowed them to sit for Parliament. Rumania, in spite of the injunctions of the Congress of Berlin (1878), long continued, by virtue of a legal fiction, to consider the Jews as foreigners. In Russia, confined within the 'Pale of Settlement', fettered with many civic disqualifications, molested in very many ways, they attained political equality through the revolution of 1917.

The total number of the Jews actually living in the world is about 16 millions, which is an increase of 6 millions on the figures of 1900. A considerable increase is also noticeable since the beginning of the nineteenth century: the first fruits of emancipation.

Let us mention the countries which possess a large Jewish contingent or a Jewish population of more than 1 per cent.: the United States of America, 4,350,000 (3·6 per cent.); Poland, 3,000,000 (10·4 per cent.); Russia-in-Europe, 2,700,000 (1·9 per cent.); Rumania, 1,130,000 (6·2 per cent.); Germany, 560,000 (0·93 per cent.); Hungary, 485,000 (5·9 per cent.); Czechoslovakia, 375,000 (2·6 per cent.); England, 300,000 (0·7 per cent.); Austria, 285,000 (4·6 per cent.); France, 250,000 (0·7 per cent.); Argentine, 250,000 (1·4 per cent.); Canada, 170,000 (1·4 per cent.); Lithuania, 160,000 (7·6 per

cent.); Greece, 120,000 (2.2 per cent.); Holland, 120,000 (1.7 per cent.); Latvia, 94,388 (5.0 per cent.); Turkey-in-Europe, 58,000 (4.7 per cent.); Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, 310,000 (from 1.3 to 5.6 per cent.); Palestine, 172,000 (11.07 per cent.); Iraq, 100,000 (3.1 per cent.).

All these Jews, by virtue of the laws and constitutions of each country, enjoy civic and political equality. Do they, to the same extent, enjoy social equality? Or else, do their fellow citizens look upon them as people of inferior rank or, if not, as a race imperfectly assimilated to the bulk of the nation?

Therein lies the Jewish question. A like question arises about every ethnical group that seeks to incorporate itself within a nation already constituted; can it bow to the requirements of any and every national unity, that is to say, eliminate those personal characteristics that are incompatible with the features common to a whole nation and merge into the main stream of unification its 'particularisms' (peculiarities which single out (Jewish) civilization instinctively seeking shelter, privilege, &c.)? In other words, can it be assimilated? Assimilation will be the more difficult according as the group is more compact and, possessing a decided culture of its own, wishes to preserve that culture and its 'particularism'.

The Jewish question came into existence several thousands of years ago, from the time when the Jews, more or less voluntarily, left Palestine and began to live among other nations. Up to the time of the emancipation, the problem was solved, or at least was unnoticed, since the Jews remained foreigners, forming autonomous communities, living in the midst of, but apart from, the people among whom they dwelt. The question has become acute only since the Jews obtained political equality.

The Jews, on their side, have perfectly understood and admitted this need of assimilation. Loyal they have endeavoured to conform their lives and hearts to the type predominating around them. Have their efforts met with success? Are they, in the different countries, considered and treated as members of the same family? Has social equality followed political equality?

Religious State

Assimilation, brought about by emancipation, first touched their religious life. It led numbers of Jews to Christianity, some of them because they saw in it a ticket of admission to European high society and a means of access to public office. This denying of their religion was excused and made easy by the rationalism, indifference, and would-be philosophy then in vogue in the educated classes. Many of these deserters from Judaism never gave up a sincere attachment to their former co-religionists.

By mixed marriages—although forbidden by the rabbis—Christianity has also gained a number of Israelites, either the Jewish spouse or more often the children. Statistics from Germany show that, of 100 Jewish marriages, 30 are mixed and 77 per cent. of the children of these unions are brought up as Christians.

The movement for conversion to Christianity (amongst the Jews) was aided by the intense propaganda carried on by the Churches, especially of the Protestant denominations. It was helped also by the advantages afforded in Russia to 'Christian Jews'.

It is noticeable that in Germany conversions to Christianity were abundant especially during three periods: at the end of the eighteenth century within Mendelssohn's intimate circle, strongly rationalist; after 1815 during the anti-revolutionary reaction; and from 1880 to 1900, when anti-semitism was raging.

It is estimated that about 224,000 Jews became Christians in the course of the nineteenth century.

More numerous were, and are, those who fell into more or less complete indifference, often going as far as desertion of their faith. The reasons for this desertion are various. The removal of the bond and restraint of community life: life in the midst of Christian society rendered fidelity to traditional customs practically impossible; rationalistic or deistic ideas: the disciples of Mendelssohn preached a natural religion needing no dogmatic definition; the contagion of indifference and of irreligion—later, in certain Socialist parties, hatred of all religion. Jews who have

more or less abandoned their religion are chiefly found in countries where emancipation is of ancient date and where community life is no longer known. This evil of religious desolation hit emigrants more particularly.

In another direction religious assimilation has led to reform and a more liberal spirit. From 1816 at Berlin, and from 1817 at Hamburg, lay Jews undertook to reform the religious ceremonies and to render them more aesthetic, more in harmony with modern culture. Drawing inspiration from the Christian rite they introduced into the Synagogue mixed choirs, the organ, sermons and prayers in German, the practice of confirmation. They pruned prayers which were too long and which had become unintelligible. Soon the reforming spirit attacked the beliefs: Messianic texts, those of a national tinge, were struck out of the liturgical books. In spite of the protests and the excommunication by the orthodox rabbis, these innovations were largely adopted, even in the temples known as conservative. In Germany, in England, and above all in America, reforming or liberal societies were formed, which completed the trail blazed by the first reformers. So, in American reformed communities, which owe so much to the rabbis Wise, religious meetings were held on Sundays, prayers were said with heads uncovered, faith in a personal Messiah was rejected, and in the Resurrection of the dead. Since 1927 there exists an International Union of Jewish Liberalism.

This is the end, then, of the religious unity and integrity of Judaism. From this point of view it is divided into four categories: on the left, the indifferent or those without religion, and also the liberals who tend towards a purely natural religion; on the right, the orthodox, ever decreasing; between them the great majority of Jews who are still religious—the traditionalists or conservatives who retain almost all the traditional beliefs and practices, but tempered with a grain of dogmatic liberalism and of liturgical reform.

Social Condition

From the religious point of view, emancipation has been fatal

to Judaism; has social equality been worth such a loss to the Jews? Hardly freed from the Ghetto, they have thrown themselves into modern life with a sort of frenzy, striving to differ in no way from the people who admitted them; yet in many countries they are still looked upon as citizens of an inferior type, not altogether up to the hundred-per-cent. standard required. How can we explain the continued refusal to accept this offer of themselves made by the Jews? Does the offer contain reservations? What reactions does it call forth?

As an example of complete social assimilation let us take the Jewish emigrant from central Europe. Before long he will dispense with his greatcoat and cut his hair and beard; he will lose no time in learning the language of his new home, often speaking it accurately and with elegance; frequently enough he will reach the front rank amongst the literary and learned men of his adopted country, and take part in its economic, political, and spiritual life.

As a patriot he will be outdone by none; he becomes a naturalized citizen, often changing even his name. Many declaring themselves no longer belonging to the Jewish nation will not even hear of such a thing as Jewish nationality, Judaism being for them merely a religious denomination. For some time the title Jew was rejected for that of Israelite. The Jews have proved the sincerity of their patriotism by submitting loyally to military service and by fighting bravely on the field of battle, often against their kindred. It has been observed that in nationalist displays the banners are frequently carried by Jews.

Is it possible for the Jews to advance farther along the road of national assimilation? They give, nevertheless, the impression of being still not like the rest. Why?

Let us first observe that national mentality is made up of a thousand imponderable elements which are neither acquired nor shed in a few generations. It follows that, however sincere and extended their social assimilation may be, the Jews cannot, without a fairly long acclimatization, substitute the new self for the old.

Must they be condemned to break up their community life—

a way of living so dear to them and so advantageous? For in all the towns of the world the Jews love to live side by side and associate by preference, and almost exclusively, with each other. Many continue to use their Yiddish jargon amongst themselves. It has been noted that there are in the United States more than eighty periodicals in that language. They also maintain a behaviour and way of living which recall central Europe rather than the western countries where they dwell. Two-thirds of their marriages are contracted with co-religionists, which show them to be a tribe both inaccessible and endogamous (marrying within kindred). These are perfectly legitimate particularisms, but they do not fail to differentiate and isolate them as a people.

Besides, the close co-operation practised by the Jews is remarkable. They help their needy co-religionists, they rush to the defence of their molested brethren, they support each other and push each other into better positions. Their national and international mutual aid societies are innumerable; for instance, the Jewish Universal Alliance (1860) which protects oppressed Jews and maintains schools in the near East and in Africa; the Joint Foreign Committee founded for like purposes, in 1878, by the Board of Deputies of British Jews, &c. These works show a great sense of brotherhood and charity, but they also point to a strongly constituted body.

Moreover, have not the Jews the right, if not the duty, to maintain their ethnical group, their nation, in all its integrity? That is the burning question of Jewish nationality. The first Israelites to be absorbed in the country of their adoption presented Judaism, not as a nation but as a religion. Great numbers of conservative Jews still maintain this attitude, and similarly, the greater number of liberals and socialists or communists, who deny the national element.

But, as a reaction against anti-semitism, influenced later by the reawakening of national spirit which followed the Great War, and stimulated by the enthusiasms and the success of Zionism, many Jews have demanded for their race the title of Nation and all the rights of nationality. After the emancipation of the individual the emancipation of the nation. But how?

On the subject of the realization of such a project opinions are divided. The Zionists hold that the Jewish nation can exist only if it possesses an autonomous state and a centre of Jewish culture in Palestine. Others claim a 'territorial and extra-territorial autonomy'. Others, such as Dubnow, a 'Kultur-autonomy', and many there are who want specific Jewish culture maintained and developed. This tendency rejoices in the creation of Jewish national minorities, stipulated in the Treaties of 1920. These clauses do not aim at Jews alone, but it has been insinuated that they were introduced at their suggestion and for their benefit. They add to the religious liberty secured by the Congress of Berlin, national liberty, perpetuated by the right to possess teaching institutions and charitable foundations, to use their national language (Yiddish, in central Europe) and by some other privileges, varying with the countries. The Committee of Jewish delegations see that these rights are respected.

If we admit the right of the Jewish groups to live their own national life, must not the result be interference and distrust on the part of the nation that shelters them, especially in these times of violent nationalism?

The Jews reply, proving by analogies, that their state and aspirations are legitimate. They at times cite the example of other races dispersed throughout the world: the Irish and the Armenians. The Zionists lay down that it is possible to profess absolute patriotism for one's adopted country and to love Israel with a particular love as the spiritual fatherland, or the virtual fatherland of which one may some day be a citizen. Every Jew would have his *patrie* (fatherland) and also his *matrie* (motherland) (word coined by Ittamar ben Air in *L'Enclave*) just as the Catholics, English, French, or German by *patrie* have as *matrie* the Vatican City. The example of the Catholics was readily cited, showing that their supra-national religion never prevents them from remaining citizens of their respective nations. Finally, many liken Judaism to a sort of provincial regionalism: one could be English and Jew, French and Jew, just as one was British and Welsh, or French and Breton. It would be possible to show how very inexact these analogies are, but the

variety and insufficiency of the interpretations reveal again the peculiarity of the Jewish problem.

Professions, Economic and Political Activities

The Jews appear to be also peculiar in the matter of professions. This peculiarity was more marked at the beginning of the nineteenth century, though it is not greatly diminished at the present day.

Let us first consider the Jews numbering about seven-eighths of the lower classes who live in an inferior status on the fruit of their labours. At the beginning of the last century, in central and eastern Europe, where they were principally concentrated, the Jews generally lived in towns. They engaged in agriculture on a very small scale, though it was the occupation of 90 per cent. of those around them. But they applied themselves to commerce in all its branches (in the proportion of about 70 per cent. where the native population counted only 2 per cent. of traders), and carried on several small trades and industries which demanded little or no muscular effort (20 per cent., as against 2-3 per cent. of the native population in the same callings).

They had, in fact, the monopoly of trade.

According as emancipation drove Israel towards the West and changed its condition in central Europe, the distribution of the several professions or occupations was somewhat modified. As yet, very few, hardly a twentieth part, devote themselves to agriculture. The latter are found principally in Soviet Russia, in the Argentine, and in Palestine. Artisans and manual labourers represent a fourth of the Jewish population of Germany, a third in Russia and Poland, and one half in the United States of America. It is to be noted that few of these workers are employed in large factories; most of them work in shops, small manufactories, or on their own. They are rarely found engaged in basic industries but rather in further transforming manufactured materials, in developing trades, such as clothing or food. Small shopkeepers, or middlemen of different kinds, according to the district, still constitute the half or the third part of the Jewish population. In this category we must also

place a great number of people living by very vague occupations, making money in all sorts of ways, those called by Nordau *Luftmenschen* ('Men of the Air'), living on the borders of starvation and beggary.

We see, from this distribution among the different callings, that the Jews differ from the people around them: they are confined to more precarious ways of earning their living, and thus, are the first to be hit by economic crises. On the other hand, the Jewish workman stands out from his class by sterling qualities; as a rule he is better educated, has greater ingenuity and greater determination to find out new sources of income. His endurance and sobriety enable him to live on little, to economize in order to better himself and his children, and to rise from the proletariat to the middle class.

Among the Jews, the proportion of the middle class is much greater than among any other race: about an eighth or a tenth. The Jews, proud and conscious of their own worth, cling to independence and a certain respectability. Within this middle class are marshalled bankers, big merchants and manufacturers, men of the liberal professions, both lucrative and honourable, and also smaller folk like teachers, business agents, and musicians who are particularly numerous in Poland.

In the Jewish middle class the highest rank is occupied by the lords of finance and trade and of big business. They represent a power. Are they, as is readily believed, masters of the gold of the world and hence masters of the world itself?

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, in the capital cities and in big financial centres, numerous Jewish houses found themselves in command of considerable capital. In London in the beginning of the eighteenth century there were about 100 Jewish financiers possessed of an annual income of from £1,000 to £2,000. People like the Mendes da Costa, Moses Hart, Aaron Francks, Baron d'Aguilar, &c. Those financiers took advantage of circumstances favourable to the development of capitalism. They increased their banking prestige by the opening of international banks, or by combining several houses into one large firm, or by the creation of immense credit establishments. These

banks finance States, great public and private enterprises, and engage in speculation. The Jews are a considerable force in international high finance. It was Jewish financiers in London who helped to make London the hub of the world's money markets. Later, the Jews are found on the New York and other exchanges, benefiting enormously by the prosperity of the United States. If it cannot be said that they hold the monopoly of banking, it appears certain that all the big banks are affiliated to Jewish houses, that Jews direct a very great number of banking concerns (in Munich in 1907, 30 per cent.), and that they control, to a great extent, the traffic in money.

Following an ineluctable law of the capitalist system, several Jewish financiers have been induced to embark on industrial enterprises or to exercise a controlling influence over them. In Germany the industries controlled by Jews are numerous; let us mention Emil Rathenau, a big manufacturer and financial genius. In England we find Sir Ernest Cassel, who, among other daring enterprises, undertook the financing of the damming of the Nile; Lord Melchett, who founded and directed the colossal English chemical trust; Sir Hugo Hirst, one of the heads of the English electrical industry. Sir Robert Waley Cohen holds a high post in the running of the 'Shell' petroleum concern, founded by Viscount Bearsted (Marcus Samuel).

In trade the Jews share in big business or they own numerous first-class concerns.

And here we may mention the Press, an instrument both profitable and influential; from the outset the Jews understood its role in our civilization.

In the seventeenth century there appeared in Amsterdam the first Jewish periodical, entitled *The Indian Gazette*. After emancipation especially, publications of every type and tendency intended solely for Jews increased. It was reckoned in 1929 that the Jewish periodicals published since 1667 and distributed throughout seventy countries, reached the impressive total of 5,000. They were composed mostly in Yiddish but also in German, English, and Hebrew.

It is natural, likewise, that the Jews should try to gain for

themselves the lion's share in the world's Press which governs public opinion. The anti-semites accuse them of dominating it altogether, which is an exaggeration. The American and English Press magnates, Hearst and Lord Rothermere, are not Jews. But in this domain, as in so many others, if they are not masters, they wield a power out of all proportion to their inferior numbers. In Germany and central Europe the houses of Mosse, Ulstein, and concerns depending on them, give them a wide influence; in England we may mention the Reading-Alfred Mond group; in America the Pulitzer publications.

Israel possesses immense power in the economic world. Does that mean the gold of the world is almost entirely in the hands of Jews, thus conferring on them universal hegemony? Statistics show that numbers of Jews in every country possess very great fortunes, but not the major part of the wealth. In the United States of America over thirty Jews pay more than ten thousand dollars income-tax. Nevertheless, the big banks and great commercial and industrial undertakings belong to non-Jews. Statistics for 1905 (James Burnley's) count eight Jews amongst the holders of the greatest wealth. They include A. Beit of South Africa, the richest man in the world, and five members of the Rothschild family, which shows the power of this House, the most representative type of great Jewish finance.

The middle-class Jews also crowd the liberal professions—doctors, lawyers, magistrates, officers, men of letters, and professors: we find them in numbers out of all proportion to their non-Jewish compatriots.

In consequence, numerous Jews and Jewesses flock to the universities and institutions for higher education; the biggest contingent comes from central Europe. In certain countries, as, for example, Hungary and the Ukraine, the percentage of Jewish students in proportion to the whole body of students has often exceeded 40 per cent. These proportions have alarmed the anti-semites in certain countries, always on the alert, and have entailed the establishment, in law or fact, of the *numerus clausus*, which obliges many young people to go to pursue their studies in more friendly lands. But learning, like university

degrees, is far from being an assured means of livelihood; and thus their ardour for study has largely contributed to increasing the sceptical, bitter, and dissatisfied type of Jew of no-man's-land, ready to revolt against Society. Many of these malcontents find an outlet in politics.

For, in their country of habitat, as soon as they had the right, the Jews took part in political struggles, which promised them fortune and influence. We find Jews in Parliament in France since 1826, in Germany and Austria since 1848, in England only since 1858. What was and what is their policy?

The Jewish policy is to defend their brethren at home and abroad, and to secure for them their full civic rights. In France, in 1870, Cremieux got the title of 'citizen' granted to the Algerian Jews. Frequently Jewish members of Parliament have urged their Government to mediate with other Governments in favour of their persecuted co-religionists.

For the rest, they fight in the ranks of the various political parties. Although there are Conservatives amongst Jewish parliamentarians, it seems that they have a preference for the advanced parties: in France, they are found principally on the Left; in England they are divided as follows: Conservatives 16, Liberal 21, Labour 3 (from 1858 to 1930).

The Jews are often accused of playing a preponderating role in the birth and development of Socialism and Communism. What truth is there in this? Some Jews like to assert that their race is socialist by instinct, swayed in that direction by the Mosaic Law—assertions which are not mere literary formulae. As a matter of fact, the founders of Socialism are of Jewish origin, Marx and Lassalle as well as some disciples of Saint Simon, their precursors. But Lassalle declared that he hated Jews, and Marx used to identify Judaism and Capitalism. Nor does it seem that the hope for the Messiah or the Jewish spirit in any way inspired their theories.

Very numerous, however, especially in central Europe, are the Jews professing Socialism. Their poverty-stricken condition predestined them to this. Of the lowest classes, condemned to badly paid work, shut out from taking part in great enterprises,

despised and persecuted, they were bound to turn to the party that promised them liberty and equality. At Vilna in 1897 the *Bund*, a Jewish Socialist Party, was founded and affiliated to international socialism. In Russia, the *Bund* has gone over to Communism and continues to exercise great influence on Polish Jewish workers. Other Jewish Socialist groups have been formed, the most characteristic of which is that of the *Poale Zion* (Toilers of Zion), which combines Socialism with Zionism.

A large number of Jews, particularly among the young folk, are followers of Communism. In Russia they form a special group called the *Jewsekzia*. We also find Communists in Palestine, and in all countries where the Jewish proletariat live in wretched circumstances.

Contributing its share to Socialism and Communism, Israel is bound to be found in revolutions also; it does figure therein, not as author, but as profiteer. In France, in 1789, Jews are noted in the Clubs of Paris; they are to be found in the insurrections of 1830, in the movements of 1848, and in the *Commune* of 1871. In Germany, in 1918, we find them on the soldiers' councils, and in Hungary we have Bela-Kun and his gang. In Russia as early as 1905 they had ranged themselves on the side of the opposition and committed political outrages; in 1917 they were enthusiastic followers of Kerenski, then of Lenin, who granted them full political equality. Similarly with Bolshevism, they did not create it, but they exploited it; they make their appearance, in great numbers, on all its governing bodies: Socialists, often outlaws, they were obviously destined for this part in life; besides, being usually the only educated ones, they were bound to play an important role. The greatest of these Bolsheviks are known to us under Russian names: Joffe, a member of the Central Council; Zinoviev (Apfelbaum), the President of the Third International; Trotsky (Bronstein), Kemanew (Rosenfeld), Radek (Sobelsohn), &c. The Soviet régime recognizes Judaism as a nation; it admits Yiddish and reserves to the Jews certain industries and agricultural undertakings; but it persecutes the Jewish religion and disestablishes the Synagogues.

The Jews in Literature, Science, and Art

Until towards the end of the eighteenth century the Jews had lived aloof from European culture: literature and the profane sciences were anathema. Intellectual emancipation begins with Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86). A keen mind in a stunted body, he soon travelled outside Rabbinical studies and discovered German literature and learning and made them his own. Arriving in Berlin, he became the friend of Lessing and associated with the writers and scholars of the period. His dialogue, *Phaedon, or The Immortality of the Soul*, made him famous in all the centres of culture in Europe. He was also daring enough to translate the Bible into German, a novelty which the orthodox rabbis anathematized. In his last work, *Jerusalem, or The Religious Empire and Judaism*, he gave an exposition of Judaism which is philosophic, anti-dogmatic, and frankly liberal in tone, but written in a sincerely religious strain. This example found numerous imitators: many Jews, grown rich, and anxious to get out of the Ghetto, wanted to get in contact with modern civilization and to mix with Christians. As a result, in Berlin and in Germany generally, religious indifference became widespread, though not a few adopted Christianity; at the same time an intense intellectual movement arose. This movement took the name of *Haskala* (intelligence): it was an attempt to combine Judaism and the literary creations of a non-Jewish medium in an endeavour to produce a new type of Jewish culture. From this time we have a Jewish literature and learning which form part of world civilization and possibly exercise a certain influence on it.

The Jewish authors wrote either solely for their compatriots in Hebrew or Yiddish, or for foreigners in the vernacular.

After their emancipation the educated Jews devoted their energies to restoring Hebrew literature, which movement was helped on also by the growth of nationalism and of Zionism. Hebrew became again a living language and is taught as such in certain universities. In this idiom, somewhat different from the language of the Bible, all possible subjects were treated.

Amongst the most renowned Hebrew literary men, let us mention Hartwig Wessely (1725-1805), Bialik (1873), and Asher Gunzberg (1856) who took the Hebrew name of Achad Haam.¹

Yiddish literature is still more developed, finding readers among the Jewish masses of central Europe; and here it is that Jewish mentality shows at its keenest. This literature, now cultivated by writers of talent, was influenced by the currents which made their appearance in the important literatures of Europe. The most celebrated names are those of Mendele Moicher Surim (1836-1917), Isaac Leib Perez (1851-1915), Sholem Aleichem (1859-1920), and Scholem Asch (1881).

Intellectual emancipation has called forth a revival of Jewish learning. Religious science has been studied anew, but in a more critical way. It has received a fresh impetus from the creation of numerous rabbinical seminaries, which happily replace the old *Yeshivot*, and from the foundation of societies and of periodicals given over to the study of Judaic learning. We find solid historical works produced, works of philology and of philosophy, enriching the wealth of human knowledge. Let us mention a few names to be remembered: the originator of the science of Judaism, Zunz (1794-1886), Samson R. Hirsch (1808-88), Moritz Lazarus (1824-1903), Solomon Schechter (1850-1915), who have produced lasting works on Jewish theology. History has been studied especially by Abraham Geiger (1810-74), Leo Graetz (1817-91). The study of Hebrew philology was furthered by Samuel David Luzzatto (1800-65), Alexander Kohut (1842-94), Eliezer ben Jehuda (1858-1922). The teachings of the rabbis were made accessible by Solomon Juda Rapoport (1790-1867) and Wilhelm Bacher (1850-1913). These are merely a few names of deceased savants; their task is brilliantly carried on by a legion of scholars.

In the field of profane knowledge innumerable Jews have won for themselves an illustrious name; but, if by blood they belong to Israel, they do not in intellectual outlook differ from their non-Jewish colleagues. Jewish philosophers abound: Solomon

¹ For this literature see *The Jewish Anthology* (Fleg), already cited.

Maimon (1754-1800), Hermann Cohen, somewhat Jewish in his intellectual upbringing and his religious philosophy (1842-1918), the sociologists, Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, Henri Bergson, the two Gomperz, Edmund Husserl, the founder of phenomenology, the well-known Freud. It is said also that the Jews have a special gift for mathematics: let us mention George Cantor (1845-1918), Albert Einstein (theory of relativity), Adolf Fränkel and J. Hadamard (theory of numbers). Let us name amongst the physicists P. Th. Riess (1805-83), Heinrich Hertz (1857-94), Albert Michelson (optics); amongst the chemists, Karl Th. Leibermann (1842-1914), L. Baeyer and A. Nobel, Jews on the maternal side, the Caros, Heinrich (1834-1910) and Nikodem (artificial manures). Innumerable also are the Jewish doctors famous as practitioners or scholars: Wasserman, Ludwig Traube, Lebert, Widal, Flexner.

Pure literature holds too high a place in our world for the Jews to have neglected to seek renown therein, and celebrated writers of Jewish origin are numerous in all the European languages and in Arabic. Nevertheless, such a thing as a Jewish literature can hardly be said to exist, but there are many Jewish men of letters writing in French, English, German, &c., and adopting as their own current ideas and methods. Rare are those who, keeping in touch with the soul of their race, reflect its genius, such as, in England, the epic and impassioned storyteller Israel Zangwill (1864-1926), in France, the sensitive poet Edmond Fleg (1874), in Germany, Stephan Zweig (1881), a man of talent both powerful and suggestive. Others, more numerous, handle Jewish subjects and problems: Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), Bernard Lazare (1805-1903), the spirited poet, André Spire (1868), the American essayist and novelist, Waldo Frank (1889), &c. We must give up enumerating—they are too numerous.

We must take particular notice of one department of literature—the Theatre. It is not the illustrious Jewish actors, nor the Jewish theatre—Hebrew or Yiddish—which continues to take on a personal character more and more marked, but the Jewish

authors who write dramatic works in various languages for our theatres. They are accused of having endeavoured, by their works, to contribute towards moral corruption and to destroy Christianity, still animating our civilization.¹ Let us remark first, with Fleg, that their drama is not specifically Jewish; it cannot be distinguished from what is in vogue on the modern stage. The contemporary theatre is not indeed a school of morality. Can it be said that Henri Bernstein, realist that he is, and Henri Duvernois (Schwabacher, 1875-1931), the friend of the mentally unbalanced, and Fernand Nozière (1874-1931), Pierre Wolff, Porto-Riche, de Croisset of the same school and others are more tainted than the average contemporary French dramatic author?

Equally numerous are the Jews who have devoted themselves to artistic creation. Can we speak of a Jewish art?

We can enumerate a great number of Jewish musicians of note, if not of the first rank; but all adhere to the existing schools and the tendencies in musical circles around them, even when, like Meyerbeer, Halevy, or Mendelssohn, they handle Biblical subjects. And where is the Hebrew note in Offenbach, Mahler, or Stravinsky revealed? There exists, however, a movement tending to create, within the terms of modern music, a Jewish national music, whether like that of Milhaud, inspired by Jewish themes, or like that of Ernest Bloch, expressing the Jewish spirit.

With regard to the plastic arts, can we discern any individual character in the numerous modern Jewish productions? To an unprejudiced observer it does not seem that Chagall embodies in his personages the Jewish nature with its mystery and its restlessness.

All that strikes one is the pitiless realism in the characterization and representation of Jewish types (Mane Katz, Jozef Israels). Taken as a whole, the painters rarely rid themselves of the influence of the schools and the reigning styles. This want of originality is even more noticeable in sculpture which, as well, counts fewer great Jewish artists: Antokolski (1842-1902)

¹ See *The Jewish Theatre in the World*, Paris, 1931, for opinions by Fleg and other critics on the Jewish theatre.

never gets away from academic tradition, and it is difficult to see any Semitic characteristics in the statues of Aronson.

This rapid survey of the various activities of the Jews shows that, in all these domains, they occupy a place and wield an influence out of all proportion to their numbers compared with the rest of humanity. It could be said that, roughly speaking, they represent one per cent. of the world's population, or two per cent. of those connected with European culture, while they hold more than thirty per cent. of its financial and economic power and a like proportion of intellectual influence. These are the facts, which brought to light, have fomented anti-semitism, a phenomenon which no one may ignore in a study of Judaism.

Anti-semitism

Hatred of the Jews, reaching back to olden times (e.g. in Susa against Esther, in Alexandria in the time of Philo), endemic throughout the Middle Ages, and still existing in Poland and in Russia, assumed the form of a regular doctrine in Germany towards 1880, under the title of anti-semitism.

It was at this time that the theory of races was propagated and the belief in the superiority of the Germanic race as the highest type in the Aryan family. The Semitic race appeared, on the other hand, as an antagonist who must be mercilessly fought. This racial consideration will be seen to increase in vigour after the War, which intensified nationalism. Besides, the Jews were accused of taking part in destructive politics in order to destroy the existing order and on its ruins to establish Jewish hegemony. In 1878 they were the allies of the liberals against Bismarck, during the Great War they conspired against the Fatherland and later made a compact with the revolutionary party. They are accused, moreover, of dominating the world by means of their financial power and of wanting to secure an Empire entirely their own. Lastly, they, together with freemasonry—which, it is said, they control—are accused of deliberately working to corrupt our civilization by means of the press and the theatre.

All these reproaches are embodied in a pamphlet, which was

circulated throughout all countries after the War: *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.¹ A document composed, it was said, by certain Jews and communicated to 'the most influential and most highly initiated leaders of Freemasonry, which with extraordinary precision and clearness describes the plan and development of a sinister world-wide conspiracy having for its object that of bringing the unregenerate world to its inevitable dismemberment'. A document altogether spurious which was, at first, widely accepted.

This anti-semitism, originating in Germany, developed amongst the middle class and amongst the students; after a slight lull towards 1900, it broke out again during the War and the years that followed. The numerous nationalist parties which were organized, particularly the 'National-Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei' of Hitler, declared as an essential feature of their programme that they would give no quarter to the Jews; and, under the sign of the svastika (*Hakenkreuz*), there were frequent outrages perpetrated against the property and the burial-grounds of the Jews.

Active anti-semitism starts again in all the countries of eastern Europe, more especially in Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Rumania.

In the whole Russian Empire the Jews were almost always the object of vexatious measures which culminated in the massacres and looting of the pogroms. Accordingly, numerous Jews emigrated to the United States of America, and a small number to England, France, and the Argentine. Even after the War, the masses lost no chance of molesting the Jews. In Poland neither the terms of the treaties nor the intervention of the Great Powers could prevent persecution at the hands of the common people, pogroms, or measures banishing the Jews from public employment and rendering their economic situation harsh in the extreme. In Hungary the reprisals against the cruelties of Bela-Kun brought about years of the White Terror and the *numerus clausus*. In Rumania the Jews, treated as foreigners,

¹ The Jewish Peril, *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, 3rd ed., London, 1920. The quotation is taken from page iii of the Introduction.

often found their rights restricted; in 1907 they were the first victims of the agrarian troubles; and they are still often molested by the students.

In France anti-semitism, which was very widespread, thanks to the intense propaganda of Drumont (1886) and to the nationalist exploitation of the Dreyfus affair, never showed itself violently, if we except Algeria. It confined itself to press campaigns and to rousing public opinion. The wave of anti-semitism hardly touched England. The United States of America, the land of liberty, which possesses the largest Jewish colony in the world, finally, however, yielded to the general movement; certain hotels and clubs were closed to the Jews; they were pursued by the Klu-Klux-Klan; and the violent anti-semitic campaign launched and then withdrawn by Ford (1927) still finds an echo.

The anti-semitic movements have produced unexpected results in Jewish circles. If some Jews have taken flight and concealed themselves, others have made a bold stand: recapturing their love and pride of race, they have formed, through public opinion and by forcible means, associations for self-defence against the plots of their enemies. It is indeed the reaction against anti-semitism that has given rise to the present-day Zionism.

Zionism

Love for the land of Israel has always been deep rooted in the Jewish heart. Many are the Jews who went to live and die in Jerusalem. Already in 1862 Moses Hess had, in his *Rome and Jerusalem*, outlined what was to become later Zionism.

But Zionism only came actually to life with Theodore Herzl (1860-1904). This writer, indifferent enough to Judaism, was the Paris correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, at the time of the anti-Jewish demonstrations that followed the Dreyfus affair. Feeling himself recaptured by Judaism, he thought over the Jewish question and concluded that it could only be solved by the establishment of an autonomous Jewish State, guaranteed by the Great Powers. He explained his idea and the plan of the future State in the *Jewish State* (1896); and, man of action that

he was, he undertook to win the Jewish masses and the various Governments to the cause. When he died, worn out by his labours, he had gained numerous and ardent adherents amongst his kindred, and he left in existence the first sketch of a Zionist organization, which tried some timid experiments in Palestine.

These experiments were swept away by the War, but the Zionist leaders, in particular Chaim Weizmann and Nahum Sokolow, interceded with the Allied Powers, with the result that Balfour made a declaration promising 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people . . . it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country' (2 November 1917). This declaration was incorporated in the Treaty of San Remo (1920); and England, in accepting the mandate for Palestine, promised to make the national home for the Jewish people a reality. But from the time of the entrance of the allied armies into Jerusalem Zionism was in active operation (March 1918). Here, after thirteen years of labour, is the balance sheet showing the results of its efforts.

All those who pay the shekel (from 1 to 2 shillings) are Zionists—their number has reached 800,000. They recognize, as supreme authority, the Congress which meets every two years and which consists of their delegates. Congress elects two Committees: the Action Committee, which is the trustee of the authority of the Congress; the Executive which directs colonization activities. The Jewish Agency, lately admitting non-Zionist members to the number of one half, is charged with mustering the immense resources necessitated by the undertaking.

What has been accomplished is not the Jewish State dreamt of by Herzl but a home for Jews: the Jews have the right to settle in Palestine, to live their own lives in their own way there; Hebrew, as well as English and Arabic, is one of the official languages. The revisionists, or political Zionists, protest against this state of things.

In 1919 there were in Palestine 60,000 Jews, most of them hostile to Zionism. It was thus necessary to bring convinced Zionists into the Land of Israel; thanks to a systematic immigration organization, 107,941 Jews came into Palestine from 1920 to 1928, a third of whom left again. This excessive rush led to unemployment and a slackening-off of immigration. These Zionists were recruited principally from central and eastern Europe. Many were students, nearly all won over to Socialism or to Communism.

The aim of Zionism was to found a home of Jewish culture in Palestine. From an economic standpoint appreciable results have been attained. In a few years, a modern town, Tell-Aviv, has arisen. It counts nearly 40,000 inhabitants. Industries have been launched, but the scarcity of raw materials does not promise a brilliant future. The electrification of the Jordan by Ruthenberg gives an idea of the great ambitions of the Zionists. The Jewish workers, to the number of 25,000, are grouped in a Socialist organization (*Histadruth Haklalit*) and the co-operative establishments belonging to it. The standard of living and comfort has risen considerably. Courageous volunteers, the *Halūṣīm*, or pioneers, devote themselves to making roads and clearing the swamps. For Zionism wishes to bring Israel back to agriculture, and, with this end in view, has purchased land from the Arabs in favourable districts which, while remaining the property of the *Keren Kayyemet* (National Exchequer), are given to Jewish families or to collectivist groups who, with the help of the *Keren Hayessod* (Settlement Fund), improve the soil. Zionist farmers hardly exceed 7,000, and it is notable that the farms of the communistic type do not pay, are not self-supporting, and are kept worse than the holdings which accept the law of private property.

From the cultural point of view must be mentioned the founding of hospitals, dispensaries, and other institutions for relief, by which the Arabs also benefit, numerous schools of every rank, and, above all, the University of Jerusalem. A symbol of the Zionists' aims, this institution of higher education (the first stone was laid the 24th July 1918, and the opening

ceremony performed the 1st April 1925) aims at being a centre for the diffusion of Jewish culture all over Israel, the new Temple to which all peoples will flock.

Further fruits of Zionism: it has restored to numbers of Jews the consciousness that they are a powerful race; it has revived Hebrew as a living language, spoken in Palestine and finding favour in European Jewish circles.

But Zionism is still far from having fully attained its aims, viz. to give the Jews a fatherland and to restore their culture. The Jews won over to Zionism are only a minority, and of this minority very few would agree to leave their comfortable homes for the wilderness of Palestine. Many Jews, either assimilated to their surroundings or Socialists, regard with disfavour this nationalist enterprise. The culture that flowers in some regions of Palestine is Jewish only by reason of language, national sentiment, and the return to some traditional institutions, such as the Sabbath; for all the rest it is closely allied to modern culture. How could it be really Jewish since it renounces the fundamental element of Judaism, religion? Because, with the exception of a small minority of the *Misrahis*, the Zionists in general have no religion or are irreligious. Besides, what influence could some 80,000 Jews wield, people about to be dominated ever more and more by the soil and the struggle to earn their daily bread?

In addition to this, Zionism seems for some time to be paralysed if not arrested in its development. The loudly proclaimed desire of the Zionists to secure their hegemony in Palestine, and their first seizure of lands and of government, irritated the Arabs. This was followed in 1921 by a skirmish between the Bedouins and the Jewish colonists. By 1929 Arab agitation and massacres had taken on alarming proportions. In consequence the mandatory Power practically closed the door to Jewish immigrants and limited their purchases of land. For an indefinite period, therefore, Zionism is retarded in its progress and reduced to proportions that render the fulfilment of its dreams of nationhood and national civilization out of the question.

Conclusion

Every effort to make a close study of the Jewish people leads to this brief conclusion: they are a unique people. Unique in their great qualities. Unique by reason of their temperament, which condemns them to an inability to separate religion and nationality. Unique because they alone live scattered over the face of the earth and still preserve their unity and their sense of nationality. Unique because restless, they still vainly strive to realize their dream of nationhood. Unique in the fertility of their activities, though they display their originality on the religious field only. Unique because, though they have strained every nerve to merge themselves in other peoples, they have always been repulsed because of their desire to remain eternally themselves. Unique in their power and influence, a power which never fails to draw upon them implacable hatred. In short, a people unique in their perpetuity and their continual growth. In like conditions, how many other races have disappeared without hope of return! Israel persists, eternal, ever more numerous and more powerful, but ever trammelled in her impulse towards dominion. This uniqueness is an enigma, which, inevitably, demands as an explanation some mysterious plan of the Almighty.

THE EUROPEAN TRADITION IN LITERATURE
FROM 1600 ONWARDS

By DESMOND MacCARTHY

THE EUROPEAN TRADITION IN LITERATURE FROM 1600 ONWARDS

I

THE literature of any country can be studied either as a national product or as a part of European culture. If it is impossible to imagine a Cervantes who was not a Spaniard, a Racine who was not a Frenchman, a Shakespeare who was not English, a Goethe who was not German, a Tolstoy who was not Russian, it is still more impossible to conceive any one of them existing outside Europe. The traditions in accordance with which every notable writer has written have seldom been, except in the earliest ages, entirely the creation of his own people. However national in spirit his work has been, it has also drawn upon a common stock of associations, conventions, beliefs. A pedigree can be found for every writer, and though in any particular case his immediate literary forebears may be his own countrymen, and these may have never consciously borrowed from abroad, sooner or later the tree of his descent will be found to be branching all over Europe. Though a large part of the history of the literature of any particular country consists in tracing a national tradition running through its poetry, prose, and drama, literary history is also inevitably occupied in tracing either direct foreign influence, or kinship with some still older tradition supporting equally both the influence and the influenced. No one has dreamt of detecting European influence in so national an author as Dickens, whose form descends direct from Fielding and Smollett; yet that form, the 'picaresque' novel, had its origin in Spain. It began to find its way towards England via France and Scarron in the seventeenth century, whose most famous follower, Le Sage, when he wrote *Gil Blas* at the beginning of the eighteenth century, thus set the model for those English novelists who in turn served as models for Dickens. Again, no writer could well be more 'English' in feeling and diction than Dryden, yet the stamp of his French contemporaries is deep upon his work; while those

French contemporaries derived the principles of their art from Greek and Latin authors to whom Dryden also looked for authority. This is a familiar example of both influencers and influenced ultimately resting upon one tradition.

Scholars of all nations have spent their lives in following the threads which link up the literatures of different countries. Though the curse of Babel has not been lifted, it has been perpetually overcome, and poets in different tongues and in different ages are found following the same rules of thought, exposition, and melody. The wider the learning of the critic the more likely are his studies to reveal interconnexions between European writers. One of the most learned and exact of literary scholars (and not only of modern times), the late W. P. Ker, intended to write a book on what is only one small branch of this vast subject, namely, on the Measures of Modern Poetry. From what he has left, from scattered passages in his lectures and essays, it is clear that this book would have shown that the same magical life of the spirit of verse springs up everywhere and that these echoes travel over prodigious distances.

My treatise will, I think, bring out some curious things, not generally known [he said in his inaugural lecture as Professor of Poetry at Oxford (1920)] of the same sort as the well ascertained and widespread influence of the Italian *Canzone* on the solemn odes of many languages. . . . My story will begin with the Venerable Bede, the first Englishman to write on prosody. Ages before the English took to the measures of modern verse Bede explained in Latin how it would be done. He shows the difference between learned and popular, metrical and rhythmical verse; how without respect for quantity the measure of strict verse may be imitated, and how the rustic licence of popular poets may be used by artists in poetry. He gives the rule of the trochaic tetrameter; trochaic and tetrameter still, he reckons it, even when the rules of metrical quantity are neglected:

*Apparebit repentina
dies magna Domini*

A thousand years later the tune of it takes the mind of Dr. Johnson, and he sings:

Long-expected one and twenty,
Ling'ring year, at length is flown:
Pride and pleasure, pomp and plenty,
Great *Sir John*, are now your own.

Loosen'd from the minor's tether,
Free to mortgage or to sell,
Wild as wind and light as feather,
Bid the sons of thrift farewell.

It appears first in modern poetry in William of Poitiers. His authorship of Burns's favourite stanza is well known. He also uses this, the verse of *A Toccata* of Galuppi, combined with the verse of *Love among the Ruins*.

For a thousand years in Christendom [Ker concluded] the art of Poetry has lived on the old forms of rhythmical verse, derived, some of them obviously, others otherwise, from the metres of Greek and Latin, with the help of musical tunes.

Well, if this is true merely of the forms of rhythmical verse, how formidable would be the task of tracing continuity of tradition both in prose and drama, and in their content of thought and feeling, all down the ages! The above quotation from Ker brings home the vastness of such a theme as it might be handled by a great scholar. My object, however, is only to suggest to the general reader the nature of that tradition to which literature in every country has from time to time appealed, and to prompt him to ask such questions as these: Is there a tradition in literature which can be called European as distinguished from the sum of national traditions? If so, whence did it spring, and how was it fed? And if it has changed in the course of time, when did the main changes occur?

It will be seen that such a theme even if treated in the most cursory fashion is far beyond the scope of the short essay, and that all that can be done in such an essay is to put together a few generalizations, in hope of stimulating speculation and sending the reader to sources where his desire for knowledge may be better satisfied. The essayist cannot give even a skeleton account of the part played by European tradition in the literature of

different countries, its influence upon their literary forms, and (since form and substance are inextricable) its influence on the minds of many countries. Such an outline would read like the chapter headings of a History of European Literature. The utmost he can possibly hope to do, having indicated the sources of that tradition, is to measure the degree to which different literary periods in various countries have either drifted away from it, or on the other hand been saturated in it. And even then the extent of that drift or that indebtedness may be impossible to compare, for on the one hand a particular author may be saturated in the ancient classics and yet ignore the classical sense of proportion, or he may accept tradition in religion and yet work contrary to the spirit of it. Indeed, such an author meets us on the threshold of the period covered by this essay—Montaigne. Few writers have been more dependent for substance on classical authors, yet his 'foolish notion of painting himself', as Pascal called it, had no warrant in antiquity: though it is precisely that 'foolish notion' which made him in his turn a European classic and the father of the personal essay. Again, Montaigne may be said to be the first of those Catholic writers who were not Christians: who were attached to Rome but indifferent to Christ. Shall we, then, label Montaigne as a deviator from European tradition or as an upholder of it? He can be interpreted as either the one or the other. This ambiguity is characteristic not only of many authors when considered separately but also of the periods at which they wrote. In every period a future and a past contend. But in some what is called progress has meant a return to antiquity; that is to say in art and literature a return to the standards of Greece and Rome, in philosophy and religion to Christianity.

European literature begins with Homer, though Homer had his predecessors. That this is a fact of great significance appears the moment we compare the literature of Europe with that of some other civilization. European literature began with epic poetry on a large scale, in which the whole life of man was

reflected: with the *drama* of his relation to his fellow men, to his state, to the earth, to the gods, even to that darkness of which, when half-personified, Zeus himself was afraid. Warriors, peasants, kings, sailors, counsellors, pass before us in Homer; old men and young, royal ladies, noble wives and daughters, even as Mr. Mackail has noted, such humble, bitter creatures as that poor maid-servant in Ithaca who, because she was weaker than her companions, had to grind barley through the night while they rested. These figures pass before us in a world bright, relentless, and serene. What unforgettable characters there are among them, each recognizable as himself or herself, to all men who have lived since: towards whom men have turned whenever they have wished to remind themselves of human dignity and greatness.

The magnificence of the Homeric great man is . . . equally marked off from the pusillanimity and cheapness of popular morality on the one hand, and from the ostentation of Oriental or chivalrous society on the other. And these figures are made individual through their dramatic conduct and their speeches which vary with the story, and with their moods and circumstances. The story is not pure romance, it is a dramatic monologue; and the character of the speaker has more part than the wonder of the story in the silence that falls on the listeners when the story comes to an end.¹

It was natural, therefore, that Greek drama should grow out of Homer (Aristotle speaks of the Homeric epic as the fountain-head of Greek tragedy), and that Greek lyrical poetry should do so too, which in spirit, though not in form, is often dramatic. Virgil, Dante, Chaucer, and Milton, our great epic and narrative poets, are obviously descended from Homer, but what is not so immediately obvious, though reflection shows that it is true, is that our lyric poetry would have been different had it not inherited from Homer this particular interest. We become aware of this dramatic treatment of emotion in European lyric poetry the moment we compare it with the poetry of non-European civilization: with the Chinese for example. Chinese

¹ W. P. Ker, *Epic and Romance*.

poetry represents a very high degree of literary culture. There are Chinese poems which are not inferior in directness, simplicity, and sincerity to the work of European poets, but the range of thought and subject-matter in them is far more limited. The Chinese poet almost invariably confines himself to statements of fact or of sensation. It is inconceivable that a Chinese poet should have written anything like *The Divine Comedy*, or Shakespeare's poetry, or *Paradise Lost*, the lyrics of Keats or Shelley, of Villon or Victor Hugo: lyrics in which dramatic emotion is present, either overtly as it is in *La Belle Dame sans Merci* or in a ballad by Villon, or implicitly as in the rapturous rush of emotion in Marvell's address *To his Coy Mistress*. Chinese poetry is in contrast purely contemplative. It is made up of quiet, subtle touches (their painters have a proverb, 'One touch and it is spring'), and this poetry is dependent upon unity of mood in description, and their verse forms are of necessity brief. Europe, too, has poems of this kind; Goethe's stanza is an example.

Über allen Gipfeln
Ist Ruh,
In allen Wipfeln
Spürest du
Kaum einen Hauch;
Die Vöglein schweigen im Walde
Warte nur, balde
Ruhest du auch.

This poem, famous for its blending scene with mood, is not unlike a Chinese poem; but it is typical of only a small portion of European poetry. The importance of European literature having begun with Homer, that is to say with narrative dramatically told, can hardly be over-estimated in defining the nature of European literary tradition. It was this fact that decreed the range and vitality of our poetry, and stimulated also the arts of rhetoric and structure which are so essential to sustaining movement throughout any long poem, or for that matter to bringing even short poems up to the highest emotional pitch.

The subject of the influence of the Greeks is, indeed,

inexhaustible. Not only have the forms they invented for the expression of emotion in poetry, the ode of Pindar, the pastoral idyll of Theocritus, the song of Anacreon, the epigram pathetic or descriptive, the elegy, filtered into the literature of every European language; but Greece is also the origin of the models which historians, biographers, orators, and dramatists have followed. Our essays in literary criticism date from Aristotle; our fabulists from Aesop (the Indian fables of Pilpay did not circulate till later); even such slight literary forms as the 'Character Sketch' in which La Bruyère excelled, and in seventeenth-century England were so popular (Earle's, Butler's, Overbury's portraits) were anticipated by Theophrastus; Swift, Voltaire, Heine, and the second Samuel Butler, when they used the satirical dialogue or the ironical story of imaginary adventure, were descendants of Lucian, whose *True History* is an example of that device of pretending seriousness while recounting the preposterous, of which European satirists have made such frequent use.

The influence of Greece, either directly, or indirectly through Latin writers who adopted the metres of the Greeks and their modes of expression, is, then, the fundamental fact in the history of European culture. It is the first answer to the question: What was it that gave European literature its character? And that answer implies that European literature began with a great epic wherein the life of man in its variety was dramatically depicted. (Mr. R. C. Trevelyan has argued this point in an unpublished lecture.)

The literary qualities of the Greeks were in harmony with their sculpture and architecture; their literature was restrained, balanced, and lucid, and when their literature dealt with profundities it remained simple and direct. These are the canons implicit in the literary spirit of 'Hellenism'. What else that word conveys can only be touched on here. Greece was also the birthplace of Science and of rational Ethics: the study of what pertains to the art of life and to the self-knowledge implied in that art. The Greeks were the first men of science and the first European philosophers. Their men of science made pene-

trating guesses and discovered the scientific method, but it was their philosophers, not their scientists—Aristotle and Plato—whose authority coloured subsequent thought in Europe. The Greek men of science reached at a stride the conception of the dynamic unity of nature, but it was not till a thousand years later that the guesses of Democritus (if we pass over Lucretius's acceptance of his atomic theory from the hands of Epicurus) began to influence European literature profoundly, later discoveries having by that time accumulated and fallen gradually into a system. Although neither Descartes nor Newton ever professed to correct the religious interpretation of the world, the effect of seventeenth-century physics upon European literature was marked. Here then is one of the answers to the question, At what date did European tradition seem to change? Though it was not until the nineteenth century, when the conception of Darwinian Evolution arose, that the *imagination* of Europeans (for where literature is concerned the stress is always on that word) began to conceive of man as merely an incident in one huge natural process.

In between the tentative scientific speculations of the Greeks and those of modern science, there had intervened an event of immeasurable importance: the Christian religion, which changed the European's conception of himself and of his place in the world. Matthew Arnold said that two main influences upon our literature had been Hebraism (transmitted through the Bible) and Hellenism, transmitted, till the end of the fifteenth century at any rate, almost entirely through Latin literature. He defined the contrast between them in *Culture and Anarchy*. The passages in which he did so most clearly are still worth recalling, though modern scholars would not accept his definitions without considerable glosses.

Hellenism: To get rid of one's ignorance, to see things as they are, and by seeing them as they are to see them in their beauty, is the simple and attractive ideal which Hellenism holds out before human nature. From the simplicity and charm of this ideal, Hellenism, and human life in the hands of Hellenism, is invested with a kind of aerial ease, clearness, and radiancy; they are full of what we call

sweetness and light. Difficulties are kept out of view, and the beauty and rationalness of the ideal have all our thoughts.

Hebraism: As Hellenism speaks of thinking clearly, seeing things in their essence and beauty, as a grand and precious feat for man to achieve, so Hebraism speaks of becoming conscious of sin, of awakening to a sense of sin, as a feat of this kind. It is obvious to what wide divergence these differing tendencies, actively followed, must lead. As one passes and repasses from Hellenism to Hebraism, from Plato to St. Paul, one feels inclined to rub one's eyes and ask oneself whether man is indeed a gentle and simple being, showing the traces of a noble and divine nature; or an unhappy chained captive, labouring with groanings that cannot be uttered to free himself from the body of this death.

Apparently it was the Hellenic conception of human nature which was unsound, for the world could not live by it. Absolutely to call it unsound, however, is to fall into the common error of its Hebraising enemies; but it was unsound at that particular moment of man's development, it was premature. . . . And the Hebraism which thus received and ruled a world all gone out of the way and altogether become unprofitable, was, and could not but be, the later, the more spiritual, the more attractive development of Hebraism. It was Christianity; that is to say, Hebraism aiming at self-conquest and rescue from the thrall of vile affections, not by obedience to the letter of a law, but by conformity to the image of a self-sacrificing example. To a world stricken with moral enervation Christianity offered its spectacle of an inspired self-sacrifice; to men who refused themselves nothing, it showed one who refused himself everything. . . . Of this endeavour, the animating labours and afflictions of early Christianity, the touching asceticism of mediaeval Christianity, are the great historical manifestations. Literary monuments of it, each in its own way incomparable, remain in the Epistles of St. Paul, in St. Augustine's 'Confessions', and in the two original and simplest books of the 'Imitation'.

Now, the above passage will not satisfy a Christian believer, and from the point of view of this investigation it is open to another objection. By thinking chiefly in terms of Hellenism and Hebraism, instead of in terms of Hellenism and the Christian Church, Matthew Arnold obscured what is the central theme of this essay. He occulted the degree to which

Christianity through the Church absorbed into itself the classical spirit.

What we are in search of is something which may be called 'The European Tradition' in literature: that tradition may be compared to a great lake fed by many streams, now flowing from the north from the indigenous literatures of the Teutonic peoples, now from the south, now from the east from the Arabs and the Hebrew literature of the Bible, but chiefly fed within by those two great springs: the literature of the classic and Christian philosophy.

These influences were often at variance with each other and they were distinguished at many points beside that 'sense of sin' which Matthew Arnold stressed; the conception of the future of the soul, for instance, and of the contemplative relation of the soul to God, here and now. These differences implied a transvaluation of other values. But both classical and Christian thought agreed, not in conclusions but as to the importance of one means by which Truth might be reached. Scholastic philosophy was founded on Aristotle, influenced on its mystical side by the speculations of the Neoplatonists; and there was complete agreement between the classical and the Christian tradition regarding the nature of the mind to which literature was addressed. They were agreed upon the nature of man's mind, though not necessarily upon what it was best for man to contemplate. Both halves of the European tradition postulate the validity of reason, though the Christian half postulates also the necessity of revelation. Here, then, we have a centre of reference for comparing the departures from European tradition, and literary movements in different countries at different times. These periods, though every scholar who has examined them has found that they are not homogeneous, are distinguished as:

- (1) The Transition period from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.
- (2) The Renaissance itself.
- (3) The seventeenth century, in which the influence of

Science is felt and close imitation of classical forms prevails everywhere.

- (4) The movement of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which has (rather unfortunately) been labelled the Romantic Movement, and was to a large extent a reaction against the preceding movement.
- (5) Subsequent changes, which because we are in the midst of them have not as yet been given a name.

The first period, the fifteenth century, is well outside the scope of this essay. All that is necessary to say here is that though the fall of Constantinople (leading to a greater dissemination of Greek literature through Europe) occurs in the middle of it, there is no such cleavage in the literature of this period as historians who fixed on that date as crucial at one time led us to believe. The intellectual fabric still rested on a medieval and European basis, and Europe under the Church may be still regarded 'as being for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working to a common end'. There is not only a parallel between the forms in favour in every country, but everywhere a spiritual concurrence.

The sweet despair of the dream of the *Dames du temps Jadis* is not Villon's alone, but Dunbar's, and Manrique's, and Menot's, as it was S. Bernard's. The *Vanitas vanitatum* of the Preacher is the persistent theme of both North and South. The poets have a common purpose and an artistic affinity in their phantasies of Death—in the *Timor mortis* and in the grizzly *Danse macabre*.¹

But when we approach the end of the fifteenth century and enter the next, the influence of what has been labelled 'humanism' begins everywhere to be felt. There is a seething confusion of new enthusiasms, new forms of creation; new, that is to say, in comparison with what had preceded it, and derived from the Hellenic and Latin half of the European tradition. The balance within that dual tradition was violently disturbed. But the great writers of the early Renaissance—Rabelais,

¹ Gregory Smith, *Periods of European History*, edited by Professor Saintsbury.

Erasmus—the Italians of the Cinquecento, Ronsard and the French poets of the Pléiade, More, Wyatt, and Surrey in England never intentionally severed themselves from that complex tradition. The tendency of recent criticism has been to give a wider scope to the meaning of ‘The Renaissance’, a phrase which was originally used to denote the revival of classical art and literature in the fifteenth century; and of which one result was a wonderful blossoming of Christian art in Italy.

II

As a matter of fact we think of the Renaissance as covering in England the age of Elizabeth; in France that of Ronsard and Montaigne; in Italy that of Tasso and Bruno; in Spain as including her ‘Golden Age’ (Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Calderon). But the seventeenth century with which we are here concerned has been called a Janus-faced century looking back towards the Renaissance and on towards the Classical period of European literature.

In England the flowering of the Renaissance in this wider sense may be said to last from 1578 to 1625. The immense influence of translations from the Classics upon our literature has often been stressed, of North’s *Plutarch*, Philemon Holland’s *Livy*, *Pliny*, and *Suetonius*. But it is odd that at a time when Platonism inspired so many poets, that Plato himself, except for a few fragments, should have been ignored by translators and that the great tragedians were overlooked. Aeschylus and Sophocles were not translated into English, nor was Euripides known except through one play *Jocasta*, paraphrased by Gascoigne from the Italian.

The early seventeenth-century drama of England was a national product, and therefore the Middle Ages and the Christian side of European tradition also played a part in creating it. It is indeed to the comparative slowness of the effect of the Reformation upon England that we owe the great triumphs of the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage; combined with the sudden loosening (as a consequence of the Reformation) of the grip of dogma on the imagination and the consequent

glorification of Man. Not 'Nothing too much' but 'All to the utmost' is the cry of the time; and Hubris, the Greek vice of 'insolence', has become a Renaissance virtue. Chapman expresses its lust for action:

Give me a spirit that on life's rough sea
Loves to have his sails fill'd with a lusty wind ;

Marlowe its boundless aspiration:

Our souls whose faculties can comprehend
The wondrous architecture of the world
And measure every wandering planet's course,
Still climbing after knowledge infinite
Will us to wear ourselves and never rest
Until we reach the ripest fruit of all.

The morality and the emotions pervading the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries are the fruits of that complex tradition; but, on the other hand, it is impossible not to be struck by the absence in Shakespeare of a controlling Christian philosophy. There are beautiful passages of religious feeling in his plays, such as that speech which, in *Richard II*, commemorates the death of Mowbray:

Many a time hath banished Norfolk fought
For Jesus Christ in glorious Christian field
Streaming the ensign of the Christian Cross
Against black Pagans, Turks and Saracens;
And toiled with works of war, retired himself
To Italy; and there, at Venice, gave
His Body to that pleasant country's earth,
And his pure soul unto his captain Christ,
Under whose colours he had fought so long.

But religion appears in his dramas as one manifestation of human nature, a passion among other passions, not as the meaning which frames events and reconciles man to the inevitable. Behind the plays there is no fixed conception of power 'natural or moral dominating and transcending our mortal energies'. In this respect the most gifted of all poets is typical

of his own age and a contrast to Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Dante.

They gave us man with his piety and the world with its gods. Homer is the chief repository of the Greek religion, and Dante the faithful interpreter of the Catholic. Nature would have been inconceivable to them without the supernatural, or man without the influence and companionship of the gods. These poets live in a cosmos. In their minds, as in the mind of their age, the fragments of experience have fallen together into a perfect picture, like the bits of glass in a kaleidoscope. Their universe is a total. Reason and imagination have mastered it completely, and peopled it. No chaos remains beyond, or, if it does, it is thought of with an involuntary shudder that soon passes into a healthy indifference. They have a theory of human life; they see man in his relations, surrounded by a kindred universe in which he fills his allotted place. He knows the meaning and issue of his life, and does not voyage without a chart.¹

What was the theme of tragedy as the English dramatists of the Renaissance conceived it? It was not derived from the Medieval Mysteries and Moralities, nor directly from the Greek dramatists, but from Seneca. The theme of tragedy they learned from him is crime and its retribution. But in the hands of most of them it degenerated into the tragedy of revenge: *The Spanish Tragedy*, the original *Hamlet*, *The Duchess of Malfi*, *The White Devil*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *The Broken Heart*, to mention a few of the most famous, are all stories of crime and vengeance. They are not religious tragedies as are those of Aeschylus, because they do not explicitly regard evil as a transgression of divine law, or suffering as a divine retribution. Evil in this drama, and in Shakespeare's plays, is the result of passion run wild, or of 'man's inhumanity to man'. 'The riddle of his tragedies is the riddle of life,' says Professor Grierson in *Cross Currents in English Literature of the Seventeenth Century*, 'that is why they are so modern. They are untouched by the thought, Christian or Stoical, of his day. He stands before the enigma of life in the same attitude as Meredith or Hardy, if less inclined to dogmatise than either, which is not to say that as a private individual he

¹ *Poetry and Religion*, by George Santayana.

may not have been an orthodox Christian of his day.' That comment requires a gloss, and he adds it: 'there is not in Shakespeare as there is in Hardy even anything so definite as an expression of religious revolt, let alone any attempt "to justify God's ways to man".' In the main the Renaissance tragedy is the spectacle of human passions breaking themselves against the limits of human power.

This does not imply that Renaissance drama in England is not full of Christian feeling and sentiment, and, in that sense, part of the complex European tradition. Love, for example, in Shakespeare, is not love as it is depicted in Greek and Roman Classics. The Poetry of Nature and the Poetry of Love, as we know them, and as the Renaissance exquisitely rendered them, do not belong to the ancient world; both are creations of an imagination which has been steeped in Christianity. The ancients were not indifferent to the beauty of landscape, very far from it, but they were insensible to what appealed in it to later poets as 'Nature'; and in the matter of love-poetry a nineteenth-century poet, Francis Thompson, has pointed out the indifference of the ancients to the loved-one's eyes which are so important a feature for the post-classical love-poet. It is significant, from this point of view, that the very word in favourite use among the Latin poets to express beauty should be *forma*, form, grace of beauty and line. When Catullus pronounces on the charms of a rival to his mistress, he never even mentions her face. 'Candida, longa, recta,' that is all he says about her: 'She is fair, tall, straight.'

The Provençal love-songs with their worship of woman, Christian, medieval, and chivalrous, 'the poetry of *el gai saber*', 'the gay science', with its metaphysics of feeling, the Platonism of Dante moulded from his own experience and theology, the attitude of Petrarch towards Laura, the works of the Petrarchist sonneteers, had all flowed into the English literature. There they were to remain permanently in the poetry form of Romantic love. It was a classic tradition chiefly potent through the plays of Seneca that established the conventions of its blank verse, the five acts, its rhetoric and moralizing

tirades; but it was the medieval tradition that added Romantic love, and also a feature which it became the aim of later generations to squeeze out again, namely, a mingling in it of comedy and tragedy together, of buffoonery and horseplay with terror and death. To generations that followed such a mixture seemed barbarous, even more barbarous than the love of luxuriance for its own sake: the eyes of those generations were fixed on the classic half of the European tradition alone. It was not until the Romantic Movement swept aside the standards of the later seventeenth century and of the eighteenth century that poets and people began to feel that this particular inheritance from the old mysteries and popular ballads could deepen the dramatic force of literature. Fastidious contemporaries like Sir Philip Sidney had always protested against it—against the ‘thrusting in of clowns by the head and shoulders with neither decency nor discretion’. They raised the objections which Milton was to urge to more attentive ears when he wrote *Samson Agonistes* ‘to vindicate’, as he says in his preface, ‘tragedy from the small esteem or rather infamy which in the account of many it undergoes at this day with other common interludes; hap’ning through the poet’s error of inter-mixing comic stuff with tragic sadness and gravity; or introducing trivial and vulgar persons, which by all judicious hath been counted absurd; and brought in without discretion, corruptly to gratify the people’. Milton himself was to make the most heroic and splendid effort to base the literary practice of his countrymen on the classic half of the European tradition alone, and to remould his native tongue so that it should not be a vehicle in verse for anything common, low, or mean. He was to bring into prominence those classic qualities of restraint, balance, and lucidity of which his predecessors of the late Renaissance had been neglectful. Happily there had been then no strict classical writer with his dominating gifts writing or there would have been no splendid exuberance. Happily genius had lain on quite the other side; on the side of the people, who had been accustomed to see the story of creation compressed into an hour’s entertainment (what did the unities of time and

place matter to them!), who had revelled in discovering that Herod and the Devil had their comic side, and had laughed at the temptation of Eve. It was their uninstructed taste to which English drama had bowed, and it was their sure dramatic instinct which preserved in our literature, alongside of the classic tradition, the homely, earthy, mystical strain which is part of that wider complex tradition that we are endeavouring to trace. (See F. L. Lucas, *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy*.)

The direct and indirect influence of the classics on Elizabethan and Jacobean writers has been the theme of many learned monographs. As early as the end of Queen Mary's reign the first seven books of the *Aeneid* were 'converted in Englishe meter' by Thomas Phaer and the book was completed by Thomas Twyne in 1573. There were rough translations of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* in existence by 1589, and by the end of the sixteenth century the complete works of Terence had been translated. They were often reprinted. Though the *Epistles*, the *Satires*, and *Ars poetica* of Horace were translated by the middle of the century, a translation of the *Odes* was, oddly enough, not attempted till 1625, though their influence is perceptible before. Campion in the dedicatory epistle to his first collection of his beautiful English songs *A Book of Aires*, unsigned, but clearly written by him, speaks slightly of his own exquisite work: 'The lyric poets among the Greeks and Latins were first inventors of airs, tying themselves strictly to the number and value of their syllables; of which you shall find here only one song, in Sapphic verse; the rest are after the fashion of the time, ear pleasing rhymes without art.' And a year later (1602) he published his *Observations in the Art of English Poesy* with specimens of unrhymed verse in classic metres. Campion's object was to persuade his contemporaries to abandon 'the vulgar and unartificial custom of rhyming' and to model themselves in form as well as spirit on the ancients. Ovid was the favourite poet of the Renaissance translators, and his *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* were the great text-books of classical mythology on which the poets drew. The equable movement of Ovid's verse, his easy transitions in telling a story, 'the golden

cadence of his rhetoric', are reflected everywhere in those English poets. *Venus and Adonis* was inspired by Ovid's version of the story; it seems to have been Shakespeare's earliest ambition to be the 'English Ovid'. So, at least, he was regarded by Francis Meres, who declared that 'the sweete and wittie soule of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare'.

Chapman's translation of the *Iliad*, one of our great translations, was completed by 1611. Its style is Elizabethan, not Homeric, but the poet's boast that 'there did shine A beam of Homer's pure soul in mine' is well justified. But by the beginning of the seventeenth century the enthusiasm for Greek began to be confined to the learned few. The Greek dramatists were translated into Latin abroad before they were translated into English, and it has been argued by some scholars, notably by Boyes and Churton Collins, that the parallels between certain passages in Shakespeare and others in Aeschylus and Sophocles are so close that we must suppose that Shakespeare had read the Greek tragedians in Latin; but the consensus of critical opinion is that 'the general literary and theatrical tradition had reached the Elizabethan dramatists through Seneca' (Sir John Edwin Sandys in *Shakespeare's England*).

The greater part of the seventeenth century is occupied by an epoch of transition. It cannot be brought under one formula. It faces, as we began this section by saying, both towards the past (the Renaissance) and towards the future (a more formal and rigid classical tradition). But before looking forward in that direction let us take a brief glance at what was happening in other countries at the opening of the seventeenth century, and how the European tradition in literature was faring there.

In so brief and yet so vast a survey as this, seventeenth-century Germany can be passed over in a few words. During the sixteenth century the German mind had been almost entirely preoccupied with religion, and poetry flourished chiefly in the forms of church hymns and folk-song. Its literature was in a very backward state, and recognition of this fact led to a literary movement which was imitative of foreign ideas and forms. Martin Opitz (1597-1639) is the only name of much

importance, and then not from our point of view. It is significant, however, that his first work, which was a protest against the debasing of the German tongue through foreign influences, was written in Latin. He hoped to be a German Ronsard, but fell very far short of that. He made lavish use of Greek and Roman mythology. What could the Germans amidst the devastations of the Thirty Years War make of Diana and Bacchus, Pan and Galatea?

Holland was by no means so barren, though after producing Erasmus the Netherlands gave birth to no creative genius of the first importance. Their triumphs were to lie in painting, but those familiar with the Dutch language say that the lyrical poetry of this period is of high value, characterized by that fidelity to truth which is so striking in Dutch art. But in Dutch drama there is nothing to set beside English, Spanish, or French drama, and in epic poetry only one name, that of Vondel (1587-1679). The form of Vondel's poetry was modified by classical influences, but the substance of it was the product of his own times. Dutch critics say that in elevation of thought and purity of style Vondel's verse is superior to anything yet achieved in that language. His works contain many translations in prose and verse from the classics. His conversion to Rome, which took place in 1641, is a symptom of that wave of reaction which produced on the one hand Anglo-Catholicism, and on the other led to such conversions as that of Crashaw. (Vondel had something in common with Crashaw's ardent mystical temperament.) Before Milton he produced *Lucifer*, considered by his countrymen a masterpiece, which is an epic poem based on the same theme as *Paradise Lost*, the fall of Satan and the war between heaven and hell. It is perhaps worth mentioning in illustration of the persistence of European tradition in the Netherlands that Vondel's famous contemporary, Grotius, was also carried in the same direction by his study of antiquity. Nevertheless, it is in the literature of the Latin countries that European tradition remained strongest and most fruitful in the seventeenth century. We shall have reason to notice later in tracing the European tradition in literature that whereas in

Latin countries the Catholic element in that tradition prompts in those who reject it a clean-cut anti-religious hostility, in the literature of northern countries it is often attacked by religious-minded writers whose instincts are in opposition to it. Since Italy and Spain are the two countries where the Catholic element of the European tradition has been strongest, let us turn there first to see how it fares during the seventeenth century. Then, from France, where the 'Classical Age' produced the prime glories of her literature, it will be natural to return to England, since it was French influence that ushered in our own 'Age of Reason'.

III

It is curious that among the great nations Italy should possess no drama that is at once national and universal. The musical drama of Metastasio, the comedies of Goldoni and Gozzi, belong to the eighteenth century. They are truly Italian in spirit, but they are not of the first importance. Yet the Italian stage began to flourish before there was any real drama in England. The explanation of this absence in Italian literature of drama which is both national and universal probably lies in the lack of a central social life in Italy. Theatrical performances were the amusements of numerous separate courts. But when we come to the epic the case is different. Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* (1581) ranks only just below the great epics of the world. Milton admired him; Spenser imitated him. Acrasia's Bower of Bliss, the last adventure of Sir Guyon and the Palmer in the second book of the *Faerie Queene* are modelled on Tasso's description of the garden of Armida and the rescue of Rinaldo. *Jerusalem Delivered* was translated three times into English before 1600. It is traditional. It has affiliations with the *Aeneid*, though the natural bent of Tasso's genius was lyrical and pastoral rather than epic. It is a melodious and graceful poem rather than a great one. The flowering of Italian literature is really over by the fifteen-sixties, and Tasso himself lies outside the period we are considering; but he should be mentioned as part of the last great wave of Italian influence which had deposited in the

literatures of every country the spirit of the Renaissance and the classics. Though the work of Marino (1569-1625) was as much admired in his own country, and Lope de Vega saw in him 'the day of which Tasso had been the dawn', though many of Drummond of Hawthornden's sonnets are translated from or suggested by Marino, he cannot be counted as either an inheritor or a disseminator of the classic tradition. He is a poet of elegant refinements and ingenious extravagant conceits. 'Marino is a master in the art of carving heads upon cherry-stones, a Waller with more fancy and invention, a Herrick without the classical strain which the latter got from Jonson, and without his happier choice of rural subjects.'¹ The seventeenth century in Italy is a period of stagnation. The reforms of abuses in the Church and of morals, excellent in themselves, were accompanied by an increasingly watchful restriction which stultified literature. Bruno was burnt in 1600, a fate to which, by the by, he chiefly owes his fame as a representative figure. The work of the visionary Dominican Campanella, poet and fanciful creator of Utopias, had a distinctly heretical tinge and his political speculations alarmed civil authority; as a result he spent twenty-six years in prison. Pope Paul V sought to obtain his release: finally Pope Urban VIII obtained his liberty from Philip IV of Spain. Unlike Bruno he remained loyal to the Church and to his Order. He died in exile in 1639.

In France, as we shall see, Catholicism and classicism advanced abreast. The Catholic reaction in Holland and England produced beautiful work in prose and in verse; but in Italy that reaction was oppressively strong. Between the death of Campanella in 1639 and the early work of Vico (1668-1744) nothing of original impulse or note was produced in Italy. Even the light burlesque epic which had its origin in Berni (1497-1535) and its final flowering in Byron's *Don Juan*, a form most congenial to the Italian temperament, bore during this period no significant fruit.

On the other hand, the seventeenth century in Spain is 'the

¹ Grierson, *The First Half of the Seventeenth Century*.

Golden Age' of her literature; and in it, and indeed in Spanish literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also, the Catholic side of the European tradition is dominant. In Spain the Renaissance had met with something recalcitrant to its influence—at least to its sceptical humanism and to the discipline of rigidly classical forms. In the literature of Spain there is something more unchanging and more directly linked with its own past. Although their learned poets borrowed metres from the Italians and the national imagination was stirred by the Renaissance spirit of discovery, adventure, and national pride, on the whole in the seventeenth century Spanish literature was more influential than receptive. The great names of that Golden Age are Lope de Vega, Cervantes, and Calderon; and it is not the part of Cervantes's work which connects most directly with the classical tradition that is important. His *Galatea*, which was an imitation of Sannazaro's prose imitation of Virgil's imitation of Theocritus, and thus an echo of a double echo, was of small value to the world; and had Cervantes continued that pastoral vein he would never have been remembered. He tells us that *Don Quixote* was 'from beginning to end an attack upon the books of chivalry', a statement which, however literally he himself intended it to be taken, has to be re-interpreted. It is probable that he began that famous book as a short travesty of the chivalresque novel, and that his intention remained in his mind long after his creative genius had transcended it. Thus, though it is possible to link that great book to earlier Spanish romances and so connect it formally with its predecessors, or, if we will, since it is itself an epic with dramatic scenes, with Homer, still the animating spirit of it is far more immediately to our purpose: it is a Christian masterpiece, gay, extraordinarily tolerant. It has been said by a learned Cervantic scholar that there are a hundred and sixty-nine characters in *Don Quixote* and yet not one of this multitude is represented as wholly bad or contemptible. *Don Quixote* shows, too, that 'synthesis of gravity of matter and gaiety of manner', which is characteristic not only of Calderon and Lope de Vega, but of much nineteenth-century Spanish fiction and drama—even of

such contemporary dramatists as the brothers Quintero. This synthesis is, of course, found in the literature of other countries, but it is the singular glory of that of Spain.

Lope de Vega, the most astonishingly fertile writer who ever lived, and a great though very unequal poet, owes his pre-eminence to his dramatic works. He is the founder of the national theatre in Spain. Though he had many predecessors, and claimed that honour for Lope de Rueda, the latter imitated too closely the Italians to be considered as 'national' as Lope de Vega. Spanish men of genius of the first order have always been remarkable for an extraordinary facility and fertility, but Lope de Vega outdid them all in those directions. We do not know for certain how many plays he wrote, but by 1603 he seems to have written 220, and by 1632 he is said to have produced 1,500: his admirers have credited him with 1,800. Comparatively few have survived: 431 plays and 50 *autos* (religious one-act plays). He also wrote a discourse upon the theory of dramatic art which is interesting since it defines his relation to classical tradition. There he professes faith in Aristotle's rules, of which he knew nothing directly, only what he learnt through the pedantic scholars of the Renaissance; but then he also goes on to confess that he himself had ignored these rules in concession to popular taste. The principal rule to which he was in practice faithful was one which no dramatist can afford to disregard, namely, unity of action. 'The unities of time and place' which played so important a part in the French drama of the seventeenth century went by the board in his plays. His advice to dramatists is excellent and simple—invent a good plot and maintain interest in it throughout.

Invested with the splendour of his imagination, the merest shred of fact, as in *La Estrella de Sevilla*, is converted into a romantic drama, living, natural, real, arresting as an experience suffered by oneself. And, with all Lope's rapidity of workmanship, his finest effects are not the result of rare and happy accident; they are deliberately and delicately calculated.¹

But Lope de Vega paid no more heed than Shakespeare, who

¹ Fitzmaurice Kelly, *Chapters on Spanish Literature*.

also in Ben Jonson's opinion 'wanted art' in that sense, to Aristotelian precepts. Calderon, who was born in 1600, if it were not for Lope de Vega, might be considered an incredible prodigy of fertility. He, too, like Lope de Vega (and perhaps Shakespeare) did not apparently consider his plays as important contributions to literature. He only collected his *autos*, dignified in his eyes because they dealt with religious subjects. It is only accident that we have a list of the titles of his secular plays. Calderon's great reputation beyond his own country is due to Goethe's enthusiasm for him, to the esteem in which he was held by Friedrich von Schlegel, and, in England, by Shelley, who translated scenes from the *Magico Prodigioso*. In the nineteenth century six of his plays were freely paraphrased by Edward Fitzgerald. One hundred and eighteen of his dramas and seventy-two of his *autos* have survived. Beautiful and often great poetry is to be found in them. His construction is excellent, but his character-drawing comparatively weak. He is usually credited with a larger number of finished masterpieces than Lope de Vega. By the beginning of the seventeenth century in Spain the drama had become divided into three acts, while the metre employed for the greater part of each play was that of the national ballads. The *autos* or liturgical plays were the direct descendants of the medieval drama reserved for the festivals of the Church, for Christmas, and for Corpus Christi. 'Calderon's astonishing faculty of ringing changes on the same theme is shown in his having treated symbolically more than seventy times the Eucharistic mystery.' Friedrich von Schlegel declared him to be 'in all condition and circumstances the most Christian of dramatic poets', but to the modern reader who cannot see life as the Spaniard of the seventeenth century saw it, the prominence of the punctilio of honour in his plays, constantly compelling Calderon's characters to wipe out insults in blood, is hardly consistent with that statement. It is easy to see why he appealed to poets of the Romantic Movement, but his distance from the strict classical tradition may be measured by a contemporary criticism from a French traveller who visited Calderon in 1659. 'We argued', he says, 'a little concerning the

rules of drama which they do not know at all and which they make game of in that country.' It is again in Calderon's case the harmony of his work with the Christian rather than the classical element in European tradition which places him well in the current of that stream.

IV

When Lanson in his *History of French Literature* reaches the threshold of the seventeenth century, he says, 'La littérature, comme la France, se repose'. That is a true word. The Classical Age, that glorious chapter which includes so many of the greatest names in French literature, Corneille, Racine, Pascal, La Fontaine, Molière, is about to begin. Order, taste, reason, clarity are the qualities presiding over it—qualities which had been overlaid and forgotten in the uncontrolled exuberance of the Renaissance. Order first appears in Malherbe, who strove to exorcise from French poetry imaginative extravagance, careless diffuseness, obscurity, and foreign words. His influence was to confine the meaning of words within definite limits (a proceeding ever dangerous to the spirit of poetry), and to pillory as absurd cloudy metaphors and inexact comparisons. It has been said of Malherbe that he killed lyricism in French poetry and substituted eloquence. French writers in prose and verse had written, like English writers, during the sixteenth century in a fluctuating language. The meanings, let alone the values of words, were fluid, nor were the rules of grammar rigid; language was a more malleable instrument for the imagination, but a less sure means of communication. It has been said that the seventeenth century stereotyped the French language as the most perfect medium for the lucid communication of ideas since the language used by Plato and Demosthenes. Malherbe's importance lay in an influence which was postponed, not immediate, rather than in his own work. His odes are sterling rhetoric. He forgot, however, that after all, 'the lyre is a wingèd instrument'. His antagonists, and there were many, declared that what his doctrine came to was an injunction to turn prose into rhyme. Alongside the classical movement

towards clarity and necessity of recognizing reason even in the most passionate flights of the imagination, ran a strong taste for exciting delicacies of expression and for far-fetched ingenuities: a taste associated with the name of Marino in Italy, of Gongora in Spain, and in England with the 'metaphysical' poets. But the influence of the French Academy, founded by Richelieu, was on the side of classicism. The strength, the control which classicism exercised, can be measured by its effect upon the genius of Corneille, who if he had been an Englishman might well have been a great irregular romantic dramatist, since the heart of his drama was a glorification of the will (essentially a romantic theme), and his genius in representing one absorbing passion in conflict with destiny:

Je suis maître de moi comme de l'univers,
Je le suis, je veux l'être.

Corneille observed the classical unities of time and place, but not as a humanistic superstition. 'Many protest against this rule', he wrote in his *Discourse on the Three Unities*, 'which they call a tyrannical one; and they would be right, if it were founded only upon Aristotle's authority; it is *the natural reason* upon which it is based that compels our acceptance.' Here we see what is typical of the Classical Age in France during the short period of its perfection. It is an age of Authority, an Authority which reposes on two principles: tradition and reason. Between tradition and reason there is no conceivable conflict; both are equally valid. If such a conflict were possible—a sacrilegious hypothesis not envisaged till the *grand siècle* comes to an end—then reason must prevail. Corneille was also the first French dramatist to conceive of a play as the exposition of inner conflict, not as the development of a plot. In his theatre the spectator is excited chiefly by the struggle between motives in some leading character. The problem posited is which of his two passions will prove victorious, not the question what is going to happen to him next. That is the essence of Corneille's drama. In this respect, it exercised a permanent influence on the drama of Europe. It is not fantastic to see in Ibsen, the Ibsen of

Brand, The Master-BUILDER, Rosmersholm, John Gabriel Borkman, a true descendant of Corneille.

It would not be to the purpose here to run over even in the most cursory manner the works of the great authors of the Classical Age in France; or to do more than recall the contrast between the classicism of the Renaissance and 'the beauty without extravagance' which dominated the literature of Louis XIV. Neo-classicism in France, as in England, became during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a doctrine of restraint. It had ceased to be a gospel of liberation. Instead of pointing the way to ecstasy, instead of inspiring faith in the boundless power of man, the Greeks were now imitated as masters of the art of a self-knowledge which implied a recognition of human limitations. They were deferred to, and referred to, as exponents of reason and good taste: 'It is the age not of the Sistine Chapel but of Versailles, not of Rabelais but of Racine, not of Leonardo but of "one Boileau".'¹ The writers of the *grand siècle* resolutely refused to recognize in Nature anything the ancients had not. They went even farther in this direction than that: they shut their eyes to anything in Greek literature which was too wild or elemental for their own taste.

For instance, the French neo-classics were far from catching the spirit of Euripides, from whom they borrowed so much. 'When', asks the critic quoted above, 'did Dionysus shout to his racing Maenads across the trim parterres of Marly in the dawn?' These dramatists might learn from Euripides; but if, as Mr. Lucas suggests, one of them had *felt* like him, that man would not have been Racine, the laureate of that period, but Rousseau its rebel.

The Classical Age was throughout what it revealed itself to be towards its end and in the eighteenth century, an age of reason. The scholastic philosophers of the Middle Ages had used reason as the servant of revelation, and in secular matters of custom. In the Romantic Movement reason became subordinate to imagination and passion, and finally when Realism appeared in literature to the mere observation of fact. But for

¹ F. L. Lucas, *Euripides*.

more than a century reason controlled imagination; and during that time works of art were measured and valued according to what was conceived to be a relation to truth as discoverable by reason. Descartes, Molière, Boileau, and, in his inimitable playful way, La Fontaine, all pointed to reason as the guide to life. It was a guide all could follow, for the Classical Age conceived of reason not as a function of intellectual power with which it is obvious men are unequally endowed, but as a common faculty of judgement—a 'reasonableness' within the reach of all men. Form was this literature's great achievement: the creation of a structure and style in all branches of literature impeccable from the point of view of the intelligence. Poetry and eloquence were also compelled to satisfy this standard. The effect of Descartes' philosophy in emphasizing logic and order in every department of life can hardly be over-estimated. The ideas expounded in *Discours de la Méthode* (1637) and his *Méditations* (1640) had increasing influence as time went on. Descartes' 'doubt' was only provisional. Though one of the chief origins of Rationalism throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries not only in France but in Europe, his own philosophy was imbued with Christianity. When in search of some proposition indubitably certain he had begun by formulating his famous *cogito ergo sum*. It is sometimes overlooked that on a par with that proposition he declared that he also discovered in himself another idea of equal certainty, that of the Infinite. We finite beings find in ourselves a conception not derivable from experience, and which must, therefore, have been given us. This Infinite is God. On God conceived as infinitely good Descartes built his confidence in all knowledge of the exterior world, his psychology and his morality—everything in fact which he had provisionally considered as doubtful. God is infinite; therefore He is also infinitely good; therefore He has *not* deceived us and we can trust the means to knowledge which He has put at our disposal, namely, our reason and our senses. Descartes himself is profoundly penetrated with traditional religious thought. To attach knowledge to the conception of God conceived as infinitely good and infinitely tender towards

His creatures is an idea which came into the world only with Christianity. Nevertheless, actually, the main influence of Descartes' philosophy was destined to widen the breach with the Christian side of European tradition. It did so, first, by insisting upon methodical doubt and the disregard of traditional presuppositions in the analysis of all problems of thought, and secondly by stimulating the demand for a purely mechanical explanation of all natural phenomena. For the moment his system seemed to provide a harmony between theology and science. In the latter half of the seventeenth century we find Bossuet and Fénelon using some of Descartes' arguments, though Bossuet was one of the first to detect the possibility of an heretical influence in his philosophy; and in 1663 Descartes' works appeared in the Index of Forbidden Books at Rome, while in France royal decrees repeatedly forbade the exposition of Cartesian philosophy at the Universities.

That there were two conflicting tendencies in that philosophy is shown in Pascal's attitude towards it. He, too, was a mathematician; and he like Descartes put the dignity of man, otherwise so insignificant, in thought: man is a reed, but he is 'a *thinking reed*'. But, in opposition to Descartes, Pascal appealed also to the heart's direct experience of God; philosophical proofs might lead to the God of truth, but never to the God of love, the one true God. Nor was it any use trying to found morals upon knowledge of human nature, which was far too inconstant: men were either driven this way or that by their restlessness and petty passions, or they slavishly obeyed 'custom'. The only true course was to silence doubt and accept historic revelation. A hundred years before Rousseau, Pascal questioned the value of science in human life—in man's *personal* life which is ultimately what matters. He is recognized as the perfecter of classical French prose as a medium for the clear transmission of ideas, and for the purposes of persuasion. In his *Lettres Provinciales* every device of the ancients is assimilated, yet they are written in a French at last detached from Latin. His mother tongue became in his hands much more flexible than the prose of Malherbe and Balzac. His style is speech that is at will energetic,

imaginative, conversational. Pascal used reason to show the impotence of reason and thus prepare men's minds to receive the mysteries of religion. In method he is therefore a child of 'The age of Reason', while in substance he remained united to the Christian side of European tradition.

The overwhelming dominance of the classics during the seventeenth century in France is shown again in the themes its dramatists chose and the forms selected by its poets and prose writers. The *Fables* of La Fontaine are modelled on Aesop, and *Les Caractères* of La Bruyère on Theophrastus; and the debt of Molière to Latin comedy is as fundamental, though not as direct.

The imitation of the classics is then the second great pervading influence during the period. The third is the sovereignty of the State. Men were seeking rest from the turbulence of the Renaissance and Reformation; intellectually, they found it in the discipline of classical tradition; politically in absolutism. In manners, language, architecture, drama, in poetry and religion, individualism is tamed, even at the sacrifice of originality and profundity. Reverence for classical tradition, or rather the classics as reinterpreted by those in reaction against the Renaissance, reinforces on the one hand central authority (the statues of Louis XIV represent him in the dress of a Roman emperor) and, on the other, the cult of Reason in all things. The Classical Age reaches its summit in 1661 and for a quarter of a century at least it maintained its splendours. Imaginative art became a consummation of social intelligence; it was no longer a personal adventure. Education was more Latin than French, and the masterpieces of the *grand siècle* are more akin to the classics than to anything French that had preceded them. And they were through and through aristocratic. The people had no influence in moulding them. There was no reflection of the popular imagination in its drama as in the drama of the English Renaissance; 'a refined and splendid worldliness' was characteristic of all its literature. Just as the national spirit and monarchical spirit were identified in one simple loyalty, so rationalism and respect for antiquity worked in harmony together. 'The age at its best believed in a sort of cultural

bimetallism, and between the gold standard of Reason and the silver standard of Antiquity there was such a definite and invariable relation that the two could be used interchangeably.' (See Albert Guérard, *The Life and Death of an Ideal.*)

V

Although, at some points, there is something like pre-established harmony between the French and the Greek mind, the influence of Rome was after all greatest. The Catholic Church and the kinship between the French and Latin languages account for that. . . . The lyrical poetry of the Classical Period follows Horace; its epic poetry (thin and inferior) Virgil and not Homer; its tragedy was more influenced by Seneca than by Sophocles; its comedy more by Terence and Plautus than by Aristophanes; the great orators, Bossuet, Massillon, and Bourdaloue, modelled themselves on Cicero rather than Demosthenes; Livy and Tacitus were read by all educated Frenchmen, who did not read Thucydides or Herodotus. In the long line of French classical poets there are only two, Racine and Chénier, whose Muses drank direct from the springs of Greece; and, as a poet, even Racine was Virgilian rather than Euripidean—he would never have chosen for imitation the relatively irregular lyric choruses of Euripides. He applied to drama the simple and dignified convention of Greek tragedy: its few constituents, its grave movement, and, sometimes, its choric comment, though Milton in *Samson Agonistes* came far nearer than Racine to Greek drama. It is characteristic of that period's avoidance of all acutely distressing emotions that Racine, in retelling the story of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, should have substituted at the close of his version of the story for a victim so virtuous and amiable as his heroine another damsel. Unity of mood and texture was the aim of this classical drama, and to concentration of interest both variety of incident and realistic complexity of character were sacrificed. Comedy, for instance, was never allowed to intrude; no comic porter answered, as in *Macbeth*, a knocking at the gate. In the hands of Racine, whose genius was the finest expression of his age, these limitations produced

works of the very finest quality. Racine's aim was to create tragic tension with the help of the least possible external action. His plays postulate a tragic conflict due to some passion which reasonable people would condemn as irrational when indulged without scruple. He moves, it has been said, from the general to the particular—not, like Shakespeare, from the particular to the universal. In this respect his drama is genuinely Greek. The French convention, too, that the chief characters of tragedy should always be noble or royal, was derived from Aristotle's dictum that tragic emotion should be conveyed only through the calamities of the great. This convention was also consonant with the reverence, characteristic of the age, for authority. Another point at which French drama resembled the Greek was the rarity in it of any indications of the appearance or gestures of the characters. Here we touch one of the marked differences which distinguish it from Renaissance drama, which accounts also for its seeming so remote from us to-day.

Severity and concentration tended inevitably towards tame-ness when the dramatist did not possess the genius and passion of a Racine or a Corneille. (It is a mistake to use the curb when the horse you ride is not spirited.) When the fire died out of classical French drama it degenerated into dull impeccable formalism. There was consequently a reaction against 'the ancients', which was also intensified by the critical scientific spirit in other departments of literature. Even in drama a protest against their authority is already discernible in some of the comedies of Molière, when he laughs, for instance, at the medical profession for appealing to Galen and Hippocrates.

But before mentioning the now insignificant 'quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns', opened in 1687 to the indignation of Boileau by Charles Perrault's poem, *The Century of Louis the Great*, something should be said about Boileau, the great expounder of the classical school. The postulate from which his *Art poétique* (1674) starts is akin in spirit to Descartes' *Discours de la Méthode*: reason is postulated as the highest faculty in man; it follows that man's best expression of himself in art must be agreeable to reason:

Aimez donc la raison: que toujours vos écrits
Empruntent d'elle seule et leur lustre et leur prix.

For Boileau beauty and truth are identical: 'rien n'est beau que le vrai' and Nature is only another word for beauty. Boileau's own work was modelled closely on that of Horace. Horatian satire had been often personal; so was Boileau's. He excelled, like Pope whom he resembles, as a slashing critic in verse. He became for a while not only in France but in England the arbiter of taste; classicism found in him a rhetorical expression. But as is apt to happen when aesthetic practice is reduced to rules, its spirit was thereby narrowed, partly by definition and partly in opposition to other tendencies of the time. Boileau detested the extravagant fantastications of the *précieux* school. In fact, with the help of Molière, he destroyed that contemporary tendency in French literature, which had affinities to the school of Gongora in Spain and of Marino in Italy: the prestige of phrases without clear ideas behind them, of far-fetched allusions, elegant inversions, and ingenious neologisms. He set his face against the notion that there were beautiful things to be picked up on the confines of the Kingdom of Nonsense, quite as sternly as Johnson, in the eighteenth century, was to refuse to countenance the search for such strange treasure-trove.

The merit of poetry according to Boileau never lay in its novelty. Novelty, indeed, was a seduction against which sound taste must ever be on guard. Therefore, to borrow from the classics was obligatory, and imitation more praiseworthy than invention. Were not the Greeks and Romans masters of the 'natural' and the 'true'? The function, then, of men of letters was to modernize them, and one result of this doctrine was to prove of great importance: it postponed the effect of the rationalism latent in the philosophy of Descartes, which was destined, for a time, to persuade men to measure the merit of poetry by the accuracy of the statements and observations it contained. Thanks to Boileau's hypothesis that in Homer and later classical writers 'nature', that is to say 'truth', had found complete expression, the writers of the seventeenth century continued to copy 'nature' as already interpreted by art: an already

stylized and imaginatively assimilated conception of life. Thus the day when aesthetic naturalism would degenerate into literal naturalism was postponed.

The dictionary of Bayle which appeared in 1697 has been called 'the Bible of the eighteenth century. Bayle was the precursor of the movement represented by Voltaire, Diderot, and the Encyclopaedists. His dictionary, which was a reference-book dealing with a vast number of heterogeneous subjects, was used by his successors 'as a kind of armoury'; it supplied many of their weapons with which to attack religion. Tolerance was Bayle's favourite virtue: 'He did not say, "Love one another", but he repeated all his life with genuine distress and pity for mankind, "Bear with each other". "There", says Faguet, "is the difference, and the reason why we cannot say with Voltaire 'He was a divine spirit', though he was an honest, good and upright one".'

But there was a still earlier precursor of the French eighteenth century, Fontenelle. He was the nephew of Corneille. Under cover of attacking the credulity of the Greeks and Romans in his *Histoire des Oracles*, he attacked in reality the miraculous side of the Christian tradition. He was also the first great popularizer of scientific ideas. With him the balance between reason and tradition maintained during the earlier seventeenth century tips over definitely towards the side of the critical scientific spirit; and with Fontenelle the idea of 'Progress', which is not to be found in either the pagan or the Christian half of the European tradition though it is latent in the eloquence of Bacon, comes right to the fore. During the years from 1700 to 1790 the two chief characteristics of the seventeenth century, Christian doctrine and the authority of the State, diminished steadily in influence. The French eighteenth-century thinkers and writers were completely indifferent both to the idea of the State and to traditional religion. Against revelation and authority they set the independent judgement; they held that the individual can discover truth for himself. The note of the new century is contempt for the past in the name of progress and the perfectibility of man. One consequence was a profound respect (in theory) for the

individual, who now acquired the prestige previously recognized as belonging to tradition, accompanied by a vague intermittent emotional conception of the equality of men. The effect on literature was to introduce a pervading hostility to authority sometimes taking the form of a semi-religious Rationalism (the Deism of Voltaire), sometimes that of a religion of sentiment (Rousseau). Both, of course, are aspects of individualism: the one agreeable to the tough-minded, the other to the tender-hearted. In the eighteenth century these two religions worked side by side against tradition with occasional quarrels between themselves: a quarrel typified by the personal hostility between Voltaire and Rousseau. These two religions were only united by having state authority and traditional religion as common enemies.

Nevertheless, so far as literary form is concerned, the French eighteenth century continued to draw from the same sources as the seventeenth. Its writers continued to be inspired by Latin and Greek models, and in some respects even to interpret the spirit of them more accurately. Montesquieu, who is a dominating influence during the first half of this century, has been defined by Faguet as partly an amateur of antiquity, partly a man of the seventeenth century, and partly a forerunner of Voltaire. But what Montesquieu responded to in antiquity was not the art of the Romans but their imposing civilization: Livy and Tacitus were his adored models. In his *Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains*, from which sprang his still more famous study, *L'Esprit des Lois*, he invoked a grandiose vision of ancient civilization. His work also did much to increase the moral prestige of the figures in ancient history who were to exercise so powerful an influence on the imaginations of men, not only during the rest of the eighteenth century including the French Revolution, but during the Napoleonic period. The cult of the Greeks and Romans as models of public virtue and conduct whom moderns could not equal, but in comparison with whom they must be judged by historians, is one of the most curious by-products of the classical tradition. The seed of this hero-worship was latent in the admirations of the Renais-

sance and of the seventeenth century, and it had been watered by the Neo-classical drama, where characters from the ancient world had appeared before men's eyes as beings belonging to a superior race. Montesquieu helped to create out of Plutarch, Livy, Tacitus, out of the lofty attitudes of the Stoics and the thunders of ancient oratory, the ideal Roman who, however false historically, must be reckoned as a product of the classical tradition. At the beginning of the eighteenth century this ideal was not predominant but, towards the end of it, it revived in an extravagant form. Nothing could be more incongruous than the exaggerated homage paid to an ideal compounded of austerity of morals, simplicity of life and public devotion during the excesses of the French Revolution and the Empire.

It is important, however, to recall that the philosophy which dominated eighteenth-century France was not a system of thought but a way of taking life. Reason, it is true, was no longer the 'reasonableness' of the preceding age, nor was it Descartes' faith in the intellect as an instrument for discovering truth which had harmonized with the classicism of the *grand siècle*. It was empirical. The eighteenth-century spirit was an offspring of Cartesianism, but was still more a faith in immediate direct experience. The philosophy of the French eighteenth century is in this respect a gift of England to France. The masters of French thought were no longer their own countrymen—Montaigne, Descartes, Pascal, and Bossuet; they were Bacon, Locke, and Newton, and to a lesser degree Shaftesbury. It is a curious fact that during the period of 1688 to 1815, when England and France were perpetually at war, their influence upon each other was greatest. Voltaire was not the Voltaire we know until after his sojourn in England; Diderot derived the idea of his *Encyclopaedia* from Chambers; the sentimental Deism of Rousseau is in origin as English as his fiction, which derived from Richardson. In England, too, the seventeenth century had been an age of transition. Let us turn our eyes in that direction.

VI

When it begins Shakespeare is writing his seven great tragedies (1600-7) to be followed by the tragi-comedies *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, and that final modulation into peace, *The Tempest*. Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, his *Catiline* (acted in 1611) belong to it; the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, of Massinger, Webster, Ford also; and so does Chapman and many another poet whom we are apt to think of—and not perhaps with real inaccuracy—as 'Elizabethans', though something had happened with the passing of the previous century which troubled 'the glad confident morning temper' of the Elizabethan age. 'It is not perhaps fanciful', says Sir Walter Raleigh, 'to connect Shakespeare's tragedies with this atmospheric change.'

When we speak of seventeenth-century literature we think rather of Jonson, Donne, and the 'metaphysical poets', the love songs of the Cavaliers, of Herrick, Milton, Dryden. This is literature of a different temper to that which preceded it, and, what is to the point here, it stands in a different relation to the European tradition.

Jonson's comedy was based upon the art of classical comedy, as formulated by the Renaissance, particularly by Sir Philip Sidney in the *Apology for Poetry*. It aimed at unity of tone (no mixture here of tragedy and comedy) and at observing the other unities. Its conception of truth to life was not that of Elizabethan realism but rested upon congruity with what was considered typical in character and custom. In *Sejanus* and *Catiline his Conspiracy* Jonson even attempted to reproduce the Senecan chorus. Although his contemporary reputation was largely based on his learned adherence to the classical tradition, as a playwright he undoubtedly lost by renouncing the vivid individual psychology of his predecessors and scorning its looser technique. In Jacobean England the chorus was an anachronism: it had no root in any faith in an external and inexorable destiny. 'Our passions spin the plot' describes far better the Elizabethan conception of the part played by Fate in human lives. And in comedy, in contradiction to his critical

principles, Jonson appealed to his audience's taste for actualities, though in doing so he knew well he was not sticking strictly to his classical models. He admitted that *Every Man out of His Humour* was a play 'strange and of a particular kind by itselfe', though he added that he hoped in spite of that it might please the humanists. It did please, and probably all the more for that very reason. 'Even if the conception of "humours" and of their function in comedy', says Mr. Spingarn, 'is in a measure the adaptation of a fashionable phrase of the day to Sidney's theory of comedy . . . the genius of Jonson has intensified and individualised the portrayal of character beyond the limits of Horatian and Renaissance decorum.'¹ This conception of 'decorum', like that of 'the unities', was a principle constantly to the fore in contemporary criticism; but it was not until much later, until the influence of French dramatists began to be felt, that either 'decorum' or 'the unities' had much effect upon English tragedy, which at its triumphant height had been a rough-and-ready compromise between violent popular drama and the classical tradition of Seneca.

To Corneille and Racine, as has been said, the 'unities' were not academic critical laws, but practical indications how to achieve that powerful concentration of interest which was their aim, and which Ibsen among modern dramatists was to inherit. In French drama 'the unities' triumphed because nothing superb had been produced before without them, whereas, in England, Shakespeare had made 'marvellously coherent complicated dramatic patterns without their help'. In English literature (except for a brief period at the beginning of the eighteenth century) the issue between indigenous and classical inspiration, consequently, never resulted in so definite a victory for the latter.

It has been said that the history of the development of two-thirds of what is most valuable in English poetry is the history of the modification of Celtic and Teutonic elements by classical elements; and on verse forms and lyric poetry the influence of Greek and Latin poetry continues during the seventeenth

¹ *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*.

century. Ben Jonson's *Queen and Huntress*, *chaste and fair*, and Sabina's song in *Comus* (these are typical of much poetry of the early seventeenth century) are modelled on Greek poetry, simple or choric. This subject has been treated a hundred times: the descent down the centuries of English idyllic and pastoral poetry from Virgil, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus; of dirges such as Spenser's *Astrophel*, Drummond's *Pastoral Elegy*, Milton's *Lycidas*, Congreve's *Mourning Muse of Alexis*, Shelley's *Adonais*, Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis*, and of innumerable others from Bion's dirge over Adonis and Moschus' funeral elegy on Bion; the descent of the great soliloquies in Milton down to such separate poems as Tennyson's *Ulysses*, from those of Greek drama, or Homer and Virgil; of the so-called Pindaric Ode from Pindar, with its elaborate scheme of strophe and antistrophe and epode, from Ben Jonson's *Ode on the death of Sir Henry Morison* (the first), through Cowley, Dryden (pseudo-Pindaric) to Collins, Gray, and Wordsworth's *Intimations of Immortality*. Think of the English poetry descended from Horace alone! But beyond a reminder of the intricate persistence of this aspect of the European tradition it is unnecessary to go.

VII

The seventeenth was the century during which modern European thought assumed its characteristic features. 'It is in that century that we meet once again the exhilaration which inspired Lucretius in his address to Epicurus—the sense of the emancipation from inadequate notions, of new contact with reality. It was then that the concepts of "truth", "reality", "explanation" and the rest were being formed, which have moulded all subsequent thinking.'¹ And the influence of these concepts resulted at the end of it in our Augustan period when Common Sense ruled the realms of literature.

The seventeenth century inclines strongly towards the classical side of the European tradition and away from scholasticism, though the study of its cross-currents (for which the reader may be referred to Professor Grierson's admirable book *Cross*

¹ Basil Willey, *The Seventeenth Century Background*.

Currents in English Literature of the Seventeenth Century) reveals that the stream of that tendency flowed by no means steadily and straight. If the seventeenth century marks the birth of Rationalism in England, yet it is also the most theological of all centuries. It is the age of religious conflicts in politics and the great age of sermons. Puritanism flowers in it in the work of Milton and Bunyan, and it is also the age of the English religious poets, Vaughan, Crashaw, Herbert, Donne, and Sir Thomas Browne. Browne in prose, like Donne in poetry, as Mr. Willey has called him, is a Janus writer, now facing towards the scientific interpretation of life, now backwards towards scholasticism.

The poetry of the Augustan period is, as Mr. T. S. Eliot has pointed out in his *Homage to Dryden*, the result of a 'dissociation of sensibility', that is to say, of a cleavage between 'values' and 'facts'; between 'what a man might feel about life as a poet and what he felt compelled to think when he reasoned'. . . . 'Instead of being able, like Donne and Browne, to think and feel simultaneously either in verse or prose, you were expected to think prosaically and to feel poetically. Prose was for conveying what was felt to be true, and was addressed to the judgement; poetry was for conveying pleasure and was addressed to the fancy.' Such was the state of mind in which the century ended, with the result that poets aimed at little more than the adornment of thought or the stimulation of fancy. Hence the artificiality of the poetry with which the seventeenth century closes and the next century opens, and the preponderance in it of classical mythology, which made no demands upon belief. This naturally encouraged the direct imitation of classic models. 'The difference between Dryden and Donne is largely due to the fact that in the interval which separates them the Cartesian world-picture had replaced the Scholastic.'¹ But though the phrase, the 'Cartesian world-picture', is an accurate enough description of this tendency, its origins in England were earlier than Descartes.

At the threshold of the century stands the figure of Bacon. Recent opinion has lessened his importance in the history of

¹ *The Seventeenth Century Background.*

science, a reputation which was chiefly the creation of the eighteenth-century French Encyclopaedists and afterwards of Macaulay. Bacon is not 'the father' of modern science. From the point of view of this survey his importance lies in the distinction he makes between religious and scientific truth.

Sacred theology must be drawn from the word and oracles of God, not from the light of nature, or the dictates of reason. . . .

We are obliged to the word of God, though our reason be shocked at it. For if we should believe only such things as are agreeable to reason, we assent to the matter and not to the author. And therefore, the greater honour we do to God in believing it; and so much the more noble the victory of faith.

Such passages from the *De Augmentis*, which Mr. Willey quotes, however sincere their submission to religious truth, were outweighed, as he shows, by the effects of his eloquent proclamation of the possibilities inherent in man's mastery of the laws of nature.

Train yourselves [he wrote] to understand the real subtlety of things, and you will learn to despise the fictitious and disputatious subtleties of words [i.e. Scholasticism] and freeing yourselves from such follies, you will give yourselves to the task of facilitating—under the auspices of divine compassion—the lawful wedlock between the mind and nature. Be not like the empiric ant, which merely collects; not like the cobweb-weaving theorists, who do but spin webs from their own intestines: but imitate the bees, which both collect and fashion. Against the 'Nought-beyond' and the ancients, raise your cry of 'More-beyond'. When they speak of the 'Non-imitable-thunderbolt', let us reply that the thunderbolt is imitable. Let the discovery of the new terrestrial world encourage you to expect the discovery of a new intellectual world. The fate of Alexander the Great will be ours. The conquests which his contemporaries thought marvellous, and likely to surpass the belief of posterity, were described by later writers as nothing more than the natural successes of one who justly dared to despise imaginary perils. Even so, our triumph (for we shall triumph) will be lightly esteemed by those who come after us; justly, when they compare our trifling gains with theirs; unjustly, if they attribute our victory to audacity rather than to humility, and to freedom from that fatal human pride which

has lost us everything, and has hallowed the fluttering fancies of men, in place of the imprint stamped upon things by the Divine seal.

Such passages embody the real influence of Bacon. They are informed with enthusiasm for the idea of endless progress—a new conception, destined to take, later on, sometimes a religious tinge in literature, and in the nineteenth century to emerge as Evolutionary Religion.

VIII

These two kinds of truth, the religious and the scientific, which Bacon was anxious to separate (to the profit of the latter), are present to the minds of poets and writers who succeeded him; the one represented by the medieval side of the European tradition and the other by the classical pagan side, which as the century moves on becomes identified more and more with scientific conceptions of the world. The seventeenth-century writers can be classified accordingly as they attempt to blend both, or accept either one or the other. Sir Thomas Browne and Donne combine them; while such poets as Vaughan or Crashaw (definitely Catholic), Cowley, Herbert, even Herrick in his anacreontic fashion, incline to the Christian. Apart from personal experience, scholasticism and 'the new philosophy that calls all in doubt', Christianity and the classics, provide the composite material from which the so-called metaphysical poetry of the century was fashioned. Though Herrick, the last of the Elizabethans, would never have been the poet he was had he not been saturated in Horace and Martial, and though Cowley deliberately modelled his odes on those of Pindar, their inspiration is far removed from the classics. Much of their work is transcendental, much is far-fetched, and though they often imitate, successfully, the simplicity of the Greek and Latin poets, such homage is combined with a taste, the reverse of classical, for verbal ingenuities, and for things 'extreme and scattering bright'. The Augustan Age deplored that taste and saw in the smooth and lucid Waller, who died in 1687 at the age of eighty-one, the reformer of English verse.

But the supreme achievement of the century in combining the Bible and the classics is, of course, the work of Milton.

In the seventeenth century 'the Bible alone had a greater claim upon men's reverence than the epics of Homer and Virgil'; and at the end of it, the Heroic Poem was still regarded (to use the words of Dryden) as 'undoubtedly the greatest work which the soul of man is capable to perform'. This estimate had the authority of Aristotle. Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso had written epics in their own tongue, and it was Milton's ambition to do likewise, believing, like a true child of the Renaissance, that a country capable of producing the greatest kind of poetry was more likely to be the mother of noble men. This, indeed, was his consolation for limiting his fame, as he thought, by not writing in the universal language, Latin. The creation of a language which should possess Latin dignity, capable of supporting 'like an arch that never sleeps' the majestic structures of his imagination, was the first step towards his end. The theory on which the Poets of the Pléiade had worked had been that though it was patriotic to use one's native tongue, nevertheless classical literature was alone worthy of imitation. This was also Milton's literary faith. Thus, though he had learnt much from Spenser (Dryden had reported him as declaring that he was 'Spenser's poetical son'), Milton probably, as Mr. Tillyard suggests, in saying that was only thinking of Spenser as his immediate 'predecessor in the poetical tradition of his own choosing'. The *Ethics* of Aristotle, by the by, underlie the allegory of the *Fairie Queene*, which is also full of reminiscences of the *Odyssey*, of Hesiod, of the Orphic hymns, of Pindar and Theocritus.

A long book would be necessary to illustrate the indebtedness of *Paradise Lost* alone to the Greek and Latin poets. Milton laid the classics under perpetual contribution, now in ideas and sentiments, now in epithets, similes, and allusions. The structure of *Paradise Lost* is that of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; Satan himself modelled in part upon the Prometheus of Aeschylus; the portraits of the fallen angels are drawn after the manner of Homer's chiefs. Nevertheless, Milton's poetic temper had more in common still with Virgil. In his display of learning he is

distinctly Virgilian, while his epic treatment of a story has none of the simplicity and naturalness of Homer. In his *Reason of Church Government*, after giving his reason for writing in English, he mentions the classical writers whom he considers to be worthiest of imitation. These are Homer, Virgil, and Tasso for the epic; the Book of Job for the briefer poem in that style; Sophocles and Euripides for the drama; Pindar and Callimachus—and the writers of the Old Testament.

Hither, as to their fountain, other stars
Repairing in their golden urn draw light.

His diction which is elaborated from all antecedent poetry became to him a second mother tongue. It was a consecrated phraseology formed to express his own grave and passionate mind. The help of a learned editor in reading Milton is indispensable, otherwise a reader may miss not only the emotional force of many a phrase or the complex memories it was intended to evoke, but often the plain drift of the poet. If he is not told, for instance, that 'defended' can mean 'forbidden', 'affecting' aiming at (*affectare*), 'absolute', perfect (*absolutus*), 'officious', nothing derogatory, only eagerness to please, how can he understand passages in which such words occur? Milton, with great effect, frequently compelled words to resume their first significance:

Alas! how simple, to these cates compared,
Was that *crude* apple that *diverted* Eve.

Words borrowed from the Latin change in every language their meanings; to the contemporary they convey one meaning, while to the memory of the scholar they suggest another. Milton, always heedful of their original meanings, thus heightened the power of his style by taking advantage of both sets of associations. His sense of form, too, was strictly classical.

In his worship of form we touch not only the very core of Milton's poetic nature, but the chief effect his work has had upon English letters. It was by this that he so nearly restored to us the classic sense, so nearly gave us for all the future a permanent vehicle which we have missed. . . . He felt to his marrow the creative force of

restraint, proportion, unity—and that is the classic. All the antique world lived by such a spirit. Not only our own direct ancestry of Greece and Rome, but the Assyrian and the Egyptian. All was done within the Norm, whether the work were on marble or in song.¹

For the moment he actually succeeded in making English poetry classical; to quote Mr. Mackail, 'he lifted it on to the heights that signal to each other across the world'. So pervasive is the influence of Greece and Rome throughout his work that 'an appreciation of Milton is the last reward of consummated scholarship', though Mark Pattison should perhaps have said a 'complete appreciation'. That is why even in so brief a survey of the European tradition as this it is necessary to linger over the work of Milton.

But what of its content and the relation of that content to the Christian side of tradition and to the temper of his own age? The central mystery of Christian doctrine had small significance for Milton; he strikes us as often even antagonistic to the Christian spirit. There is no love of love in him, small sense of fellowship with men, little humility and no longing to forgive or be forgiven. What, looking within himself rather than round about him, he did believe, and with an intensity hardly equalled, was that Man was made in God's image. Man was therefore capable of all things, yet—this was only too tragically clear—he was not master of his fate. Milton did not go so far in heresy as to assert that men could save themselves (this, indeed, he denied), that by their own efforts they could conquer that inveterate frivolity which was in his eyes mortal sin; but we divine that he wished with all the energy of his proud nature that it could be so. 'A power which is got within me to a passion', as he called it in the *Areopagitica*, informed his style and forced him, while nominally condemning pride, to glorify in Satan an heroic self-reliant energy. This passion also made him at heart a Stoic and a worshipper, not of God only but of Man. And when his enormous hopes after 'the rule of the Saints' had failed and Cromwell had been replaced by Charles II, what was more inevitable than that he should write *Paradise Regained*?

¹ H. Belloc, *Milton*.

What is the theme of that poem? Mr. Tillyard in his *Milton* has shown that already in the latter half of *Paradise Lost* the 'paradise within' is tending to become the end of all 'deliberate valour'. In *Paradise Regained*, 'Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness' is no longer the subordinate but the main theme. Here 'the struggle of reason against the passion to prevail is alone presented, and the ordering of the kingdom of the mind exalted above "the accomplishment of greatest things"'. *Paradise Regained* is not, as has been said, an *œuvre de lassitude*, but one of stern resignation. It 'has the narrowest scope of Milton's three long poems; it concerns itself with a single idea, namely, that action is to be distrusted, and that what matters most exclusively is that inner paradise which it is in the power of every individual to attain' (Tillyard).

By the time Milton wrote *Samson Agonistes*, Mr. Tillyard thinks he had recaptured a little faith in action; yet that play, so Greek in form, is Biblical in spirit. It is a drama of temptation, and one not chiefly concerned with Delilah; the temptation which Samson overcomes, thus making himself a fit champion of the chosen, is to blame God for his blindness, his slavery, and his dejection.

The tendency of recent criticism, reflected in a modified form in the above comments, has been to treat Milton exclusively as a son of the Renaissance, as a great 'humanist' (Seurat). Perhaps the older conception of him as a great Puritan is nearer the mark. Dr. Stoll's essay on Milton is a corrective to such exaggerations.¹ There he reminds us that between Milton and the Renaissance lies the protestant Bible; it is only when Milton 'gives reign to his fancy that he shows his kinship with the Renaissance, not in morals or religion'. To the humanist Christianity and Paganism are more or less on a level: 'A humanist is all things to all men and their opinions, and his thoughts and feelings are not perfectly harmonized or rigorously ordered. A Puritan's are, and to that end part of human experience is excluded from their scope. They are centered, like Milton's, in the moral and religious sentiment.' Milton

¹ See Elmer Edgar Stoll, *Poets and Playwrights*.

was able to write his epic of creation because he had faith in a book in which God himself had told the story of it. This gave him confidence enough in himself as a revealer of truth to carry through his task as a poet. In that respect Milton is a contrast to the poets who came immediately after him; to such poets as Pope, whose Deism was only intellectually held. Not until we come to Wordsworth do we find again a poet convinced while writing as a poet he is also writing as a prophet and a revealer of truth.¹ This distinction between poetry which springs from a state of belief and poetry which does not underlies also, says Mr. Willey, the contrast which Wordsworth and Coleridge at the end of the eighteenth century were to draw between works of 'Fancy' and works of 'Imagination'. 'Imagination' is a function of belief.

The tendency in this composite century which was destined to intensify as the years moved on, was that which the works of Descartes, Bacon, and Hobbes had disseminated, namely, the sense that *only* what can be clearly apprehended by the intellect can be 'true'. This is the spirit of the Augustan Age and its philosopher was Locke. Its chief characteristic was 'the abandonment of spiritual exploration, and in literature the substitution of rational rhetoric and playful fancy for imagination'.² The authority of Locke supported, not only in England but in France, the literature which we regard as typical of the eighteenth century. Henceforth, too, it is the reasonableness of Christianity not its mysteries which is expounded, not only in apologetics (Paley, Bishop Butler) but in literature. A struggle between the warring elements of the seventeenth century concluded in a victory for common sense at the expense of imagination and the traditions of the Middle Ages. There is something restful about the products of the Augustan period, not to be found again in English literature.

The work of the masters, Dryden and Pope, consists largely of eloquent reasoning, which, as might be expected, excels conspicuously in satire, while the heroic note is only sounded in passages of versified rhetoric. Two impulses are recurrent

¹ See Basil Willey, *The Seventeenth Century Background*.

² Ibid.

in the history of literature: 'the impulse towards acceptance of life as it appears at rational practical moments, and the impulse to see it with the eyes of enquiry and wonder': Augustan Rome and Augustan England were periods of acceptance, and the latter derived its notion of classical qualities largely through the French re-interpretation of them, and far more from Latin than Greek authors. Its standards of taste became those of the *grand siècle*. Nevertheless, the deeper characteristic which made this early eighteenth-century English literature classical, lay not in its preference for French lucidity or even in its frankly imitative adaptive attitude towards Latin authors but in the fact that it was confidently addressed to a particular public.

Its public was homogeneous and at-one upon essentials. Hence its social tone, its air of confident composure and the absence from it of all trace of self-will or a sense of isolation, qualities which were to abound in the Romantic Movement destined to disturb it. This conventional element intensifies as the century proceeds, and the talkative prose of Swift and Addison stiffens into the formal periods of Johnson and Gibbon. But at first the so-called Augustan period and its 'peace' was, if not a new conquest, at any rate a consolidation of a battle already won in the preceding century, carried through under the philosophic auspices of Locke.

The creation of eighteenth-century 'poetic diction' has been attributed to Pope—that diction against which Wordsworth and the later poets kicked so energetically, though Milton is really more responsible. As we saw with the French, who are ever apt to be a lap ahead of the English in evolutions of taste, the avoidance of any mixture of comedy with tragedy had been regarded as a fundamental principle. The same principle was now carried into the choice of words. The rich vocabulary handed down by the Renaissance was clipped and edited; and since the need to find means of expressing what was spiritually adventurous or mysterious was no longer acutely felt, this edited vocabulary was found adequate to the purposes of literature. Becoming elevation was sought partly by referring to familiar objects by circuitous phrases, and partly by employing traditionally classic adjectives. Only in the mock-heroic, in such

productions as *The Dunciad* and *The Rape of the Lock*, was familiar speech permitted to mingle with an aloof, Miltonic style, with 'our pseudo-poetic diction' as Coleridge called it, which he attributed himself chiefly to the influence of Pope's *Homer*.

Subsequent poetry, produced under such conditions, could not reflect wonder over Nature.

The fact that the literature of the eighteenth century rested almost exclusively on the Latin half of the classical tradition had a marked influence also upon its prose. In Latin the spoken and the written language had diverged before the tongue had reached maturity, whereas in Greece the language had matured before it came under the influence of writing, with the consequence that Greek literature kept the freshness and simplicity of the spoken word, a charm so apt to vanish when style is cultivated for its own sake. The influence of Greek upon eighteenth-century prose is imperceptible compared with that of Cicero, whose manner is evident not only in the periods and cadences of Johnson and Gibbon, but in the writings of lesser and earlier writers, such as Bolingbroke and Shaftesbury. Ciceronianism, indeed, pervades English prose from the Renaissance onwards. Cicero set the standard not only for Parliamentary eloquence but for exposition philosophical, critical, biographical. Burke's speeches and even his private correspondence are modelled upon Cicero. Goldsmith among eighteenth-century prose writers is an exception; his prose was a reflection of the directness and simplicity of Voltaire.

IX

After the desolating Thirty Years' War, Germany was without an aesthetic past. The interval between the Peace of Westphalia (1648) which concluded the Thirty Years' War and the Second Silesian War was a period of literary decadence and imitation—though there is one essentially indigenous product of merit, Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, and one great philosopher, Leibnitz, who, though born in 1646, belongs rather to the eighteenth century. The Renaissance in Germany had taken the form of a Reformation, thereby cutting her off from

the contemporary classic revival in poetry and art. Another result of the Reformation, and of the religious wars which followed it, was that the German popular tradition which had produced some lovely lyrical poetry was destroyed, while foreign influences, ill digested, began to choke the springs of native genius. Germany, as we shall see, did not have her own Renaissance till the middle of the eighteenth century. Her classic period lasts from about 1750 to 1800. Klopstock's grandiose emotional epic, *Messiah* (1748), broke through the crust of imported French standards. His odes, collected some twenty years later, introduced rhymeless classical forms, and even the patriotic ones show an increasing tendency to substitute for Germanic allusions to commonplaces of classical mythology. It was not, until Winckelmann's 'discovery' of Greek art that Greece began to exert on German literature its powerful and most peculiar sway. So before tracing those effects let us glance at what was happening elsewhere.

In eighteenth-century Italian literature the outstanding names are Vico, Metastasio, Goldoni, and Vittorio Alfieri; but although these men were representative of the literature of their country, its intellectual life lay chiefly in the Italian literary academies. They were local; some were aristocratic and ecclesiastical, others Bohemian and bourgeois. They sprang up everywhere and died away. Among them only one attained wide reputation, the 'Arcadians'; of 'Arcadians' Metastasio and Goldoni became most famous. These academies gave birth to innumerable sonnets, odes, elegies and *canzoni*, while Goldoni fashioned out of the *Commedia dell'Arte* (a traditional pantomime which was already in possession of the Italian stage) a comedy of his own more realistic in spirit. Goldoni kept the improvisations of actors within bounds, and divested the old Comedy of its traditional costumes: 'Pantaloone remained Pantaloone, though stripped of his red hose and black long-tailed hood, and put into the dress of a Leghorn merchant or a country proprietor; and Harlequin remained Harlequin, despite the loss of his parti-coloured clothes and the adoption of modern dress. Italian comedy in the eighteenth century remained the

same in spirit though it had ceased to be called the *Commedia dell'Arte*, and the seeds of that old *Commedia* had been sown long ago in Latin days—perhaps even before Plautus and Terence. It was a spontaneous and national art. Vernon Lee—whose *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, though written before she was twenty, remains the most illuminating book on the subject—admits, in the preface to her second edition (1907), that the Italian eighteenth century was, taken all round, a great deal less interesting than her book represents it to have been—‘indeed, compared with the preceding and following epochs, it was unimportant. There is still’, she wrote, ‘a remnant of Renaissance genius and splendour, and evil romance, hanging about the Italian Seventeenth Century; Italy is still in John Evelyn’s *Diary* a little the Italy of Webster and Ford.’ It was the musical life, not the literary life, of Italy that in the eighteenth century contributed most to the culture of Europe. Nevertheless, the *Commedia dell'Arte* had been of real importance as an influence. Lope de Vega derived from it stimulating suggestions, and indirectly it played a part in the comedy of Molière, providing him with a rough mould in which he could recast the comic elements of old French *fablieaux*, *nouvelles*, and farces. Nor is it difficult to see how natural it was that the *Commedia dell'Arte* should have survived the Counter-Reformation in Italy, a period when the Church was thinking far more about Luther than the prosperity of the arts, and the humanities were forgotten in a theological struggle. This unwritten half-improvised comedy remained during the Counter-Reformation a source of popular distinction and consolation. During the seventeenth century Italy had been a most unhappy country:

The world is no longer what it was [wrote Ruzzante], there is nothing but slaughter and famine; in the fields there is no longer any sound of laughter and singing; the young people no longer make love and marry; we seem choked by plague in our throats; the very nightingales no longer sing as in former times; happy are the dead quiet under the ground. Let us therefore, since we cannot cry freely, laugh in our misery.

Allowing for the exaggerations of an Italian intensely sensitive

to the sorrows of his day, there is enough in such a description to account for the survival and popularity of the Comedy of Masks: it was an outlet.

In the eighteenth century learning had revived under the influence of the academies. The foundation of the Arcadian Academy in 1692 implied a linking up with classical traditions. The vogue, however, of the lyrical opera under Metastasio was far from favourable to serious drama or to poetry: 'Ce beau monstre', wrote Voltaire, 'étouffe Melpomène.' Alfieri (1749-1803) represents the Italian high-water mark in tragedy, and in his plays the classical tradition predominates—'a narrow elevation' is the phrase which Matthew Arnold found for them, and Dr. Richard Garnett added that they are 'rather such as a Roman poet might have produced if he could have more completely emancipated himself from Greek models'. (Alfieri's *Philip II*, by the by, inspired Schiller's *Don Carlos*.) His muse was a direct descendant of classical tragedy, just as Goldoni's comedies were connected through the *Commedia dell'Arte* with Latin comedy. Goldoni had a genuine comic genius. He employed the realism of Terence to attract the popular audiences of his time, travelling ever farther and farther from the old Comedy of Masks. He was as frankly and cheerfully democratic and impromptu as Molière had been polished and aristocratic. What he took over from the old traditional comedy of Italy was a deft informality and a delightful spirit of indulgent optimism about human nature. His touch was often exquisitely light, and there is truth in Vernon Lee's description of him as 'a Sterne in dramatic form'. His young women in their natural liveliness contrast with the discreet and mannered young ladies of Molière. Goldoni's picture of the manners of his age retain for us their freshness. 'As Caesar called Terence a halved Menander, so we may term Goldoni a halved Molière. The Menandrine element in Molière is present in him. The Aristophanic is missing.'¹ His affiliations with the classical tradition are clear.

Turning now to Italian thinkers: Vico stands out, especially

¹ Richard Garnett, *Italian Literature*.

to-day when among the younger critics the mention of his name is frequent, as the most important figure of the century. He is a thinker who leaves an impression of having been in advance of his age, in that he was one of the earliest writers to study men collectively. His work, however, is hardly relevant to our purpose, though he is also interesting as a Homeric critic of considerable penetration. (He asserted that the Homeric poems must be the work not of one man but of a nation.) His doctrine that human society has passed through three definite stages undoubtedly influenced the speculations of Comte and Schelling. It is not, however, till the nineteenth century and we reach Leopardi that not only Italy's contribution to European literature but the relation of that contribution to the European tradition becomes vitally interesting.

X

We are not concerned with the causes of that general change which distinguished the close of the eighteenth century, and has been labelled the Romantic Movement, nor with its roots, nor with the question of the date at which it can be said to begin; but only with its relation to the main stream of the European tradition.

The terms 'classical' and 'romantic'—'thought-confounding words', as Professor Elton has called them—suggest qualities which distinguish not only the romantic period itself from other periods, but individual works and writers from each other in all periods. A scholar has no difficulty in showing that romantic elements are present in Greek literature, that Euripides is more 'romantic' than Sophocles. The most common conception of the difference between classic and romantic literature is the notion that the first stands for form, balance, and composition, while the other implies an emphasis upon emotion at the expense of form. Here the antithesis is between an ordered and perhaps a more inclusive expression of the spirit of man. But this will not do. The contrast is not primarily one of form, and for an obvious reason: romanticism also creates its own forms,

and forms not necessarily inferior to those of classical literature; while the value of classical literature also depends on its content. All that can be said is that literature that is properly called 'romantic' usually emphasizes the inner world of personal feeling to a degree comparatively rare in classical literature. It is not a question of 'health', for where art is concerned, that word is only a metaphor for excellence, and to use it for purposes of critical comparison, therefore, begs the question of merit. Romanticism, in the sense in which it is proposed to use it here, implies a movement away from the literature which had expressed a *consensus of experience* towards one which reflected in an unusual degree individual experience. On the one hand, this implied a return to an attitude of wonder towards the world. It was favourable, therefore, to mysticism, and therefore linked up historically with the medieval half of the European tradition. On the other hand, through its inherent individualism it often led to a breach with authority and reason.

In France, the forerunner of Romanticism is of course Rousseau, whose work, however full of intellectual contradictions, is perfectly consistent emotionally. The idea that it is through feeling, not through reasoning, that man apprehends the truth, is an idea which runs through the whole Romantic Movement; and in Rousseau it was accompanied by an intuition which was the expression of his own heart: that man is naturally good, though, as we know him, is usually very far from being so. How is it that being good in himself, man has become what he is? It is at this point in Rousseau's doctrine that reflection intervenes. Reasoning from himself (and no man was more sensitively aware of the goodness of his own heart and of the distortions of his own impulses under pressure from social life) he concluded that it was Society, in the widest sense of that word, that was responsible for the deterioration of man. Every one is born good (for I feel this in myself), but he has become corrupt (as I know from my own experience) by becoming a social being. Man's cure lies in a return to Nature.¹

From Rousseau onwards, the idea of salvation as dependent

¹ Émile Faguet, *Dix-Huitième Siècle*.

upon 'a return to Nature' finds recurrent expression in the poetry and prose of Europe. Authority, whether it is embodied in the doctrines of the Church or in the common sense of social tradition, becomes in the case of the more rebellious spirits of the Romantic Movement the enemy of human welfare. It is the restraints of society, or of religious dogma, they insist, which have prevented the blossoming of the human spirit.

Rousseau is one of the most ancestral writers. His descendants are scattered among the writers of every European country. He was imaginative in an age which inclined to confine imagination to the service of common sense; and in an age which stressed the importance of the qualities most valuable in social life. Rousseau, on the contrary, exalted the delights of the solitary in the bosom of Nature. The ideal of a humanity purified of its faults (due to artificial control) was an idea which not only had immediate effect upon political thought (*vide* the doctrinaires of the French Revolution), but was also destined to find expression long afterwards in poets as different from each other as Shelley and Walt Whitman. The notions that virtue is a 'natural' passion, that there can be no conflict between good and evil in a true child of nature, and the conception of Nature as the friend of man pervade the whole Romantic Movement. The first of these notions naturally lent a peculiar confidence to its love poetry and a kind of mystical authority to expressions of passion; the second encouraged descriptions of natural scenery accompanied by ecstatic religious emotion. 'God is no longer conceived as opposed to Nature but as expressed in Nature',¹ while virtue tended to be identified by the Romantics with instinct. The writings of Rousseau helped to disseminate two other tendencies which are found henceforth in varying degrees in the writers we label as 'romantic'; the high value set upon solitary reverie, and the conception of genius as something sacred and not to be subjected to either tradition or reason.

Plato, it is true, had treated the poet as a man who must of necessity be a little mad, but Plato supported society's right to

¹ Irving Babbitt, *Rousseau and Romanticism*.

banish the poet if he became a nuisance—though Plato, by the by, is the Greek philosopher of romantics, just as Aristotle is that of classicists. The Romantic Movement took the side of genius against the world, and it accepted the dreams of solitary reverie as a starting-point for the criticism of things as they are. If we analyse these tendencies, found in mixed and varying degrees in the writers of the Romantic Movement, a little more precisely, it will be seen that they are at variance with the main trend of that dual tradition, part classical and part Christian, which we have been endeavouring to trace. They are (*a*) that feeling is more trustworthy than reason, (*b*) that the poet and the genius are above and apart from other men (hence, too, the tragedy of his life, on which the romantics so often expatiate), (*c*) that Nature is good and Man in harmony with her. The last leads direct to Pantheism and indirectly to confidence that social revolution will bring the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth. (Particularly prominent in Shelley.) Gone is the rational humility of the eighteenth century, which found expression in the words of a philosopher when he said 'Judging from myself, men are fools'; gone that conception of human nature which found expression in the dogma of original sin. The word 'gone', however, is too strong. In dealing with matters so complex as literary movements it is always nearer the truth to say that ideas are often in abeyance. Pantheistic emotion is naturally absent from specifically Christian poetry and it is also absent from the classics. Pan, to the ancients, was but one god among others, a spirit of place or the personification of a mood some scene had inspired; and lovely as the descriptions of natural beauty are in Greek and Latin poetry they are apt to strike those subdued by the poetry of the romantic movement as 'unspiritual'. Such readers find in the classics no exaltations corresponding to those of Wordsworth, Shelley, or Lamartine.

Towards the end of the *ancien régime* in France there had been a recrudescence of Graeco-Roman influence. It is to be felt even in Bernardin de St. Pierre, a disciple of Rousseau, for while Rousseau's heroes and heroines are entirely French there is a certain classical simplification in the treatment of character

in *Paul et Virginie* for example. And meanwhile archaeological studies had considerably advanced. The work of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres brought contemporary taste in closer connexion with real knowledge of Greece and Rome. The greatest poet at the end of the eighteenth century, indeed of the century itself, André Chénier, marks a distinct revival of classicism. Most of his work was posthumously published. His lyrical gift is eloquent, careful, and beautiful. The Romanticists who were to follow him confused his significance by attempting to see in him the forerunner of themselves, although Chénier belonged more to the seventeenth century. 'Our greatest classic in verse since Boileau and Racine', Sainte-Beuve called him. He was completely indifferent to the Middle Ages. The spirit of his poetry has nothing in common with the mannered melancholy of Chateaubriand or the enthusiasm of Lamartine. He strove to express in poetry emotions conformable to reason, and he made no attempt to spiritualize the passion of love. His amorous elegies are as natural in sentiment as those of Propertius. There was Greek blood in him; his mother was Greek and he was born at Constantinople. His own temperament found natural reflection in the poetry of Theocritus and Bion. He also used classical forms to express a vigorous and compressed indignation. His classicism, however, must be distinguished from that of Boileau and Voltaire. It resembles rather that of Ronsard. His *Hermès* was in plan and spirit based on Lucretius. Chénier offended Robespierre by his pamphlets protesting against the Terror, and was executed just three days before its close, at the age of thirty-two.

While it is impossible to go into the effects of the French Revolution on literature, what must be said is that it encouraged a breach with the Christian tradition, also with literary traditions, by destroying the influence of the cultivated *salon* and the colleges of France which taught the classics. The Revolution was more immediately productive of oratory than literature; there its metaphors and comparisons, both in objurgation and enthusiasm, continued to be largely classical. Napoleon's rhetoric also, in spite of its apparent abruptness, is essentially

classical; and during his consulship, at any rate, his speeches are full of classical allusions characteristic of the Revolution.

Chateaubriand is the most interesting immediately post-Revolutionary figure from the point of view of this essay. He has been described as 'a Christian Rousseau', but that phrase hardly brings us to the heart of him. *Le Génie du Christianisme*, in spite of its eloquent defence of Christianity which made it so effective on the side of the reaction against the Revolution and the age of Voltaire, was in essence, like Chateaubriand's other books, romantic. The note of melancholic despair, of immense pride combined with inertia which found direct expression in *René* and the *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, was the real voice of Chateaubriand. The *Génie du Christianisme*, 'a Te Deum which celebrated the conclusion of the Concordat', came at exactly the right time to produce an effect. Its design was to prove that, of all religions that have existed, the Christian is the most poetic and the most favourable to the arts and letters. Philosophically it was of small importance, but aesthetically its influence went on reverberating through the nineteenth century. There was nothing, however, of the spirit of the Middle Ages about it. The despair of Chateaubriand is entirely contrary to that spirit (he is typically the isolated genius in whose woes the romantics were so interested), and the influence of his defence of religion was not so lasting in its effects as the object-lesson in extreme concentration on the *ego* which he handed on to the French Romantics. The resemblances between Chateaubriand and Byron are remarkably close. Joseph de Maistre, absolutist, defiant champion of the papal authority, rigid logician, was really in far closer relation than Chateaubriand ever was with the Christian side of the European tradition.

The principal figures of the Romantic School in France, Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, Théophile Gautier, Alexandre Dumas, Alfred de Musset, were all influenced by the return to emotional rhetoric inaugurated by Rousseau and thus amplified by Chateaubriand. From a literary point of view one of the marks of the movement is an enormous expansion of the

vocabulary. The distinction between 'noble' and 'base' words which neo-classicism in all countries had insisted upon was ignored. The Romantics loved new words,

not because they made easier the expression of actual facts, but for their power of suggestion, for the effects of remoteness, contrast and multiplicity which can be produced by them—in fact for their rhetorical force. The new vocabulary came into existence as an engine of rhetoric not as an engine of truth. Nevertheless—and this was the second effect of its introduction—in the long run the realistic impulse in French literature was also immensely strengthened.¹

It is significant that Victor Hugo, the giant of the movement, was gifted with an unmatched verbal imagination.

Hugo's imagination was the embodiment of Romanticism. The follower of the classical tradition avoids at any sacrifice what is excessive and grotesque; to Hugo the creation of the enormous appeared as 'a satisfaction due to the infinite'. His love of the grotesque drew him to the Middle Ages; yet one of his defects was a lack of a real historical sense. Up to 1840 the structure of his verse remained almost classical in its adherence to French tradition; but in the *Châtiments* and the *Légende des Siècles* and from then onwards his rhythms become his own and characteristically romantic. 'Never mind the rules, is the poem good?' was the war-cry of his admirers; and that poetry which is an expansion of intimate tenderness, of moods mixed with vague metaphysical speculations, of violently painted nature, of strange visions and prophetic indignation, found in him an exaltation which sometimes tips over into fatuity and sonorous bombast. A love of the humble and miserable in his verse, and above all in his great humanitarian epic, *Les Misérables*, connects him more closely with Christian tradition than his thought ever did. But here, too, the bias of romantic morality is seen, in discovering beauty of soul by preference in the outcasts of society and in exalting the emotion of pity above all other virtues. This tendency is pushed to the height of absurdity in Sultan Mourad in *La Légende des Siècles*,

¹ Lytton Strachey, *Landmarks in French Literature*.

a poem of which the moral is, *Un pourceau secouru vaut un monde égorgé*.

There has been a strong critical reaction against Romanticism of recent years. The most emphatic indictment of the whole movement is perhaps *Le Romantisme français*, an essay upon the revolution in sentiment and ideas during the nineteenth century, by M. Pierre Lasserre. There he criticizes Musset from a moral and philosophical point of view. When he quotes from the *Nuit d'août* the line

Il faut aimer sans cesse, après avoir aimé,

he remarks that it might have been written by a son of Anacreon or by Horace. The line might have made a motto, too, for any eighteenth-century epicurean. But, as he points out, the line before it gives it a meaning which would have shocked them:

Après avoir souffert, il faut souffrir encore.

That would have seemed to them an unwholesome perversity. The worship of sorrow is one of the results of Romanticism. It is prominent also in Alfred de Vigny, and there it is connected with the cult of solitude so strong in Rousseau. Vigny clung to solitude and in a sad fashion he grew to love it; *La solitude est sainte*, he said. In his private desert he was free to follow thought for its own sake, without compromise or frailty. Honour, the dominant idea in his work, is the virtue of those who stand alone and need no gallery to play to but are proud. Honour in the mouth of Alfred de Vigny is an exalted consciousness of self, a more resounding name for conscience—*L'honneur c'est la pudeur virile*. It is a self-imposed command, a discipline chosen for its own sake. No one can injure a man's 'honour': he can only injure it himself. As a writer he is more classical in form than the other romantics, preferring precision of statement to suggestion, unless he can unite them both as in such lines as

Dieu, que le son du cor est triste au fond des bois!

It is the content of his verse which connects him with the movement away from both classicism and Christianity. Man

is alone in the Universe; God, if He exists, is certainly deaf to the cries of His creatures, and if there is a day of judgement He will have to justify Himself before them, not they before Him. The genius, whether Vigny calls him 'Chatterton' or 'Moses', is a being who is especially endowed with the privilege of suffering and suffering alone. Here we touch two of the traits prominent in the English Romantics: the worship of sorrow and the exaltation of genius.

At this point it will be well to look ahead to the end of the nineteenth century, for we shall not return to France. The work of Baudelaire (1821-67), from which so much modern poetry derives and modern criticism, combines Romanticism with classical qualities. On the one side he is typical of 'the Romantic Agony', to quote here the title of Signor Pràz's remarkable book; *Les Fleurs du Mal* is a work of desperate sincerity, in which two of the most familiar elements of Romanticism recur: an intense consciousness of solitude, a nostalgia for exotic bliss, and a persistent sense of a connexion between beauty and pain. Where Baudelaire contrasts, however, with most romantic poets of his own country or any other is that he controls the impulse to expansive communication of his misery both by the help of cynicism and of a natural loftiness of soul. He is free from romantic effusiveness. The expression of his emotions, often associated with images of corruption and in the contemplation of which he takes a morose delectation, is strictly classical in form. He relies like a classic on statement rather than suggestion, though at times he indulges in a most unclassical interchange of the reports of the senses, an expedient which the Symbolists afterwards exploited. His sense of evil is supernatural and belongs to the Christian side of the European tradition; nothing could be less pagan or less like Rousseau than his attitude towards natural man.

His contemporary, Leconte de Lisle (1820-94), was still more definitely in reaction against the subjective elements of Romanticism. Exactitude and sonority were the formal characteristics of his verse. His translations of the greatest Greek and Latin poets are an important part of his work. In his own poetry he

assumed a stoical impassivity, which was only abandoned when his subjects awoke his strong anti-clerical convictions or his contempt for poets and writers whose stock-in-trade was the exposure of their souls. His attitude to the public is expressed in the line:

Je ne te vendrai pas mon ivresse ou mon mal.

Gautier, his contemporary, hardly comes within our scope: a most delicate, facile, and accomplished craftsman whose *Émaux et Camées* falls between and forms a hiatus between Hugo's *Les Orientales* and Leconte de Lisle's severely classical *Poèmes Antiques*.

What was the significance of the medieval element in the romantic revival? When Heine inquired what was the Romantic School in Germany he concluded that 'it was nothing other than the reawakening of the poetry of the Middle Ages that manifested itself in songs and pictures and buildings, in Art and Life. But this poetry had its origin in Christianity; it was a passion-flower which sprang from the blood of Christ.' There is no doubt that medievalism was one strand in the inspiration also of the English romantics. The old ballads (*The Reliques of Percy*, 1765), the revival of interest in things gothic and medieval, which was led up to in Walter Scott, left a strong mark on the poetry of Coleridge and a still deeper one on the sensational and dilettante literature of his time. But what was its importance? What is significant in this connexion is that the influence of the pseudo-Celtic Ossian, which spread over Europe, was equally great, while it would be misleading not to recall that the influence of the Middle Ages had been felt earlier. Dryden and Pope had imitated and adapted Chaucer; Addison had praised the *Ballad of Chevy Chase*. But now there was something in the soul of Europe which made the appeal of the past more vivid to the imaginations of men. But the extraordinary Ossianic boom suggests that the backward-looking side of the Romantic Movement was not so much a return to the Christian half of the European tradition as a longing for what is distant and vanished. That longing is another mark of Romanticism, and

a direct consequence of the recoil from eighteenth-century classical rationalism; a recoil which also accounts for the appetite for the strange and distant in space as well as in time. The connexion between that appetite and a preference for what is 'suggested rather than defined in poetry' is psychologically close. Henceforth, interest centres more upon states of mind which cannot be described but only indicated; towards the expression of moods represented by the German word *Sehnsucht* and the English word 'wistful'. Signor Pràz in *The Romantic Agony* has noted the curious fact that these two words have no exact equivalent in the Romance languages, 'a clear sign of the Nordic, Anglo-Germanic origin of the sentiments they express. Such ideas have this in common, that they furnish only a vague indication, leaving it to the imagination to make the final evocation. A Freudian would say that these ideas appeal to the unconscious in us. . . . The essence of Romanticism consequently comes to consist in that which cannot be described.'

Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard
Are sweeter.

If we follow this strand, ultimately we reach Verlaine and the French Symbolists, in short, the extreme developments of modern poetry, which represent a very wide deviation from the classical tradition.

'What the imagination seizes as beauty must be truth,' wrote Keats, a saying which marks a riper stage of the Romantic Movement. That begins with the stress upon the value of 'sensibility', so marked in the novels of Richardson and in passages of Sterne, who is a forerunner in prose of the movement in his airy repudiation of regularity and order. Wharton's criticisms upon Pope and Boileau as the approved masters of a poetry 'lacking in the sublime and pathetic . . . the two chief nerves of all genuine poesy' also show the direction in which the wind is blowing. The relation of Gray and Collins towards the Augustans on the one hand, and the movement ahead, is interesting from the point of view of this essay. The diction of both poets shows firm adherence to classical tradition, yet their

substance exhibits a sensitiveness to Nature and an interest in moods which look towards the poetry that is to come. Gray's *Elegy* is the classic expression of a brooding melancholy which was to be increasingly exploited; Gray's odes are prime examples in English literature of Greek structure. *The Progress of Poetry* invokes the Aeolian lyre, which Pindar had made the symbol of the art of poetry. That ode is an extremely condensed review of the history of poetic inspiration as it appeared to classic taste. From the picture of the Muse as haunting the Chilean forest where

She deigns to hear the savage youth repeat
In loose numbers wildly sweet
Their feather-cinctured chiefs and dusky loves,

Gray proceeds to celebrate the poetic art of Greece, then, its migration to Rome, and lastly, 'When Latium had her lofty spirit lost', to Albion: Shakespeare, Milton, and Dryden and lastly Gray himself. From Gray's science of versification, founded on Pindar, sprung also later metrical inventions. Shelley was indebted to Gray; Swinburne also. Gray had intended to write also an ode upon 'The Liberty of Genius'. He intended (keeping, no doubt, strictly to the classic form) to argue that 'all that men of power can do for men of genius is to leave them at their liberty'. If Gray had written this poem it would probably have linked him still more obviously to the Romantic Movement with its demand for freedom. It is significant that Johnson, the protagonist of Augustan classicism, spoke slightly of Gray.

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries represented in philosophy a determination to think clearly. Dreams, fancies, states of mind which could not give a clear account of themselves were excluded as far as possible from literature. To Doctor Johnson, the most important subjects were morals and the actions of men. Whenever he came across an expression of individual temperament, he was inclined to treat it as trivial affectation. He censured Collins for 'indulging some peculiar habits of thought', and for being 'delighted with those

flights of imagination which pass the bounds of Nature and to which the mind is reconciled only by a passive acquiescence in popular traditions'. Johnson's depth of feeling found expression not in direct self-revelation but in trenchant comments on life. He did his best to stem the rising tide of the new tendencies. It is worth noting perhaps at this point that the streak of deep morbidity in his nature did not strike Boswell as of any interest, nor did it seem of interest to Johnson himself. Had he been born later, it is likely that he would have found inspiration in those powerful feelings, and we might have had from him poems of a jet-black pessimism. As it was, in the choice of themes both for poetry and prose, Johnson remained the champion of a rigid classicism, which regards individualism of the imagination with suspicion, if not contempt. In so far as he understood Rousseau, he regarded him as a decivilizing influence. Any attempt to go back to the natural man he regarded as absurd. When, in 1800, Wordsworth wrote in his preface to *Poems* that 'Humble and rustic life was generally chosen because in that condition the essential passions of the heart find a better soil in which they can attain their maturity, are less under restraint and speak a plainer and more emphatic language,' Johnson, had he been alive, would have seen in that manifesto a reversal of the principles of civilized literature. For him and for the school for which he spoke, the essentially interesting subjects were the reason and the will, the conventions of government and society, not those feelings, impulses, and instincts which the Romantic Movement dragged into the foreground; while for Wordsworth, the imagination had something of a mystical character; it was a means of interpreting the world of the spirit. He touched that world through Nature, while Blake, the unnoticed harbinger of the movement, saw the divine element in impulse. The most concentrated expressions of extreme romantic doctrine are found in some of Blake's *Proverbs of Hell*, or scattered up and down his other writings in prose and verse; 'Exuberance is beauty'; 'The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom'; and 'The knowledge of ideal beauty is not to be acquired but is born in us.'

Spanish literature during the eighteenth century after the age of Calderon has also little bearing on our theme. Gallic influence was strong and that was conventionally classical, though the people were hankering after the native drama which had delighted their forefathers. (It was the generalized classical character of French drama which made it so transportable to all countries.) But Romanticism is native to Spain: Lope de Vega had been a brilliant embodiment of it. Then came the Napoleonic wars, followed by political oppression which drove many Spaniards of the thinking and writing sort abroad, and chiefly to France. When these returned, they brought with them the literary ideas of the French Romantic Movement and an admiration of Victor Hugo. The most eminent Spanish lyric poet of the nineteenth century is José de Espronceda (1810-42). He became the leader of the Romantic School. He, too, was involved in politics and spent much of his youth in exile. Byron, the fate-defying, rebellious Byron, affected him profoundly; and, in his own country, Espronceda established a personal legend distinctly Byronic.

The years of the Republic which followed the fall of Isabel II in 1868 were likewise distracted by violence and anarchy. It is not until 1874, with the publication of Juan Valera's *Pepita Jiménez*, that any prose fiction, distinctively Spanish, travels beyond national boundaries and is of a nature to be considered in relation to the European tradition. This novel, which has been translated into most languages, is a love-story told with easy grace and sensitive truth. It draws its sap from the Catholic side of that tradition. It was praised by Coventry Patmore for its 'complete synthesis of gravity of matter and gaiety of manner', who attributed this admirable characteristic to the nature of the attitude of the best Spanish minds towards religion:

With them, religion has been, as it was meant to be, a human passion; they have regarded dogma as the form of realisable, and, by them, realised experience, and the natural instincts of humanity as the outlines of the lineaments of the Divinity—'very God and very man'. Witness the writings of their greatest Saints and theo-

logians, in which dogma is, as it were, fused in, and becomes, psychology, instead of remaining, as it has done with us, a rock, indeed, of refuge to many, but a rock of stumbling and offence to many more, and of these especially such as have been endowed with the artistic temperament.

There is an absence of Manicheism, and at the same time a recognition that there are many and different degrees of human capacity for spirituality, in Valera's work. This is also characteristic of some modern Spanish dramatists, and to it is due the bright, indulgent, yet penetrating irony noticeable in such contemporary plays as those of the brothers Quintero. José Echegaray (1832-1916) was a crow who followed several furrows; among them the French dramatists of the younger Dumas school and Ibsen, that is to say, the Ibsen of the later symbolic plays. An even more definitely cosmopolitan talent is that of Jacinto Benavente. He, too, like the novelist Blasco Ibañez, has combined a tinge of romanticism with the naturalism of the Zola period of French literature. Neither of these writers, who enjoy an international reputation, is closely linked with Spanish Catholicism, or with older European poets.

Spanish literature during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been largely imitative of other literatures. In equity, though, it must be added that the peculiar splendour of some of Victor Hugo's verse was derived from Spanish tradition.

Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly, to whom Anglo-Saxon readers are so much indebted for a conspectus of Spanish literature, reminds us constantly of the importance of Italian influences. When he comes to this modern period, however, the two countries remind him of Roland and Sir Leoline in *Christabel*:

They stood aloof, the scars remaining,
Like cliffs that had been rent asunder
A dreary sea now flows between.
But neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder
Shall wholly do away, I ween,
The marks of that which once had been.

'Literature, after all,' he adds, 'depends upon form, and the Italian form survived. Two of the most celebrated poets of this age, Campoamor and Núñez de Arce, both excelled and won their reputations as masters of the Italian metres introduced by Boscan and Garci Lasso de la Vega some four centuries ago.' But as we have indicated, the predominating influence on Spanish writers now proceeded from France, that is to say from the romantic rather than the older tradition. This was all the more natural because Italian literature, too, had reflected these tendencies. Manzoni (1785-1873), known abroad as the author of *I Promessi Sposi* (a novel in the manner of Scott), represented in Italy the romantic and medieval reaction. In a more genuinely religious way and without a touch of the Frenchman's grandiose egotism, he was the Chateaubriand as well as the Walter Scott of Italy. As a lyric poet he was, however, immensely surpassed by Leopardi (1798-1837), whose work, apart from placing him among the great poets of all times, is especially pertinent to our inquiry. He was a greater and more perfect Matthew Arnold. He aimed at clarity and concision. To write Italian as a Greek poet would have written it was his ambition, and he attained it. There is a passage in his *Zibaldoni* which is of the greatest importance in defining the relation between classical and romantic work. 'The effect of clearness is not, properly speaking, to make the reader conceive a clear idea of a thing in itself, but a clear idea of the precise state of our mind, whether it be seeing clearly or seeing obscurely.' Leopardi thought that the romantics confused the clear expression of the vague with vagueness of expression. It is a charge which lies at the door not only of many of his contemporaries but of very many modern poets. Though Leopardi is affiliated more closely than perhaps any other modern poet, except possibly Moréas in *Les Stances*, with the classic half of the European tradition, his thought is antagonistic to the Christian. His poetry is the most beautiful expression of despair, of 'noia' (*ennui*), or what Catholics would call *accedia*, combined with the contemplation of an infinite indifferent to man—his only escape.

Così tra questa
 Immensità s'annega il pensier mio:
 E il naufragar m'è dolce in questo mare.
 (So in this immensity my thought is drowned:
 and sweet to me is shipwreck in this sea.)

In Carducci (1836-1907), the national poet of modern Italy, in whom nature-love is inextricably mingled with patriotism, classicism predominates.

In German literature of the last two centuries the conflict between indigenous romanticism and classical tradition shows the strangest results. The influence of Hellenism, direct or indirect through Latin literature, has so pervaded the literary forms, imagery, and standards of European literature that it has been only possible in this essay to hint at a few of its most obvious manifestations. But that influence, as we have already noted, was retarded in Germany. When it became active in the middle of the eighteenth century (and let active here be understood as meaning potent among writers of genius), it was effective with a difference. The impact of the Greek view of life on the Germanic mind has been more emotionally disturbing than upon any other race. From Winckelmann's (1717-68) discovery of Greek art onwards, or, rather, from his discovery of Graeco-Roman art (for of Greek art itself he was ignorant), the ethical and aesthetic ideal of 'a noble simplicity and serene grandeur' haunted the great poets of Germany: *Heiterkeit*—'blitheness or repose', and *Allgemeinheit*—'generality or breadth'—were the supreme characteristics of Greek art as they appeared to this Teutonic discoverer of it. For Winckelmann, and for his race, they had the profound attraction of otherness.

The Hellenic movement in eighteenth-century Germany was really a retarded renaissance which was prolonged into the nineteenth century. The interest of this branch of our subject lies not 'in what the Germans made of the Greeks, but in what the Greeks made of them', a subject which has recently been treated in *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany*.¹

Germany is the supreme example of her [Greece's] triumphant

¹ E. M. Butler, Cambridge University Press.

spiritual tyranny. The Germans have imitated the Greeks more slavishly; they have been obsessed by them more utterly and they have assimilated them less than any other race. The extent of Greek influence is incalculable throughout Europe; its intensity is at its highest in Germany.

This is the theme of that book; and although it may strike scholars as open to some objections, it fits admirably not only the literary career of Goethe, who for better or for worse could never get away from the Greeks, but the subsequent development of German literature. It illuminates Hölderlin, for instance, the poet of Pagan obsession (1770-1843); Heine, the mocker of Olympus (1797-1856); Schliemann (1822-90), a curious reincarnation of Winckelmann; Nietzsche, the re-interpreter of Greece for the Germans in terms of Dionysian tragedy; Carl Spitteler (1845-1924), the mythologist, and even that modern mystagogue poet Stefan George the symbolist (1868-1933). It throws light, too, on those contemporaries of Goethe who like Platen slavishly imitated the Greeks or, like Lessing and Herder, gave a twist to Winckelmann's interpretation of things Greek which in turn determined Goethe's interpretation of them.

The nature of Goethe's Hellenism has been recently made the subject of a special study by Mr. Humphrey Trevelyan. He says:

Winckelmann held up the Greeks to the admiration of his fellow-countrymen in their manner of life as well as in their art, and indeed derived the perfection of their art from the excellence of their life. This idea of Winckelmann's is the seed of the whole of German classicism which continued as it developed with Goethe and Schiller, to stress more and more the way of life of the Greeks and to regard their art merely as the expression of this way of life.

That is a true word: 'The explanation of the beauty of Greek art lies in the beauty of the Greek man.'¹ 'Winckelmann does not state this conviction in so many words, but it is implicit in all the first part of his essay.'² Other influences went to the

¹ Korf, *Geist der Goethezeit*.

² *The Popular Background to Goethe's Hellenism*.

composition of this in many respects ignorant conception of Greek life on which Goethe based his classicism—notably a view of the Greeks, derived from Fénelon and Rousseau, as the innocent beautiful children of an unperverted world.

But why did this half-bastard Hellenism get so tyrannous a grip upon the imaginations of German writers? According to Miss Butler an answer to that question may be found in a peculiarity of the German nature; the Germans are more at the mercy of ideas than any other race. This is a somewhat sensational explanation, but far from unacceptable, and it seems to find confirmation not only in German literature but in German politics.

This strange defencelessness (in the presence of ideas) has set its seal on their literature with its prolonged periods of slavish imitation of foreign countries, its unbalanced enthusiasms, its helpless subjection to catchwords, fashions and aesthetic theories; but it is also responsible for highly original, beautiful, sphinxlike monuments, deeply philosophical in content. The general run of poets create their own visions of life; the Germans on the other hand have sought inspiration from philosophers. Goethe's genius was nourished by Spinoza; Schiller wrestled with Kant; the romantic poets steeped themselves in Fichte and Schelling; Hegel ruled the Young Germans; Wagner and Nietzsche were the children of Schopenhauer. Wherever we look we find German poets standing on the shoulders of philosophers in order to view the world; seeking for absolute beauty in the realm of absolute truth.

It is corroborative of this view that in Germany the Renaissance should have taken the form of a Reformation, with the consequence that she felt less than other countries that quickening of the sense of beauty in poetry and art which the Renaissance brought to the rest of Europe. Luther had cut the Germans more completely off from Catholicism than the Reformers in England severed their countrymen from that connexion.

He took from them a system which had nourished their mysticism and ministered to their sense of beauty whilst commanding their belief. In a word, he destroyed the mythological element of Christianity, that poetical combination of beauty and truth for

which they have ever since been seeking in Greek or Nordic mythologies or by reverting to the Catholic faith. . . . Whether sceptics or not (and most of the great German poets have been sceptics) they found the Christianity he bequeathed to them barren of beauty and also lacking in that mystical profundity which philosophy supplied instead.¹

And when in the mid-eighteenth century Hellenism did visit them, it characteristically was linked with a need to find spiritual salvation as well as artistic inspiration. Accept, at any rate, this view and the history of German literature thenceforward falls into a pattern which also reveals the relation of that literature to the European tradition.

The poetic career of Goethe, who is so representative, appears then as a prolonged struggle between an impulse to see life tragically after the manner of Shakespeare, and a refusal to do so: an effort to superimpose upon what he called his 'daimon' which represented his deepest impulses, the 'serenity' which he attributed to the Greeks; consequently to banish suffering from art, or to represent mind suffering as softened and conquered by an imperturbable mind. It was Winckelmann and Herder who had suggested this interpretation of Greek tragedy to him, and though Lessing in his *Laocoon* had refuted that interpretation as far as Greek literature was concerned, Goethe still clung to the belief that it was his mission to call back that serenity into the modern world. *Iphigenia*, in which there is only nominal dramatic conflict, the *Roman Elegies*, pure pieces of sensual paganism, the *Achilleis*, 'which is a *reductio ad absurdum* of Winckelmann's cherished principles', where nobility has become pomposity and serenity emptiness, *Hermann und Dorothea*, which was both his answer to the French Revolution (being his tribute to the simple life of humanity which must persist through all revolutions however catastrophic) and also an attempt to describe rustic German life with Homeric simplicity—these works represent his effort, in which Schiller abetted, to force Greek ideals upon Germany, a yoke which Heine was destined to shake off.

¹ *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany.*

Goethe's Hellenism failed to solve the spiritual conflict within himself, and *Faust* is the expression, not a solution, of that conflict. *Faust*, if its two parts are taken as one whole, is therefore linked to both sides of the European tradition, the Christian and classical. It is, indeed, something of an anomaly that the masterpiece of so great a pagan should have been based on a Christian conception of Hell, Heaven, and Salvation. To quote again from *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany* a passage which has a profound bearing upon the theme of this survey:

Goethe would not, or could not, represent tragedy; and the only mythological reconciliation of the tragedy of life ever yet suggested is the other-worldly paradise in which Christians believe. Can it be denied that this is a crushing fact? And can there be any doubt that the greatest genius of modern times, who had it in him to equal if not surpass Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and to represent the nature of the modern world, as they represented antiquity, medievalism and the Renaissance, failed in this task because he had no mythology that would serve? And this was so perhaps because he rebelled against the voice which told him that the world is a reflection of life, and that life, except for the Christians, is tragic in the extreme. His valiant denial of tragedy resulted in an aesthetic failure to represent the world he lived in. In his life, as well as in his works he is the expression *par excellence* of the dualism of modern man.

The next great German poet is also, and far more tragically, an expression of this dualism.

Hölderlin, who is only beginning to be recognized outside his country as one of the great poets of Europe, was the embodiment of that conflict and ended in madness. He has been compared with Keats, in regard to his intense sensibility and his attitude towards Greece. But there was a profound difference in their Hellenism. To the (characteristically) German poet the gods of Greece actually became objects of worship and the classical dream, not a theme for literature, but a daily obsession. Schiller and Schiller's *Gods of Greece* were Hölderlin's initial inspiration; but whereas Schiller had mourned elegiacally the passing of a golden age, to Hölderlin the idea that that golden age could not return was a personal spiritual tragedy. His

story *Hyperion* was the story of the failure of a mission to restore Greece and all it stood for; his *Empedocles* (one of the great verse-tragedies of the nineteenth century) the ultimate expression of his own private tragedy, that of one who found himself abandoned by his gods to learn that it was only through death he could ever be united to them. This verse-play was followed by one of the strangest and most fervid efforts ever made to bridge the gulf between paganism and Christianity, a poem called *Bread and Wine*, in which Dionysus, the inspirer, was half identified with Christ. And the conflict continues in Hölderlin's work, Christ remaining for him a god among gods; till in an unfinished poem, *Only One*, Hölderlin renounces all others, but in a spirit which still betrays a divided allegiance: he confesses as to a weakness, 'I cling to Thee too much'. Finally, in *Patmos*, written before madness shattered his mind, the vision of the gods of nature is shut out for ever.

Hölderlin had never striven to be Greek in Goethe's sense, but he is a writer extremely significant of the Germanic effort to find in the ancient world the source of living religion.

The significance of Heine, as far as our theme is concerned, is that he represents a reaction against the tyranny of Greece and German classicism. Yet he, too, was perpetually haunted by the gods of Hellenism. 'Once the world was a whole', he wrote, 'in antiquity; and in the Middle Ages, in spite of perpetual war, there was still unity in the world and there were complete harmonious poets. Let us enjoy and honour these poets, but for us to imitate their balance and completeness is a lie, a lie easy to see through.' Imitation of the Greeks, he saw, lacked life, reality. That was the weak point, not of Hölderlin's, but of Goethe's classicism and of those who followed Goethe in that direction. Heine was attracted to paganism, but also repelled by it; it could not comfort. His own lyric talent rested partly on the traditional German folk-song, on poetry that was dyed with Catholicism. But though this gave him openings towards a pathos, of which he sometimes took exquisite advantage, Catholicism itself was associated in his mind with the politics which he detested; while the worship of sorrow and

pain, typified by the way-side crucifix, filled him with loathing. As a pagan, he complained that 'religion no longer gave happiness but only consolation. It was a sorrowful blood-stained religion only fit for delinquents'; on the other hand, the revived Olympianism of the Hellenic movement seemed pretentious and cold and empty. The day of those gods was over. They were helpless dilapidated ghosts; to Schiller's *Gods of Greece* he replied with his *The Twilight of the Gods*. Here again we are brought up to the conflict between the two elements in the European tradition, again unresolved.

XI

It is not until the Romantic Movement sets in that Russia enters the main stream of European literature. The value of Russian literature, it has been said, its peculiar and unique message to the world, would not be sensibly diminished had everything it produced from the twelfth to the beginning of the nineteenth century perished with the exception of *The Raid of Prince Igor*. With the beginning of the nineteenth century and the accession of Alexander I, the dawn of Russian literature broke. What is the relation of this literature to the main European tradition? Behind it, of course, lay a folk-literature not unlike that of the rest of medieval Europe. The first printing firm had been established during the reign of Ivan the Terrible in Moscow in 1564, and the first Russian Bible was printed in Poland in 1580. The press was under the control of the Russian Orthodox Church, and that Church regarded all foreign learning with deepest mistrust. There is, however, one early work which is of remarkable interest since it exhibits some of the characteristics of Russian fiction. This book is the *Memoirs* of Avvakum (1620-81), an archpriest of the Russian Church and himself the son of a village priest. Having declined to accept the revision of the ritual of the Russian Church according to Greek practice as proposed by Nikon, he was exiled to Siberia in 1653. However, after the fall of Nikon he returned to Moscow in 1664. The Synod of Moscow (1666-7) condemned Avvakum's doctrines and he was burnt at the stake

in 1681. Avvakum's *Memoirs* are marked by the directness, realism, and sincerity characteristic of later Russian literature. In Avvakum can already be seen exhibited the extraordinary power for literary purposes of the spoken language of the Russian people, and in which her greatest writers were to convey their criticism of life. This criticism (until quite recently) has been predominantly Christian.

It was not until the Russian language had been freed from the bondage of the foreign influences, under which Krylov had written his elegant fables in the manner of La Fontaine, that Russia's specific contribution to European literature became possible. The writer who released it was Pushkin (1799-1837). He created in a few years the Russian literary language, freeing that language from the pompous theatrical style which, up to his day, was considered necessary for the printed page. He was not only a great lyrical poet, classical in spirit, but he was also great in the direction in which the Russian novelists were destined to excel: in taking the commonest things of everyday life, the ordinary feelings of everyday people, and so relating them to poetry on the one hand, and to fact on the other, that the reader could live through them intensely. It is significant that the founder of Russian realism should have been a poet. There is poetry in all Russia's greatest novels. The most popular of Pushkin's works was his novel in verse. *Evgéniy Onegin* has something in common with Byron; yet its quiet directness is more akin to Wordsworth—if the English reader can imagine a Wordsworth devoted to an interpretation of the human rather than the natural landscape. 'Yet it was Byron who helped Pushkin to discover himself. Byron revealed to him his own powers, showed him the way out of the French garden. . . . But what Pushkin took from the new provinces to which the example of Byron led him was entirely different from what Byron sought there.'¹ His verse was as free from artificial expressions as his prose, even when he was dealing with violent passions. In his contempt for everything theatrical, his resolve to have nothing to do with 'the lurid tragic actor

¹ Maurice Baring, *An Outline of Russian Literature*.

who wields a cardboard sword', he was the founder of that preference for honest expression of feeling in which nineteenth-century Russian fiction was to set an example to the rest of Europe. This intense Russian realism, implying also psychological elaboration, was foreign to the classical half of the European tradition, yet it was nevertheless linked to it through the heart-searchings implicit in the Christian half of that tradition. It must never be forgotten that Christianity has laid a stress upon the inward aspect of actions, upon motives, foreign to the ancient world. The point to emphasize here is that the Romantic Movement in Russian literature took a turn in the direction of Spiritual Realism, an impulse which was to influence profoundly the modern novel.

No mention of 'the novel' has yet been made in this essay—that literary form which has largely usurped the place of drama and epic in literature. Story-telling is older than literature itself. In the classics and the earliest mediæval literature the ancestors of 'the novel' can be found; but to discover by comparison with such ancient models as the work of Petronius or, say, *Daphnis and Chloe*, whether this or that famous novelist is or is not in the line of classical tradition is too vast a subject. All that can be done is to suggest by broadest statement the direction of the novel's development. This has been in an ever-increasing deviation towards the elaboration of realistic description on the one hand, and of psychological analysis on the other. The greater part of the matter out of which the modern novel is made, whether we look round us or back over nearly three hundred years, would have been omitted by the earlier tellers of stories. As Sir Walter Raleigh amusingly says in his book upon the English novel, 'If a mediæval minstrel had been requested to embody all the novels of Henry James in his narrative, he would have put them into a single line:

When twenty years were come and gone

and hurried on to the next giant.'

What we mean by character-drawing in the sense of psychological analysis was unknown to the ancestors of the novel.

Character was presented through action, speech, and soliloquy, as it is upon the stage. It is natural to discuss this change in connexion with Russian literature, for in the nineteenth century the majority of the great Russian writers were novelists, and Russia has contributed more than her share to any short list of the greatest novels. (One or other of the works of Tolstoy or Dostoïevsky would probably be found at the top of any such list.) It is highly questionable, however, whether character can be more satisfactorily presented from inside than from outside, but there is no doubt that the novelist to-day who follows an inner train of feeling or reflection gives an impression of bringing the reader into closer contact with human nature. That we *know* any famous character of Tolstoy or Dostoïevsky Pierre or Prince André, or the brothers Karamazov, better than Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, or for that matter, Achilles, is doubtful. Yet, in a sense, we know them more intimately, though not, perhaps, more recognizably. All that can be said is that this deviation from the classical method of presenting character satisfies a need, an impulse of curiosity, characteristic of the modern mind. Human nature, it is often said, does not change—but that is a half-truth. In modern men the habit of self-awareness is more constant. They are more self-conscious; they are more acutely aware of the changes and inconsistencies of their moods. This is a change which has affected all literature but is reflected most clearly in the story. Consequently, in fiction we ask to be admitted into the self-consciousness of others. The classical tradition sets its face against satisfying this demand beyond a certain point, and it is certainly opposed to those extremes wherein an elaborate inner monologue takes the place of an objective picture of life: to novels in which character-drawing dissolves itself into tracing psychological processes, which may be human, but are certainly not distinctive of a definite character. Such works do mark a deviation from the European tradition. The development of the novel can be briefly outlined as follows:

First we had the story in which action and events were the main source of interest, in which the feelings and thoughts

of the actors recorded were conventionalized in expression and always strictly germane to events. In love romances, as was natural, emotions came to be more and more minutely described. But in the nineteenth century yet another change took place. Special use was made of one fact regarding human nature which became more and more obvious as men grew more self-conscious, namely, the frequent *irrelevance* of our thoughts and feelings to our circumstances and actions. Artistically used, as Tolstoy used it when he told us that Anna Karenina, at the moment of flinging herself under a train, was reminded of diving, or that her last thought was not of her misery but of the little bag in her hand—this device increases the vividness of the reader's sense of living *in* a character. It is a legitimate device of realism. It heightens our belief in the actuality of the moment described; and in intention it is not different from those external descriptions of gestures or surroundings common to tradition. But out of this minute attention to the movements of the mind has sprung recently a kind of fiction which attempts to get closer and closer to the very texture of consciousness at any given moment; and this extreme subjectivity when indulged in for its own sake does imply a breach with the European literary tradition.

And it is not only the novelists, but also the poets (those of them, at least, who are labelled as distinctively modern) who have tended lately more and more towards making queer momentary impressions or sensations their subject-matter and putting moods under the microscope. Just as the novelists have travelled far from the objective attitude towards the inner life maintained by Tolstoy and even Dostoïevsky (who dramatized it magnificently), so, too, those poets in all countries who derive from the French symbolists (Mallarmé in particular)—and this is even more true of those who have taken their cue from Rimbaud—represent a break away even from Romanticism in the direction of further individualism. One element in the so-called Romantic Movement was an intensified individualism. But the modern movement, though in the nature of the subjects it favours, and in its standard of values,

it often appears to be a reaction against the Romantics, actually pushes still farther in that direction. Loyalty to an extreme subjectivity—to the effort to define and defend against the world some personal experience, *mon propre mystère*, to use a phrase of M. Valéry (one of the most admired of these poets)—is the first aim of the moderns. ‘Rimbaud plants himself in the world within himself, he speaks only of and for himself. . . . He has smashed eloquence, discovered new kinds of images and comparisons, taught a new melody and, above all, animated all with that immense ambition: the will to repulse the exterior world—the enemy which must be conquered.’ In these words a contemporary French critic and enthusiastic admirer described Rimbaud’s art. Nothing could be more profoundly anti-classical than ‘that immense’—and in the end hopeless—‘ambition’. The symbolists did not see, Monsieur Fäy adds, that their masters, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Mallarmé, had really proposed a crusade, a ‘spiritual chase’; and by this he means that at first their followers were free from the mysticism of the ego. The technique of Symbolism, Surrealism, and the other movements based upon Symbolism is also in conflict with the classical tradition. With these movements the theme of a poem is often withheld, the poet trusting to the flash of chance analogies, the relevance of which rests upon private associations, to reveal his meaning—perhaps after many readings. Syntax is often dislocated and punctuation ignored, as though the writer were attempting to present simultaneously impressions which the very act of writing itself compels him to state consecutively. What concerns us here is that a manner of writing so purely suggestive and therefore so uncertain of attaining its effects, and a subject-matter so apt to be defiantly idiosyncratic, are the reverse of what classical tradition upholds.

THE EDUCATION OF PEOPLES SINCE
THE RENAISSANCE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

CRITICAL surveys of the history of European culture have appeared in considerable number and variety in the twentieth century. They have always concerned themselves with the general trends of literature and art in their various forms, and have paid small attention or none to the essential bases of any such investigation, the specific qualities of education as it has evolved in European lands, and the sociological issue of available means, open to and used by all the children of all the people, for the fullest and best types of general and professional education. Least of all has the ascertained body of facts and conclusions, relative to the scope of popular opportunities for education, been incorporated in the elaborate studies published in many lands, on the two centuries in which the Renaissance achieved its victory. Scarcely greater has been their influence on the history of the following epoch, moving down to the Revolutionary period, 1789 to 1815, and its reactions on the education of nationalities and their entire peoples, ever since that upheaval of the propertied classes into political control of popular instruction and culture.

The explanations of this small concern on the part of writers on the Renaissance are capable of succinct statement. They sought out and emphasized contrasts between the Renaissance and the preceding age. Differences of standards and outlook between the two periods were neither few nor unimportant. But they are not either vital or dominant. In the realms of popular education and of sociological rights and facts attaching to its history, as also in the realms of scholarship and learning, discovery and research, the web of continuity that traverses the centuries of change and ultimate results is both wide and strong. Even down to the present day the Renaissance reigns in all grades of education, as viewed within the class-rooms and the lecture-halls of the European tradition. As regards popular opportunity for full culture, general and professional, the fabric

that was so seriously damaged in one region of historic Europe within the sixteenth century, and in all other regions during the twenty-five years of revolution, is being painfully repaired since about 1830. The educational rights and facts of the centuries between Charlemagne and Napoleon, between Edward the Confessor and Edward the Sixth's ministers, are being in some sense reconstituted during the last hundred years. With these issues of popular culture writers on the Renaissance and its art and literature have had small concern. They are prone to disregard the civilization of peoples, and they prefer to dwell on bold personalities and spectacular achievement in arts and affairs.

Yet explanations of their strange disregard of the real people and their intellectual and social characteristics, based on education as these have always been, are not lacking. The practical facts concerning education are only of late being brought to light, and that only for certain regions in countries such as France and England, Switzerland, and the borders of western and central Europe. The great Renaissance writers themselves, from Petrarch and Flavius Biondus to Budé and Muret, and onward to the great Italian humanists of the eighteenth century, such as Facciolati, have scarcely been laid under tribute even by writers such as Hallam or Pastor. From these two sources much can be derived concerning the commonwealth of European culture founded on the Latin tradition, extending from Lithuania and Latvia to Lisbon and Lagos, and from the Gaelic Highlands of Sutherland and Tirconnail to the Greek cities of Taranto and Syracuse.

Any succinct presentation of the sociological issues, basic to any record of this European culture, any summary of the process and scope of that culture of many peoples, must be by typical instances. These will be most effective when they cover entire epochs of evolution and upheaval. England and France, Switzerland and Italy, will from the rise of the Renaissance down to the new epoch, that of pervasive international unrest and fear, furnish adequate and varied aspects of the sociology and of the intellectual standards of European culture, from the

fifteenth to the twentieth century. England (with her offshoot North America) will exhibit in contrasted ways great social changes acting on that culture; she will present her great educational reformer, as representative a figure, as princely a type of the Renaissance mind as Baldassare Castiglione, or Hippolito d'Este, or Alessandro Farnese at the culmination of cultural changes during the sixteenth century in Italy. England, too, will in that great Age exhibit the effects of revolution on education, and thus exemplify what was later to result, from similar forces and motives, in the Revolution period, over France, Italy, Germany, and Spain. The main trend of Renaissance academic minds, concerning education and culture, will find expression from all these lands of southern and western Europe, while the pervasive influence of one Swiss source on modern elementary studies will lead to an examination of that writer's real mind concerning popular rights in education, and their sociological and economic significance. The treatment of this topic will naturally prove to be international as well as regional, and the same self-extending power will be observed to be inherent in other problems of modern culture. They must all lead up to a constructive policy, religious and ethical, deriving from the giving effect to the *philosophia perennis* of Christian civilization, and embodying its sound tradition of a humanism not limited to one source of human culture, or to one among the many strata of human society.

CHAPTER II

THE RESTRICTION OF EDUCATION IN ENGLAND FROM THE RELIGIOUS REVOLT TO THE INDUSTRIAL EPOCH

A BEGINNING for this series of typical regions will be found in England, that fully evolved medieval England that was a land alike of widespread and thorough popular education, of full participation in the international development of creative academic work, the England that presents to the world the names of Scotus and of Roger Bacon as leaders in educational design and action. Within that England her great medieval university, her free school of the highest grade for all the sons of her people, yet most of all for the sons of the poor, to be worthy servants of her people in her schools, her professions, her councils. With that effectively popular English university of the epoch when the Middle Age swept onward into the Renaissance will be found in close contact her greatest figure as a statesmanlike educator, a princely figure of the Renaissance type, yet unlike the others of that mould, in that he was sprung from the real people and that he put his hand to their education. He had done so, with firm decision, with every hope of assured success in broadening out, on the finest lines of Renaissance humanism, the already splendid provision made throughout England for the education of her people. Within twenty years his work, and the structure of which it was to be the culminating perfection, was to be deprived of all its efficiency for nation-wide service to all grades of the people of England.

The position held by the University of Oxford, typical of all the greater European universities, through the centuries of transition to the Renaissance (1300-1500), and its subsequent disasters down to the middle of the nineteenth century, have been reviewed with candour and conciseness in the report of the Royal Commission of 1851-3. From that historical text, due to such fellows and tutors of Oxford colleges as Henry Liddell, later to be Dean of Christ Church, A. C. Tait, afterwards

Anglican Primate of England, A. P. Stanley, who became Dean of Westminster, and Goldwin Smith, soon to be Regius Professor of History, sufficient evidence of the historical facts may here be drawn. That evidence will be supplemented by the views of Benjamin Jowett, who became Master of Balliol College; from the essays of Mark Pattison (1855), later elected Rector of Lincoln College, and from the writings (1831-52) of Sir William Hamilton, the representative Oxford student, humanist, and philosopher of that period.

For whom was provided the European university of Oxford? The findings of A. C. Tait, H. P. Liddell, A. P. Stanley, and others (1851-3) are thus stated:

In the reign of King Henry III (1216-72) the University of Oxford was the chief free school for the poor, the chief grammar school in England, as well as the great place of Education for students of Theology, of Law, and of Medicine.

Colleges were originally intended to be what they still are in the eye of the law. They were designed to supply poor students, as long as they were poor and as long as they were students, but no longer, with a maintenance decent and honest (as it is expressed in the statutes of New College) but of a very frugal character. In Queen's and New Colleges the Fellows are forbidden to keep dogs, *for to give to dogs the bread of the children of men is not fitting for the poor, especially for those who live on alms*. Archbishop Peckham reproved, as Visitor, in 1284, the Fellows of Merton College: *Ye ought only to have received the indigent. Ye have no liberty to receive such as have sufficient to provide for their own necessities*. . . . Founders intended to provide only for those who could not obtain a subsistence without forsaking their studies. Few of those who now resort to Oxford are of this kind.¹

What was the Medieval Order and Rule of Study? The answer is given by Goldwin Smith (1851-2), with his record of the changes:

The rule of study was . . . the old University System. This system consisted, firstly, of a course of general study called Arts, and sometimes (in the Statutes) Philosophy, divided into two periods marked by the degrees of Bachelor and Master; secondly, of the Faculties of Theology, Law (Civil and Canon), and Medicine. Each of these,

¹ *Report, Oxford Commission*, pp. 19, 136, 137.

like Arts, was divided into two periods marked by the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor. Arts occupied seven years; Theology twelve, Law and Medicine six each, each taking the highest degree in Arts. The whole University course occupied thirteen to nineteen years. The Fellow (of a College) was generally required by Statute, and everywhere expected, after completing his course in Arts, to proceed in one of the (higher) Faculties. To study, not to teach, was the business of Fellows. Poverty was much insisted on as a qualification for a Fellowship.

The rule of study, imposed by the Statute, as regards the Graduate Fellows, has with the change of the University system become wholly obsolete. The Degrees enjoined by Statutes are still taken. But those in Theology and Law, as well as that of Master of Arts, have long since degenerated into a form. The Degree in Medicine alone retains anything of reality.¹

How radical was the alteration in the sixteenth century? Two passages from Mark Pattison (1855) will serve to show its extent and character:

The period of Oxford Studies, which, we may say, terminated with the commencement of the agitation of the matter of the King's Divorce (1527-8) was the latest era in our History at which we find Oxford in the full enjoyment of all the extant culture. . . . The disastrous years that ensued . . . blighted all culture, crushed all spirit, and checked progress. . . . From that time to the present, the (two) Universities have ceased to originate, to rule, even to respond to, such intellectual activity as the nation has possessed. The whole of that sphere of thought, in which a liberal training consists, or by which it can be accomplished, has been abandoned by them.²

The same superstition of Puritanism which in the seventeenth century proscribed the speculative Theology and Philosophy as being Popish, operated also against the Imperial Constitutions (The Code of Justinian), which were tainted by their Roman origin. Puritanism concurred with the Inns of Court in expelling from our academical course two of the most enlightening and liberalising studies which it had contained. The desuetude and even the direct discouragement of the academic study of Roman Law, during the

¹ Statement by Goldwin Smith, as Secretary, appended to the Oxford Commission Report, 1853, pp. 4, 9.

² *Oxford Studies*, ed. 1889, pp. 448-9.

past two centuries, has been a cause of the contracted habit of the national mind.¹

The ultimate issue of this destructive policy was thus stated in 1831 by Sir William Hamilton, philosopher and humanist:

Looking to the Statutes, and to the whole Statutes, we showed that there were two academical systems to be distinguished in Oxford, a legal and an illegal; and that no two systems could be more universally and diametrically opposed. In the former, the end for the sake of which the University is privileged by the nation, and that, consequently, imperatively prescribed by the Statutes, is to afford public education in the Faculties of Theology, Law, Medicine, and Arts (to say nothing of the Science of Music) and to certify, by the grant of a Degree, that this education has, in any of these Faculties, been effectually received. In the latter (the *illegal* system) degrees are still ostensibly accorded in all the Faculties, but they are now empty, or rather delusive, distinctions. For the only education at present requisite for all degrees is the private tuition afforded by the Colleges, in the elementary department of the lowest Faculty alone.

The same unexceptionable Oxford writer shows how this decline affected English professional life:

England is the only Christian country where the Parson, if he reach the University at all, receives only the same minimum of theological tuition as the Squire; the only country where the degree conferred on the Jurist is conferred without either instruction or examination; the only country in the world where the Physician is turned loose upon Society without professional examination, or even the slightest guarantee for his skill.²

And what was true twenty years ago is in every respect true now.³

The conclusions concerning his university reached by this representative worker of the age of Newman and of Pattison is plainly stated:

The University is in abeyance: *stat magni nominis umbra*. An examination only exists for the elementary Degree, of which resi-

¹ *Oxford Studies*, ed. 1889, p. 485.

² *Edin. Review*, Dec. 1831; *Discussions*, 1852, pp. 441-2.

³ *Discussions*, 1852, p. 463.

dence is also a condition. It is not pretended that Oxford now supplies more than the preliminaries of an academic education.

The decline in the quality of Renaissance education at Oxford at the same epoch is fully declared by Mark Pattison, the Renaissance scholar who in due course became Rector of Lincoln College:

The very idea of a complete or liberal education has been lost (at Oxford, 1800). Oxford's aim had dwindled to teaching the classics: but even here it may be affirmed that the standard of attainment was deplorably low. Oxford was in fact become a mere grammar school, and a bad classical school, inasmuch as the Tutors of Colleges were inferior scholars.¹

Of the world of wisdom and sentiment, of poetry and philosophy, of social and political experience, contained in the Latin and Greek classics . . . Oxford in 1830 had never dreamt. There, teachers of the classics had sided with the enemies of humanism.²

This judgement is confirmed by the findings of Liddell and Tait, Stanley, and Goldwin Smith:

With regard to the Examination for honours, the course of classical reading has become more and more limited. . . . Scholarship is cultivated by few at Oxford in our day.³

This situation, developed since, in the century after the educational revolution in England, the *filiï plebeiorum* were replaced on the Oxford registers by the *filiï generosorum*, gave grave uneasiness to the most responsible authorities of the Victorian Age.

Benjamin Jowett (1851-2) put the situation thus:

The Colleges, it is agreed on all hands, are intended for poor students. Ought they not do more than at present, as a matter of duty and justice?⁴

Who have replaced the poor scholars? A. C. Tait, H. P. Liddell, A. P. Stanley, and others answer:

The restriction of scholarships to poor and indigent persons has also ceased to be observed. The main object of the endowment of

¹ *Oxford Studies*, ed. 1889, p. 453.

² *Memoirs*, 1885, p. 97.

³ *Report, Oxford Commission*, 1852-3, pp. 61, 62.

⁴ *Oxford Evidence, Report*, p. 33.

Colleges, which was, as we have already stated, to support persons actually engaged in study, has been almost entirely set aside. It is true that many actual students are educated in the Colleges. But they are educated, with few exceptions, at their own expense. So far from being supported by the Foundations of Oxford, they serve to increase the income of the Governing Body of such Foundations.

Similarly, they trace the effects of this revolution in university population to their analogue in the standards of studies:

The studies of the University are directed to a single examination. . . . The examinations themselves have encouraged a good deal of spurious knowledge. The ordinary Degree course is too narrow. The minimum of Knowledge required is so scanty as to leave all but the dullest, or most ignorant, unoccupied. The examiners are satisfied with a very slight exhibition of knowledge as regards many of these subjects. The Latin and Greek Authors are commonly got up by the aid of translations.¹

A further result of this double revolution in population and in studies, from the Oxford of established European greatness that he has already aided to describe, is afforded by Mark Pattison:

In my father's time (commoner of Brasenose, B.A. 1809) scholars were not regarded as gentlemen. They did not associate with the commoners.²

So, too, the most recent writer on this grave sociological issue records in 1933 that 'the student who enters the University handicapped by lack of means, is never allowed to forget his poverty'.³ Of 'poor students' in a quite other and even truer sense much might be added: one instance will suffice. In the *Life of Arthur Lionel Smith, Master of Balliol, 1916-24* (London: Murray, 1928), is described a Tutor's House at Balliol College for such youths, 'who had not acquired much learning' at Eton or elsewhere, and were unfit for University courses. 'It is a great work for the College', said Jowett, who established the House in 1891-2.

¹ *Report, Oxford Commission, 1852-3*, pp. 61-2.

² *Essays*, 1889.

³ L. Whiteley, *The Poor Student and the University*, Stapley Education Trust Publications.

These obvious restrictions and depressions of educational standards, which supervened on the creative epoch of European learning and scholastic opportunity some four hundred years ago, have been set out exclusively by the sentences of Oxford teachers of the highest responsibility, public and academic. The lesson to be drawn from them may be summed up in this clear statement of Mark Pattison, published in 1855:

A careful consideration of the old academical system prior to the Classical Renaissance, and of the practice of Greek Universities from which it was derived . . . can alone give light and method to our heterogeneous practice, and enable us confidently to take the next and final step, and restore to the country a truly normal school of Liberal Education . . . including all sciences in their proper subordination to Theology.¹

This remarkable retrospect is paralleled by the contemporary view of another Oxford writer, Regius Professor of Modern History, one who, like Pattison and all others cited and to be cited, was a staunch supporter of the Revolution in Religion effected in England between 1530 and 1570. It will be found that it brings up at once the central themes of the greatest of Oxford colleges, and its great Founder.

The Colleges of Oxford were founded at various periods from the end of the 13th century to the beginning of the 18th. Fourteen of the nineteen, including Christ Church, were founded by Roman Catholics. . . . The transfer of the Colleges from the Old to the New Faith was not accomplished without the forcible ejection of many Heads and Fellows, who adhered to the religion of their Founders.²

The college subsequently styled Christ Church was the crown of the great plan for further popular educational progress in England, devised with commanding boldness, as his chief constructive service to his Catholic nation and its Catholic faith, by Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal and Archbishop of York, Chancellor of Oxford and of England, Legate of the Holy See. Two notable biographies of that Catholic Reformer, those of

¹ *Oxford Studies*, ed. 1889, p. 456.

² Statement by Goldwin Smith, as Secretary, appended to the *Report* of the Oxford University Commission, 1853, init.

Professor A. F. Pollard and of Mr. Hilaire Belloc, appeared in 1930, on the fourth centenary of his tragic and untimely death. The biographers agree in according to this great prince of the Renaissance a wealth of untoward qualities of mind and will, evidence ample indeed that in these days the power of pictorial invective, characteristic of the earlier Renaissance humanists, from Poggio to Politian, manifestly endures. Dominating all the qualities of Wolsey, enumerated by Professor Pollard as ranging from aggressiveness and audacity to venom and violence, is the affirmation that the 'Church of Wolsey's conception is purely Papal'. With fully equal sweep of denunciatory epithet, Mr. Belloc declares that Wolsey 'had no vision: the things of the moment absorbed him: he was concerned solely with the events of day to day'. To Wolsey's special glory, the indictment framed by Dr. Pollard is as true as that of Mr. Belloc will be shown to be totally false. Wolsey was, indeed, and most of all, a worker for the future, and that on European and national, cultural and popular lines of action that put him, as Dr. Pollard truly says, in 'the closest understanding with the Papacy from which it derived'.

Wolsey planned for the progress and reform of Catholic institutions in England. He did this work in complete unison with Roman decisions, taken long before his day, to be vigorously executed over Catholic Europe long after his day, though wrecked and wrenched then and ever since, within England, from that true and noble purpose which he had formed—not for himself, but for the enduring good of the plain people of his country.

This capital reform, the chief work of Wolsey within England, lay in the field of education. By downright Catholic reform Wolsey planned to give the real people, from whom he sprang, free education of the highest Catholic and humanistic quality, free of personal cost alike in all schools and in the university. To that decisive reform, widely realized in Catholic Europe down to the French Revolution, Mr. Belloc and Professor Pollard have given no more attention than is indicated by a casual phrase at wide intervals in their work. M. Constant

accords it some two pages out of nearly eight hundred in his recent elaborate study of the period. An outline of this vital Catholic and popular work of reform will show what policy wrecked it, and indicate the national consequences of its rejection.

As recently as the 25th November 1914, Mr. A. F. Leach, addressing the British Academy, affirmed that 'no attempt has yet been made at any History of Education in England' and that 'English writers have ignored alike their own educational history and educational institutions'. This neglect and ignorance he expressly illustrates from the writings of such English historians as John Richard Green and of such English humanists as Richard Jebb; they and countless other writers exhibit numerous specimens of 'egregious myths current', 'myths that poison the well of knowledge at its source and distort the whole stream of educational history'. To dissolve these myths, Leach had already set himself the tremendous task of detailed exploration into the schools of English counties. In the great series of *Victoria County Histories of England*, commenced at the close of the nineteenth century, seventeen such pieces of basic research work were published by him from 1905 to 1910, extending from Yorkshire and Lancashire in the north to Hampshire and Sussex on the south coast. The result is conclusive. The provision of schools, primary and secondary, available in every part of these counties during the years 1490-1530, was not only ample but most generous. Herefordshire, for instance, had in 1520-30 no less than seventeen secondary or classical schools; the total population of the county was then about 30,000 persons. The provision of all grades of schools was, in proportion to the population, far more extensive in 1500-30 than in 1850. In many counties it was not only proportionately, but even absolutely, greater; and practically all this nation-wide net of secondary and elementary schools was well endowed and well staffed. Before the destruction of the schools under Henry VIII and Edward VI, as Bishop Stubbs wrote and as Thorold Rogers confirmed, 'the bailiff of every manor kept his accounts in Latin' and wrote in a good hand. It was far otherwise, Rogers tells us, in 1700. The universities

of Oxford and Cambridge were then, like the schools that supplied them, educational institutions of, for, and frequented by the people, draftsmen, workers on the land.

It was into this great field of democratic Catholic action that Wolsey, with all the prestige of his positions as Cardinal, Archbishop, Chancellor, and Legate, entered in full vigour during the years 1520 to 1530. From Rome, by repeated and express grants of special powers, he received ample measure of special jurisdiction, superadded to his legatine faculties. He planned a great extension of local secondary schools, educating boys free of all charge, throughout an eight years' classical course. To provide for them suitably in regard of free university studies, he designed and built Cardinal College, Oxford. Renamed King's College by a chief destroyer of English popular schools, later named Christ Church, it serves very different ends to-day; but the dignity of its great Hall shows how its founder, a man of the people, deemed that the sons of the people should be educated.

The financial provision for all this development of free popular education of the highest cultural quality was made, truly and well made, in strict accordance with the directions of the Holy See. Many smaller monastic and conventual foundations in England had passed out of their period of active usefulness. They were, invariably, composed of a very few monks, nuns, canons regular; and this situation had then and before, as to-day, been regarded by the Roman See as not conducing to good discipline and the due standards of religious efficiency. By a thoroughly laudable measure of Catholic reform these small communities were now amalgamated with larger ones, and their surplus funds, entirely at the disposal of the Chair of Peter, were devoted to the bold extension of free popular secondary and university education. Gairdner, in his volume on *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century* (1902), gives a list of twenty-seven of these foundations transformed in the years 1524-8. They are in ten counties, from Stafford southwards to Kent; but the list is entirely inadequate. It is certain that there were some thirty-five to forty such amalgamations in Lincoln

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alone, and Lincoln is unrepresented in Gairdner's *Appendix*.
Of the twenty-seven which he gives, twelve were Benedictine
houses—three of these were convents of nuns; eleven were
houses of Austin Canons; three were Cluniac foundations, and
one was of Prémontré.

It was to be expected that, in these small and comparatively
inactive institutions, the bold measure of reform and progress
would cause some temporary local soreness and discontent, due
to family interests and influence. That there was no other or
deeper trouble caused by this change and that due care was
taken to explain its value to all the people is amply evidenced
by the papers of the period. One such document may be cited
as an example, in the official summary (*Letters and papers, Henry
VIII*, vol. iv, no. 1471). Archbishop Warham writes thus to
Wolsey, 2-3 July 1525:

When he was at Tunbridge lately, he told the inhabitants there
that he himself and Wolsey had thought it better, for themselves
and for their children, perpetually to have 40 children of that
country (Tunbridge-Cranebroke) to be brought up in learning and
afterwards sent to Oxford, and that certain priests should there sing
Mass perpetually for their founders, rather than to have six or seven
canons. To this, all (of 16) except three wished the Canons restored;
but desired to be allowed till Friday to consult their neighbours.
At Otford, they finally referred the matter to the King's and
Wolsey's pleasure. The matter was published by the parish priest
of Cranebroke, by desire of the inhabitants of Tunbridge, in order
to get the advice of those of Cranebroke, as it concerned the interests
of both in regard to exhibitions at school.

The entirely Catholic character of this provision for the
betterment alike of popular education and of religious dis-
cipline, developed on a wide scale by Wolsey, needs no justifica-
tion. But were any desired, it could be advanced in peremptory
form. Sir Thomas More, not in any way a close friend of
Wolsey, applauded these measures. John Fisher, Bishop of
Rochester, as Chancellor of Cambridge University, by exactly
similar procedure and similar faculties from the Holy See,
founded St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1511, increasing

the teaching power of his University by fellowships, scholarships, Greek and Hebrew lectureships. The funds for this he derived from the religious houses of Bromhall in the diocese of Salisbury and of Lillechurch in his own diocese. Nor is this by any means all. The extension of popular educational endowments by these processes of reform deriving from the Holy See and its plenitude of power and ownership, first put into operation on a large scale by Cardinal Wolsey in the years 1520-30, was most fully ratified by the subsequent action of the popes in conjunction with the Catholic sovereigns of Europe, operative on a truly vast scale from 1540 to 1630 and later. Mainly by the transfer of the revenues of ecclesiastical and religious institutions when they were no longer fully serviceable in their previous organization, were the universities and schools of the Age of Catholic Reform, often called the Counter-Reformation, established on all the fronts where faith and heresy were in conflict.

The transfer was widespread, rapid, even sweeping in its thoroughness. Popes and emperors and kings, from St. Pius V to Urban VIII, from Ferdinand I to Ferdinand II, from Philip II to Louis XIII, thus made the full culture of Renaissance humanism and Christian training available in free secondary schools, in free university instruction, most of all in the debatable lands—on the Danube, the Rhine, the Main, the Garonne, the Meuse, the Rhône. It was thus that the new Teaching Corps of the Church, developed rapidly under the impulse given to popular Catholic education in all grades by the Council of Trent, were enabled to wage the battle of the Faith in the schools and to cause the Religious Revolt to recoil, until, in Macaulay's phrase, the forces of innovation in religion, dominant on the line of the Danube in 1550, were by 1630 driven back almost to the shores of the Baltic. Beyond doubt, Wolsey was the first to devise and apply this progressive Catholic policy on a large scale. The idea that it was proved a dangerous policy by reason of the Tudor confiscations of monastic and religious estates and revenues, 1536-53, never at any time was entertained by the Holy See.

Nor was it merely in respect of administrative organization that Cardinal Wolsey was a vigorous pioneer in the provision of educational opportunities for the real people. They were to learn to write with the bold and clear Roman script, a reform of capital importance, as all who deal in manuscript sources well know. Roman in their handwriting, they were to be able to speak clearly in the accent of the Italian Renaissance—*Italice eloqui*—when they were entered on Latin. The eight years of school courses in classical studies, eight to sixteen years of age, were provided for by his own detailed list of authors to be read and spoken each year. After the first year of beginners' grammar, work followed the prescribed sequence: (2) Lily, and Cato's *Moralia*; (3) Aesop and Terence; (4) Virgil, sonorously to be spoken; (5) Cicero's *Letters*; (6) Sallust and Caesar; (7) Horace, *Epistles*, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*; (8) Terence again, with Lorenzo Valla, Donatus, and with critical study of style, précis-work, and original essays in Latin. This progressive class-organization, planned in detail by the Chancellor of England at the height of his occupation with European problems, places him a generation ahead of the best school organizations effected in France or in Italy. There is nothing of the select or palace school about these school statutes of Wolsey. We are witnesses to a thoroughgoing executive school plan for humanistic education, worked out for immediate use by a man of supreme energy and decision, a man of the people, who would see to it that the very best in school and university education, in the finest structural surroundings, should be provided free of all charge for the sons of the people.

The significance of Wolsey's plans, in their period and in their scope, can be best shown by one subsequent, enduring, widespread educational fact. It was precisely this policy of free popular secondary and university education, with its doors wide open for all to enter, that was undertaken from 1545 by Peter Canisius and Jerome Nadal, the first instruments of the determinate designs of Ignatius of Loyola. When in 1759-73 his work was arrested by an international combination of which Pombal and Pompadour were representative

types, it could point to 650 colleges and universities working all over Europe, wherein the literature and the science of Christian humanism were placed, free of all charge and with no trace of class distinction or exclusivism, at the service of the children of the working people and of the *noblesse*, equally and together. For the entire people of his own race, Wolsey was, with fully mobilized energy, working out the same plan a score of years before the first Jesuit school was opened at Messina in Sicily.

The effects of the disastrous reversal of Wolsey's educational work have been nation-wide. Increasingly, down to the present epoch, the classes placed in power by the confiscations under Henry VIII and Edward VI have seen to it—by suppression, by encroachment, by social monopoly—that the people of England shall not have that free, universal, liberal education which is necessary for the progress of a nation. The destruction of schools from 1533 to 1553 was overwhelming in its effects. The universities managed to survive; but alike in resources, in students, in range and quality of work, they were maimed and crippled like the schools that fed them. The results of the confiscations carried out under the ministers of Edward VI (1553–8) were the almost total collapse of elementary schools, and the loss, according to the estimate of Mr. Leach, of some 270 secondary schools.

Led by such men as Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, uncle of Anne Boleyn, father of Catherine Howard, the beneficiaries of confiscation, the old nobility as well as the new, the covetous classes of England converted to their own family uses the educational endowments of what was Catholic England. Norfolk, Mr. Belloc tells us, found the greatness of Wolsey, man of the people yet prince of Renaissance culture, 'the small grazier's son', an 'irritant beyond bearing'. 'His determined and tireless hatred' was 'high in the factors which dragged Wolsey down'. Norfolk and Somerset secured thirteen abbeys each; Suffolk, another duke, got thirty; Cromwell, Earl of Essex, got six, including the Benedictine Abbey of Ramsey inherited by his grand-nephew, who became Protector of England. With the abbeys went the schools which were for

958 THE RESTRICTION OF EDUCATION IN ENGLAND FROM centuries before placed by pious founders under durable religious administration. The lesser plunderers dealt with over 250 Chantry School Foundations, mostly local classical schools, under Edward VI. Scarcely ten survived. In vain did Speaker Williams, on the 15th January 1562, tell Elizabeth of the destruction wrought on education in his own north country; Strype records his words:

Being chosen Speaker to the lower house, he was presented to the Queen, and in his speech to her took notice of the want of schools; that at least a hundred were wanting in England, which before this time had been. He would have England flourishing with ten thousand scholars, which the schools in this nation formerly brought up. That from want of these good school-masters sprang up ignorance; and covetousness got the livings by impropriations, which was a decay, he said, of learning, which grew greatly to the dishonour both of God and of the Commonwealth.

Neither the newly enriched classes nor their executive heads would have any dealings with popular education. They soon evolved a philosophy of limitations and imposed it on England. Their philosopher was Richard Mulcaster, headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School, London, a chief agent of Cecil and Elizabeth in the educational perversion of orphan Catholic boys, 1561-86. His views are candid, conclusive, of great historical moment:

Certainly there is great need, the thing is more than needful, to restrain the number that will to the book. While the Church was a harbour for all men to ride in, which knew any letter, there needed no restraint. The state is now altered. There is as great difference between suffering all to book in our days, and the like liberty in the ruffe of the Papacy among us, as there is between the two religions. The expelled religion was supported by multitude. The retained religion must pitch her defence in some paucity of choice. So that our time, of necessity, must restraine. If not, what you breed, the adversary part will allure.¹

To effect this policy of educational restraint, it was not sufficient to seize on the school endowments of the poor, such

¹ *Positions*, ed. R. H. Quick, 1888, p. 148.

as those of Winchester, Eton, and such others as contrived to survive the destructive plunderers of 1533-53. Any new endowments must also be wrested to the service of the landed proprietors and the new merchant class. Hence their universal occupation of such schools as Harrow, Shrewsbury, Rugby, Dulwich. Hence, within the last seventy years, the propagation of the legal view that a bequest for the education of the children of *pauperes et indigentes* is to be interpreted so as to mean the sons of the gentry, younger sons, and not otherwise. By continuous and omnipresent encroachment, the 'upper' and the 'propertied' classes in England have most successfully absorbed that educational property of the poor which still remained in the days of the daughters of Henry VIII. By quiet but steady intrusion they have achieved in 300 years what the school of Voltaire, Rousseau, and La Chalotais, operative from 1760 to 1790 on French political thought, bitterly hostile to and derisive of all popular education, was able in 1790-3 to effect by universal confiscation of the educational endowments of the people of France. The effects in France from 1793 were as those in England from 1553. The opportunities of these entire peoples for free, democratic, universal education, of the best humanistic type, were in both cases destroyed. Their recovery, in these years 1931-3, is in England, as in many other lands, an almost desperate enterprise.

The destruction of Wolsey's magnificent and most practical plans for the thorough development of popular education in England had thus, in the course of three centuries, worked out the fullness of a national disaster. These plans, primary, secondary, university, were rapidly approaching full execution, from the Tyne to the Solent, from Lancashire to Kent, in 1530. This was fully sanctioned by the successors of Saint Peter, both of them from the House of Medici, the son and the nephew of the great Lorenzo, patron of letters. Leo X gave ample faculties for this constructive reform to John Fisher; Clement VII repeatedly gave them to Thomas Wolsey. The legate for England had worked long and nobly to put the finest quality of Renaissance and Christian humanism at the absolute service

of the mass of the people of his country. Education of all grades, on a great open highway, was his great design.

Within the years 1929-32, the results of the destruction of schools at the period of the Religious Revolt, 1530 to 1570, and of the vast confiscations of school foundations, have been investigated on the side of elementary education. Dr. F. Smith, Dr. J. W. Adamson, J. L. and Barbara Hammond, Dr. Helen Wodehouse, with much care, have explored the situation from the opening of the eighteenth century down to 1870 and later: and accessory materials from Anglican biographies are now becoming ample in extent. The sociological aspects of popular education merit special attention. They show that the design of cultural restriction, formulated by Mulcaster under Elizabeth, worked into his political writings by Francis Bacon in the opening years of the Stuart dynasty, had in the period 1700-1850 reached its full term. In all England, rural, urban, metropolitan even, there was no inclination to carry the education of the children of the people—where there was any education given them at all—beyond reading alone. Not one pupil in ten had ever the chance of learning to write. Many devoted educators, many well-known educational reform movements, proclaiming the duty of educational progress very loudly indeed, expressly rejected the idea of teaching writing, and ignored arithmetic.

If the Charity Schools, under S.P.C.K. guidance from 1698, required a master to be able to teach the three R's, no mistress need be able to teach writing or arithmetic. Yet these schools, 'only affected a small proportion of the children of the poor'. The vast majority did not learn even to read: there were no schools, no teachers for them. Locke, following the efforts of Thomas Firmin (1675 onwards), pleaded in 1698 that reading be taught: but he was not heard. The English Sunday School system, greatly improved by the efforts of Robert Raikes of Gloucester, from 1786, never aimed at giving more than reading. 'The children are to be taught to read', and 'to be instructed in the plain duties of the Christian', says Raikes in his own Rules; there is no mention of handwriting or arithmetic.

The York Church of England Sunday School Committee regulations (1786) are even more definite still: they lay it down that 'the exercises shall be restricted to reading in the Old and New Testament, and to spelling as a preparation for it'. The same limitation is clear in the writings of Jonas Hanway (1786), a well-known educational reformer: 'Reading will help the people's morals, but writing is not necessary.' This view was generally held. It got its very definite enunciation from James Nelson, a quarter of a century before, in his *Essay on the Government of Children* (1753):

If we speak of education here, it will naturally carry our ideas to the Spade, the Plough, or the Team. Early and constant labour is the province of this class: there is but a small share either of time, or abilities, for instruction. If to this were added at least the Power of reading their Mother-Tongue, it would remove, in some degree, that total Darkness and Ignorance.

The transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, as regards popular education, is largely connected with the names of the sisters Hannah and Martha More, and those of Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell. The two ladies, influential, highly connected, worked in the south of England, from Somerset to Kent. Bell's name, like theirs, recalls the directing power of the Established Church in England at that period: he was the organizer of what came to be known as The National Society, whose schools numbered, and still number, many thousands all over England. Their views on the due scope of organized and reformed, popular and progressive elementary education are hence of great practical significance. Their *Mendip Annals* tell us of the plan of Hannah More (d. 1833) and her sister, who began school organization in 1788. 'My plan for instructing the poor is very limited and strict. They learn, of week-days, such coarse works as may fit them for servants. I allow no writing.'

Commissioned to organize schools for its National Education Society by the Anglican Church Establishment the Rev. Andrew Bell began his educational reforms in 1798, at London.

By 1805 he was nationally influential in English education, and in that year he issued his Plan:

It is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner, or even taught to write and cypher. There is a risk of elevating above their condition, by an indiscriminate education, the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labour; and thereby render them discontented and unhappy in their lot. It may suffice to teach the generality, on an economical plan, to read their Bible.

When, in 1808, Bell advanced so far as to say 'all may be taught to read', his doctrine was accepted by the National Society. But even that meagre curriculum was far from commanding the consent of the most influential figures among the lords and the commons at Westminster, or among the grand jurors, magistrates, squires, in the counties of England.

Bell's rival, the Nonconformist organizer of schools, was that Joseph Lancaster who in 1805 gave public assurance that what education he should provide would in no way 'elevate youth above its station'. Both Bell and Lancaster had discovered and proclaimed the educational values of child labour and of mechanical activity, now to be transferred from the factories and the mines to the schools of England. Education could be greatly cheapened by the employment of child labour. Lancaster affirmed his claims boldly. 'I have invented, under Divine Providence, a new and mechanical system of education; one master may conduct a school of 1,000 children with perfect ease.' Bell was no less vigorous, but more picturesque and self-confident still. The mutual system, he said, 'gives the master the hundred eyes of Argus, the hundred hands of Briareus, and the wings of Mercury. By multiplying his ministers at pleasure, it enables him to instruct as many pupils as any school will contain. With great propriety, it has been called the STEAM ENGINE of the MORAL WORLD. The intellectual machinery costs nothing.'

The conditions of urban education in England, 1830 to 1840, were carefully investigated for the typical area of Manchester by a committee of that city, after a State Report of 1833 was found

to be grossly incomplete. The results of the local inquiry were briefly as follows: Young children were usually at work in the factories, often from seven years of age, not seldom from five years upwards. They had therefore a Sunday School system: 86 schools in all. In 74 of these reading alone could be taught; in 10, reading and writing. There were 230 Dame Schools, for the children who did not go to work in the factories. These privileged youngsters could learn from these Manchester mistresses reading alone, except that girls were also taught to sew. The average income of these Manchester Dames was under £18 a year, from weekly school fees; the maximum paid was 4*d.* a week. There was a larger number of private-venture schools, kept by masters who, from fees of 6*d.* to 9*d.* per scholar per week, were able to earn on the average about £40 a year in 1834.

From the great rival city of Liverpool, Manchester derived a certain comparative satisfaction: a 'Common day School' kept by a Liverpool master was described as 'a garret ten feet by nine, holding one cock, two hens, three black terriers, the master, and forty children under instruction'.

But Manchester, in its turn, could boast of its great Lancasterian School, under the direction of that 'British and Foreign School Society' which, on the Nonconformist side, rivalled the influence of the National Society directed by the Established Church, and shared with it in the new Government grants, from 1833. That Manchester Lancasterian School, in 1834, had one thousand children in one room. There were first two masters and one mistress in charge of them all. Every ten children were under a teaching monitor. There were many monitors who had just attained seven years of age. Their average age was ten and a half years. Opposition to any measure of national advance in popular education was voiced from many sources in England, as it was also from the manufacturing interests in Glasgow and the Lowlands of Scotland, from 1830 to 1870. It was openly displayed even by William Cobbett. The first vote of public money for education in England was in 1833. It amounted to £20,000, to be apportioned

between the two Societies of Bell (Established Church) and Lancaster (Nonconformists), in aid of local efforts to build schools. Carried in a small House by 50 to 26, it was denounced by Cobbett with great vehemence. His line of argument has been heard of even a century later, so it is worth citing here. 'Education has been more and more spread. But what did it all tend to? Nothing, but to increase the number of Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses—that new race of idlers. Education has spread: crime too, has increased.'

Throughout the other England, the land of the Anglican cathedrals and of the estated interest so fully dominant both on its own country-sides and in the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, there prevailed till late in the nineteenth century much influential hostility to the restoration of popular educational rights, even in their lowest grade, that of elementary education. It was touched on (1843) by a representative Cabinet Minister, Sir James Graham of Netherby, when he told the English Commons of their national duty unfulfilled. 'While all the other Governments of Europe had directed their earnest, their unceasing attention' to education, 'England alone had neglected this all-important duty'. It was evident from the testimony of the Registrar-General's Returns, 1839-45. In 1839, only 58·4 of the persons married in England could sign the marriage-register by writing their names. The figure showed no betterment six years later. It was expressed with grave words, in public, by some of the Anglican clergy themselves. Thus spoke publicly a most influential dignitary of the Established Church system, Dr. Hook, Vicar of Leeds. Writing to the Bishop of St. David's in July 1846, Dr. Hook expressed his mind in public on rendering more efficient the education of the people:

The bishops might obtain power to sell their estates. It would be better for the church to have a pauperised hierarchy than an uneducated people. Never could a hierarchy be more respectable than when pauperised in such a cause. We have lighted a lanthorn: it only makes us more sensible of the surrounding darkness. We commit the education of the people of England to the wisdom,

experience, and discretion of unpaid instructors in the shape of monitors, whose average age is ten years.

What the counter-policy of those avid men, who operated the Religious Revolt, arrived at after 300 years of evolution, may be seen from two typical instances taken from representative modern biographies of the clergy of the Tudor Establishment, urban and rural. Consider the following account of an Anglican parish in the City of Winchester, 1840-2:

Violent opposition was made to the establishment of parochial schools, not only by a number of small shopkeepers, who were bitterly prejudiced and ignorant, but also by the old High Church gentry of the parish, who looked upon schools as dangerous innovations.¹

Add to it this survey of the educational conditions of the Anglican parish of Eversley, Hampshire, England, when duty was taken up there by Charles Kingsley (1819-75; Rector of Eversley, 1844-69; Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Queen Victoria, 1859; Canon of Westminster, 1873):

There was not a grown-up man or woman in the parish, of the labouring class, who could read or write. For as boys and girls they had all been glad to escape early to field-work, from the parish clerk's little stifling room, ten feet square, where cobbling shoes, teaching, and caning all went on together. As to religious instruction, they had none.²

On the persistent deprivation of educational rights and facilities, one great landlord of the north has already been adduced as a witness. Other lay testimony could be adduced in profusion. Two such findings will suffice. One is the Shakespearean scholar, Dr. Furnivall. He remarks in 1867, in the preface to his edition of the *Babes Book*, how 'the old spirit still lingers in England; how a friend of his own was curate in a Surrey village, where the kind-hearted Squire would allow none of the R's but reading to be taught in his school; how

¹ *Life of the Rev. F. W. Robertson, M.A.*, by Stopford A. Brooke, M.A., Chaplain to the Queen, 1873, i. 55.

² *Letters and Life*, 1877, i. 123.

another clergyman lately reported the views of his Farmers' meeting on the School question. Reading and Writing might be taught, but Arithmetic not. The boys would be getting to know too much about wages: and that would be troublesome.' The other, Dr. Alfred Percival Graves, son of an Anglican Bishop in Ireland, was Inspector of State Schools in England from 1875 to 1910. Transferred from the northern counties to Somerset in 1882, Mr. Graves found that he 'had succeeded a fox-hunting Inspector, who visited the schools in pink, looked at the registers, chatted with the managers and then rode off to the hunt, leaving his sub-inspector to do all the examination work alone'. Surely an astonishing situation, existing a dozen years after the establishment of the great School Board system under the English Act of 1870. This is but the beginning of Mr. Graves's narrative: for the outcome of such a situation was just what was to be expected. 'I found an immense accumulation of inefficient schools. The standard of work was pitiable, because the former members of the School Boards were breaking their own bye-laws, and employing their labourers' children when they should have been at school.' One is forcibly reminded of how the English Education Committees of the years 1914-19, urged on by such representative squires and Cabinet Ministers as Lord Chaplin, applied within the last fifteen years the plan which was evidently widespread in southern England thirty years before. Mr. Graves had his own way of meeting that situation, wherein 'the magistrates were little better' than the farmers.

In a letter addressed to their Chairman, Colonel Allen, I showed how their action had in some instances weakened the hands of the Education Authorities, and even brought their Attendance Officers into contempt. I met the magistrates in full conclave, and I found that many of the West Country gentry were opposed to the obligatory education of the people. Not a few were still unconvinced of the wisdom of *any* education of the labouring classes at all.

Writing in 1930, Dr. Graves tells of what he found in the capital of England, when transferred from Somerset in 1895. It will or rather must suffice to cite a few sentences from the

significant pages that follow. They by no means convey the most distressing facts that he observed and recorded.

Here we find ourselves in one of the poorest centres of all London, and in the midst of a population sunk in apathy, drunkenness. . . . An unusually large number of children are playing in the streets. The air reeks with the smell of stale fish and decomposing vegetables. . . . Let us enter 'The Chaucer School', an apparently brand new Board School, and have a chat with the headmaster, as true a missionary as ever sailed from our shores to spend his life among savages. When he took charge of the schools, ten years ago, all was opposition. The children were encouraged by their parents to active insubordination. 'Gone out nicking' (stealing), was a common excuse for their absence from school. The teachers were frequently jeered at and insulted on their way to and fro from their duties. They were at first so liable to these mobbings that they found it necessary to leave the school in a body, and even then had often to invoke police protection.¹

From the opening of the twentieth century, English democracy has made a substantial recovery of essential popular rights and opportunities as regards elementary and secondary education in her large cities. By the development of new civic universities, ten in all, provision has been made for the higher professional education of pupils ascending from these new and reorganized schools. But the effective use of free education, provided for all comers in all grades of education from the village to the once National University of Oxford and its equally accessible sister at Cambridge, has never been afforded to the plain people of England since the years of confiscation of educational funds all over the country, 1532 to 1553. What was gained between 1902 and 1932 has to no small extent been imperilled in 1932-3. The contrast with the situation prevailing three centuries before has been strikingly expressed by the most authoritative writer on education in England, the late Mr. A. F. Leach. He affirmed, on his knowledge as Secretary to the Charity Commissioners of the Anglican Establishment, that had England been accorded for popular education in all grades

¹ *Autobiography*, 1930, pp. 252-3.

the funds actually provided therefor by endowments in the year 1500 there would have been no need for either taxation or local rates for schools of any grade, or for universities, in all England.

After the Age of Confiscation applied to Education, the period extending from Thomas Cromwell to William Cecil, the funds long accumulated for elementary, secondary, and university education passed in large measure into the unencumbered private ownership of the new landed interest, peers and commoners alike. They were lost for ever to the English people. So, too, secondary school foundations, and the entire provision for the ancient universities of the poor of England, have been substantially diverted from them to the service of the wealthiest classes, ever since the mercantile and the industrial advance completed at the opening of the eighteenth century. Had the splendid national policy for education of the English people, propounded and applied as his main public service, 1520 to 1530, by Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey, Renaissance scholar and man of the people, been permitted achievement, it would assuredly have been far otherwise. That masterly design, and its even partial execution, make the great Chancellor the noblest worker for English education in the service of all the people, on the great lines of the scholarly traditions of all Europe.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE RENAISSANCE POPULAR EDUCATION TO MODERN INDUSTRIALIZED INSTRUCTION

THE recourse to the standards and models of Rome and of Greece, in regard to all the Fine Arts except Music, spread slowly and unevenly northwards and westwards from Italy, over the period from 1400 to 1600. Here, its results on the content, form, and aims of education, within the Europe of Latin Tradition, are alone to be surveyed. The school plans of Colet at London show that it was well across the Channel between 1500 and 1520. It reached Paris at the time of Fichet, 1465, but it did not obtain a dominant place in the schools of the Liberal Arts at that university till Budé was a veteran teacher, writing his *De Philologia*, 1520-30. It had reached Rostock on the Baltic by 1540, while it was fully accepted in the Low Countries, in the Age of Gerard Groot, nearly two hundred years before. Spain was entered quite as soon as Paris, but the conquest of the new literary culture was hardly complete there until the Age of Philip II. Everywhere, the great popular schools and universities of the Middle Ages had accepted the new standards of style and expression by the close of that epoch. They were in no way transformed by it, or made to swerve from their main lines of progress by the new ideals. From Glasgow to Palermo, and from the Carpathians to Coimbra, the universities and the schools of the Liberal Arts remained substantially the Free Schools of the Poor, open at all stages of study to all the children of all the people that desired to enter. There was ample and effective provision not only that the cost of tuition should not be borne by the students, but also that free maintenance should be widely available for them. This extended not only to the Courses in Arts, which from the culmination of the Renaissance in the Age of Leo X, were dominated by the subject of Rhetoric, but also to the full and prolonged courses in Civil Law, Medicine, Theology, and Canon Law.

This meant that the types of culture and character set up by

the rising Renaissance did not survive the epoch of Revolt, 1520-70. If Politian and the scholar-courtiers of the earlier period, from Poggio to Bembo, held up as moral ideals, on the new basis of classic types of character, the *magnanimitas*, *constantia*, *fortitudo*, *liberalitas*, and summed them up as that *antiqua virtus* realized in Lorenzo de Medici or in Baldassare Castiglione, a change came with that panic among Renaissance men of letters at the fall of Rome in 1527. Sadolet was soon writing to Fregosius that their writings must henceforth show a positive and explicit Christian spirit. Floridus Sabinus said openly that to treat of Christian issues in the pagan style could no longer be tolerated. Erasmus found this pagan mentality very prevalent in 1520; but that even more consummate Renaissance scholar, Petrus Victorius, was able by 1560 to write to Charles Borromeo of the enlistment of the Roman and Greek writers for fully Christian cultural ends. By 1600 Renaissance Latin literature was the standard of style for all Faculties, while Greek, in the minds of all Renaissance scholars from Filelfo to Lipsius, was to be rather a treasure-house for accessory refinements in thought than a cultural medium of expression and style. Latin, transformed from the modern language that it was all over Latin Europe till the sixteenth century, was to be the second vernacular of all lands on this side of the Carpathian Range, until late in the eighteenth century: it still retained this position in large areas till the middle of the nineteenth century had been passed. It was to be the bond of union in Christian Europe, and it still held that position three centuries after the Religious Revolt had commenced by the Latin proclamation of Luther, and had been countered by the Latin catechisms of Canisius and Bellarmine.

That great conflict had as its chief theatre the free classical schools in all the lands affected or menaced by the innovations in Religion. The Council of Trent had given a forward impulse to the primary schools of all these lands, on lines that in France, for instance, produced the durable work of Demia, Fourier, and de la Salle. Working in the cities and towns of France, for a century previous to the Revolution, such schools successfully united general and technical education for boys. Working in

country districts, the Fourier schools gave a literary and a subsequent practical education to girls. French household work and French craftsmanship in the skilled arts, in consequence, led Europe for eight-score years before the Revolutionary Legislatures broke up all general and craft training in France, even as it abolished the twenty-two universities of the people, and the nine hundred classical secondary schools which sent up thousands of the sons of the people to the professional faculties.

In such another typical country as Prussia, education was far less well cared for throughout the eighteenth century. The primary school was a reserved profession for the sexton and the tailor of the village, until, after the Seven Years' War, Frederick the Great was minded to reserve all local teaching posts for his former private soldiers. It is therefore not surprising that Prussia, from 1813 onwards, sent its picked primary teachers into Switzerland, to acquire some of the science of education from the badly-organized school which Pestalozzi had set up at Yverdun in French Switzerland, and which he totally disavowed when it closed its chaotic career in 1825.

As always in the record of Christian education, it is the free popular classical school open to all students from their tenth year, who are able to read and write, that is the place of strength and the centre of educational power in an entire system of schools. The legal principle that all such culture must be free of all tuition charges to the learners was luminously stated by Gerard Groot, writing to Deventer in 1381, where a new school of the Brethren of Common Life had just been opened by his disciple, Wilhelm Vroede. This essential principle, as may well be understood, did not always secure practical application in Europe. But with the culmination of the Renaissance and its full entrance into popular education, 1550-1600, it gained new and widespread force. It was put in the essential and inviolable position, as their basic doctrine, by the organizers of Jesuit schools and universities, and rigorously applied everywhere until their establishments were confiscated in many states, and ultimately suppressed, 1759 to 1773. The ever-present application of the doctrine of absolutely free education

to nobles' and to peasants' sons alike was effected in a corporate body of secondary classical courses for pupils ten to sixteen years of age, extended for two further years by the restoration of scientific studies to their old and due position as the crown of liberal education, and was gradually perfected after the opening of the eighteenth century. Many of them, as those at Rouen and other smaller cities, numbered well over 1,000 students each: the great majority of these young learners were sons of farmers and of urban craftsmen. The Piarists and the Oratorians, to name but two out of many other corporate teaching institutes that arose between 1550 and 1750, worked on similar lines and gave to all comers, without any distinction of rank or of property or occupation, the finest type of liberal education. That education was nobly defined by the Spanish humanist and philosopher, Ledesma, who from 1560 to 1575 was teacher and director of studies at the Roman College:

Schools of Letters [he wrote] are most essential in a really Christian State and in the Christian Church. They are needed for many utilities in this life; for the right government of Commonwealths; for the due equipment, the developed quality, and the perfecting of our rational nature. They are requisite for what is a still greater purpose, the teaching, the defence, and the extension of Divine Faith, and the security that man will attain his final destiny the more easily and the more fully.

The extent of lands over which that adequate and elevated educational aim was attained, and the sociological aspects of the international culture thus provided, were tersely described in the Academic Addresses of the greatest humanist of the eighteenth century, that Jacopo Facciolati who was Regent of Schools in the Faculty of Arts at Padua from 1724 to 1769:

Who does not see that classical culture, Latin and Greek studies, once limited by narrow regional boundaries, have now spread from the more civilized peoples to the borderlands of Russia? What hindrance now exists to prevent everyone securing his full measure of literary training at or very near his birthplace? There are numerous Colleges of the Liberal Arts in almost every city. These are not so much for the Noble, the Patrician, the wealthier burghers.

These classical schools are fully available for the sons of the leather workers, the barbers, the farmers.

Thirty years before the Revolution, the Jesuit free secondary schools, 100 in all, were confiscated in France, at the instance of Choiseul and Madame de Pompadour. This abolition of free classical education had been preceded by similar measures in Portugal (1759), and was naturally followed by similar acts of the Bourbon ministers in Spain and in southern Italy, and Alsace-Lorraine (1767). In the same year as the Jesuit schools were suppressed in France, Voltaire published in his *Dictionnaire Philosophique* (1762) his doctrine that 'it is suitable that some children should learn to read, write, and cipher. But the great mass of them, and above all the children of labourers, should know only how to till the land. We need only one pen to every two or three hundred hands.' In the spring of 1763 he wrote to congratulate La Chalotais, about to issue his *Essay on National Education*, on his proposal to debar the labouring classes from all education. 'Above all, I should like to harness those Christian Brothers to my ploughs.' In that *Essay*, La Chalotais had summed up the objections of all his class, the legal class, to the work for free popular education achieved by the Institute of de la Salle throughout France since 1680. 'The common people eagerly pursue studies', was his complaint. 'They send their children to Colleges in small towns, where living is cheap. The Christian Brothers have come in to complete the work of ruin. They teach reading and writing to people who should only learn to handle the plane and the plumb-line.' 'We must have an ignorant, impoverished class', Voltaire added in a letter three years later, 'workers should not learn to read; only the good bourgeois class should be educated.'

The Jansenist administrators of the twenty-five years before the French Revolution were everywhere vocal against popular elementary schools, and against the access of the children of the people to free secondary classical studies. Taine showed, a century later, that more than half the secondary scholars in France, 1789, received a free secondary training, and this figure would have been far greater were it not for the suppression of

the Jesuit schools. The region of northern France, around Caen and Lisieux (Calvados), has recorded proof for 1780-3 that well over 80 per cent. of the adult population could read and write. This is twice as good as the returns for manufacturing areas in England, 1840-3, on the same proofs, the Marriage Register entries: and it is also twice as good as France could exhibit in 1830-3, after the disasters of the Revolutionary years. The 22,000 elementary schools of France, 1789, almost entirely perished in the Revolution period. The testimony of such leaders as Daunou, Grégoire, Fourcroy, Benezec, officially recorded in reports from 1792 to 1797, all agree in admitting both the destruction of the schools, and the absence of any new provision in place of them. Napoleon, true representative of the propertied middle class that made the Revolution under the leadership of the anti-Christian philosophers and the Jansenist men of law, was in education the plenary executor of the anti-democratic assemblies that ruled at Paris ever since 1789. There were 600 primary schools in Paris in that year. There were but 20 in 1800. The Emperor made ample provision for new secondary schools of the State, open only to the governing classes. He would give no money to elementary schools; none had been provided since the total confiscation of educational funds in 1790. Even the miserable conditions as to the rudiments of instruction that prevailed in the armies of his Empire, 1804 to 1814, had no power to move him. He rejected even the wretched and degrading farm-school plans of Pestalozzi, as being 'too good for the common people'. It was only during the Hundred Days that, at the instance of Carnot, he contemplated giving some countenance to the almost equally restrictive educational plans of Lancaster, the English Quaker who guaranteed to the landlords of his country that the education he would give the people would 'make them more useful, without elevating them above their station in life'.

This policy of restrictive education, which both debased elementary instruction and cut off all popular access to liberal studies, was the direct issue of the growth of capitalistic mercantilism during the century between the end of the seventeenth-

century wars (1660) and the emergence of Voltairian detestation of popular culture (1762-3). Rousseau at the same time, gave it explicit form in the *Émile* (1762), affirming that 'the poor man has no need of education'. Concrete form was given it by Pestalozzi in his Farm-School at Neuhof (1774-80), for which he secured child labour from the administrations of Berne and other cantons of Calvinistic Switzerland. These views and schemes of Pestalozzi and his adjutants, Verhli and de Fellenberg, were influential in Switzerland till 1840, when they were ejected from Swiss education. But as they widely influenced English education from 1810 to 1870, and as they are being appealed to as model policies by Professor Dewey in America at the present time, their nature needs some brief exposition. They evince a philosophy of educational restriction, analogous to that formulated by Mulcaster and Bacon in sixteenth-century England: and they are still potent in the English-speaking world of the twentieth century.

Pestalozzi, a Swiss of Italian extraction, disciple of Rousseau, was at the age of thirty (1776) a failure as a farmer, and heavily in debt. He built a shed for cotton-spinning, and secured the compulsory work of some forty orphan children. His *Appeal to the Friends of Humanity*, 1775, asking for a long-term loan by subscription towards what was to be, as he said, 'a successful industrial speculation and a good deal', brought in some money from the aristocratic republican property-owners of Basle, Zurich, and Berne. Pestalozzi promised to teach these poor children reading, writing, and arithmetic. The boys were to be taught agriculture, the girls housecraft; but 'thanks to cotton spinning, which will be their chief occupation, they will pay for themselves'. His 'Report' of 1777 is explicit on his processes with little children. 'I ought not to devote their seventh year to anything but their true destiny, manual work. Reading, writing, and calculation should wait till they are a couple of years older.' Equally significant is the account given by Pestalozzi shortly afterwards, in *Leonard and Gertrude* (c. 12, 14th evening):

The master of the village school has spinning wheels and weaving looms in the schoolroom. Peasant children must work their tongues

and their fingers at once. The master reads aloud, and makes them speak aloud what they are thus to learn by heart. The words to be read aloud by them, the sum to be added up, are written by him on the blackened wall. He thus makes them read and calculate while spinning and weaving, with no interruption of their toil at the wheel and the loom. Toil is what is most essential for country-folk. For my peasant children, in view of their future condition, such work is the essential means to education. To work, the chief concern, the cultivation of knowledge is merely accessory and subordinate.

Such was Pestalozzi's plan for 'the children of the lowest classes' (*der niedrigsten Menschheit*) until he again went bankrupt in 1780, and sent the pitiable victims adrift. Very often, as his friend Huber relates, Pestalozzi was violent in his anger with them, and severe in punishing them. But there was no discipline. The same policy he tried twenty years later, when he had successfully invited (September 1798) the 'infernal columns' of Revolutionary France to attack the democratic Catholic cantons around Lucerne, the mountain folk who were the nucleus of Switzerland as a nation. When the parents were killed off, the Military Administration of France put in charge of their orphaned children this very same Pestalozzi who had, in his published letters a few weeks before, denounced them as morally and politically corrupt, and as priest-ridden folk, fit only for the sword and for blood-letting. He worked the orphanage at Stanz on the Neuhaus plan. But even the invading revolutionaries of France, in view of his utter unfitness and incompetence, had to remove him after a few months. Pestalozzi complained loudly of their ingratitude. He had in 1794 vindicated the Revolution in Paris, and in print had declared that every drop of blood then shed was rightly shed, adding that no exception was to be made to this assertion.

To this 'revolutionary conception of the educational development of all as a social necessity' Pestalozzi was careful to add an explicit assurance, acceptable to that type of capitalism which was as skilled in exploiting child labour on Swiss farms in the eighteenth century as it showed itself in the mines and mills of Scotland far into the nineteenth: as late, indeed, as the decade

1880-90. 'My system of instruction has *the advantage of leaving everyone in the proper sphere and condition in which he was born*: a circumstance, to my mind, infinitely advantageous to the individual and to Society at large.' No one who studies the Neuhof 'Reports' by Pestalozzi himself (1776-78) can doubt that such was the aim, the method, the result which he always kept before him. In the *Schwanengesang* (1826), he described all his work at Burgdorf and at Yverdun (1801-26) as an aberration: not 'the high idea, the idea of elementary education, whose splendid results for the human race' he described clearly in *Leonard and Gertrude* (1781-3), and in his old age affirmed to be 'the work of my heart'. In his eightieth year, back again at Neuhof, again starting a school for village children, Pestalozzi wrote to Schmid, then in England: 'I should like to begin with an industry utilizing the horns and bones of cattle. Find out all about such kinds of work, to be introduced at Neuhof.'

This clear-cut policy of restriction and depression of the entire population, through a deliberate policy called 'educational', found ready acceptance from Revolutionary France, in the summer of 1793. Nothing was done, by the Assemblies of the Revolution, for any elementary school whatever; all their plans remained on paper. A typical instance of such a plan, with all the significant characteristics devised by Pestalozzi, may here be summarized, as exhibiting the mind of the Revolution concerning popular education, once that it had, as Grégoire confessed, totally destroyed 'the good schools that gave good education a few years ago'. The influence of the ablest leaders from 1789 to 1793, in the Paris Assemblies, was fully equalled by that of the author of this typical Revolution Plan. Michel Lepeletier's *Plan d'éducation nationale* was presented to the Revolutionary Convention, on the 13th July 1793, by Robespierre, who declared it to be 'admirable, and the first plan really up to the high level of the Republic'. It provides that only one child in fifty should be allowed education after twelve years of age. 'All the children, from the age of 8 years, must spend most of the day at labour.' Work on the fields, on the roads, in neighbouring factories is expressly indicated as fitting.

If a child does not produce, day by day, enough results to provide for its support, it is to be punished for each day exhibiting a deficiency.

This will notably increase, for the Republic, the annual mass of manufactured goods. Mere instruction, a partial decorative element in our edifice, will be provided later. From 5 to 12 years of age, all who are to form the Republic will be cast into the Republican mould. Here is *the Revolution for the poor . . . a peaceful Revolution, a Revolution that will operate without alarming Property.*

Lepeletier concluded by allowing just one in every hundred such pupils, and no more, to have some chance of getting further education. The Napoleonic system of education cut off even this poor provision for transit from elementary to advanced education.

Nor has the period of influence for these repressive plans concerning educational opportunities open to the whole people ended with the passing of the Europe of 1760-1860. They are to be found flourishing in modern educational theory in many lands, as propounded by writers of great national and international influence. A specific instance from the United States, for the period 1920-30, may be found, both as to theory and as to practice, in Professor John Dewey's *Schools of To-morrow*, 1927.

Rousseau and Pestalozzi are for many writers like Professor Dewey the originators of true education for the early years of life; and Pestalozzi's concept of it 'not only goes beyond Rousseau, but puts what is true in Rousseau on a sound basis'. In the Age of Enlightenment itself are the true origins of 'learning by doing'. In Dr. Dewey's words, they express Pestalozzi's 'earlier and more vital idea of learning by taking a share in the occupations and pursuits which are like those of daily life, and which are engaged in by the friends about him' (p. 69). It is explicitly pointed out that

this is Pestalozzi's great positive contribution. . . . Its significance is illustrated in his own early undertaking when he took twenty vagabond children into his own household, and proceeded to teach them by means of farm pursuits in summer and cotton-spinning

and weaving in winter, connecting, *as far as possible*, book instruction with these active occupations. It was illustrated again, later in his life, when he was given charge of a Swiss village, where the adults had been practically wiped out by an army of Napoleon.¹

Along with the spread of democratic ideas which took place in the 18th century, there developed the idea that education was a need and right of the masses as well as a privilege of the upper classes. In reading Rousseau and Pestalozzi, an American student is not likely to notice that their conception of the educational development of all as a social necessity is even more revolutionary than the particular methods which they urged. It is noteworthy that Rousseau was Swiss by birth, and that democratic political ideas were rife in France when he wrote, and that Pestalozzi was not only Swiss by birth, but did his work in that Republican country.²

Having made the characteristic affirmation that 'educational concern with the early years of life dates almost entirely from the time of Pestalozzi, following Rousseau', he expounds the latest application of these restrictive principles, applied within the primary school years and grades, in express terms.

The experiments of some of our cities in giving their children training . . . furnish excellent examples of the best that is being done in industrial education. . . . In Gary, this has been done more completely than in any other single place. The Superintendent believes firmly in the value of muscular and sense training for children; and instead of arranging artificial exercises for the purpose, he gives the children the same sort of things to do that occupy their parents. Every child in Gary has before his eyes, in school, finely equipped workshops, where he may, as soon as he is old enough, do his share of the actual work. . . . *The money and space required to equip and run these shops are saved from an ordinary-sized school budget.*

In the first three grades . . . (the child) is taking the first steps in a training more specifically vocational, in that it deals with the practical bread and butter side of life. . . . On a little handloom he weaves a piece of coarse cloth. . . . In the *fourth grade* the pupils stop the making of isolated things . . . but the rest of their handwork takes a vocational turn. The time for manual occupation is now *all spent on intensive and useful work in some one kind of work or industry.*

¹ *Schools of To-morrow*, 1927, p. 64.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 234-5.

These pupils are now less interested in games. . . . The girl goes into the dressmaking department . . . for the first two years as a watcher and helper. The boy chooses what shop he will go into . . . he will have a chance to help at shoeing the horses for the use of the department of education. . . . From the *seventh grade* the pupils are *the responsible workers in all the shops*. . . . The vocational department is on the same level as the academic. . . . The little children go into the shops as helpers and watchers.¹

The philosophy of this reproduction of the schemes of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Lepeletier (1763-93), concerning sociological rights to full educational opportunities, was formulated in 1910 by Superintendent Leavitt of Boston, Mass., speaking at a conference on the Training of Children for Trades and Practical Life. It was then put even more directly than any of the formulae provided by Pestalozzi himself.

Boston has established schools in which *industrial* training is given to pupils in the elementary grades. Our present educational scheme fails to recognize that the bulk of industrial workers must remain permanently industrial workers. Our scheme of education is planned for the few rather than the many. The methods are adapted to *those who go to the top*. Of course, no one would suggest that we should restrict the opportunity of any pupil. But the whole tendency of *industrial development during the past two hundred years* has been to concentrate in the hands of fewer and fewer men the management and direction of industry. The present demand for industrial training is *a revival of the earlier demand*. It calls for the turning-out of a real product that will be *readily* used. It means the training of the rank and file of the industrial army. The *theoretical possibility* of rising out of the ranks still exists for each individual. The probability is about as remote as that the promising boys in some senior class may live to be Presidents of the United States. *For the masses*, such an advance is impossible.

Commentary on this declaration of aims and methods need not be extended beyond two sentences. The fine record of the United States as affording wide opportunities for access by all its people of all conditions to the best and most liberal forms of advanced education stands permanently on record against

¹ *Schools of To-morrow*, 1927, pp. 252-62.

any such philosophy and practice of education. Again, these 'revivals' of educational restriction were not derived, by Boston or by any other city in America, from the opposite policy and practice of the working classes of the Penal Times in Ireland, 1760-1850. Their own provision of full liberal studies for their children, and the efforts of a great State to break it down, are set out in another section of this work.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZED NATIONALISM IN GERMAN EDUCATION

WHAT have been the dominant features of the History of Education in the principal European lands since the close of the Napoleonic Wars? It has been a period of slow recovery, marked by definite stages of time. Such countries as France have not even yet reached the point when the entire people enjoys the liberal provision for access to the finest forms of intellectual culture that was available before the Revolution. The advance of others, as northern Germany, England, and portions of Switzerland and Holland, was all the slower because throughout the eighteenth century the curricula and the teaching power of the local popular schools had sunk to an extremely low level. It was otherwise with such regions as the Atlantic seaboard of the United States, where there was no national loss of educational resources, and where for a considerable period teaching provision depended largely on emigration from Ireland. In Ireland, the older classical and Gaelic culture had by the Cromwellian Settlement, carried out from 1650 to 1700, thoroughly fused into a popular system of schools, found by the school census of 1824 to be at least 8,000 in all, and averaging 40 to 45 pupils in each school. The record and the comparative efficiency of this system will be separately outlined. Here it will suffice to say that these schools of the people preceded any measure devised for their displacement by the English State in Ireland.

The disastrous educational losses that took place owing to the wars and war-measures of 1789-1815 were felt most acutely in France, and in countries affected by French action: from the Low Countries to the Germanic States, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain. After the fall of Napoleon, the Church had nowhere the financial means to restore education to its previous national character. The cost of all efforts at recovery hence fell on the State: and everywhere the State was slow to provide the neces-

sary funds. Governments generally remained either strongly monarchic, or were formed on the basis of the propertied classes as holders of voting power. The long continuance of this situation gave its own special character to the new educational systems constructed between 1815 and 1900. They were stratified horizontally. Teachers and scholars of the primary systems always were a class apart. There was little or no provision for any access from primary schools to secondary and higher education. States very often followed the Napoleonic principles as far as they well could. Hence quite ample provision was made for a new Secondary System not resting on any transit of pupils from the schools of the working people, and planned so as to receive only the children of the propertied class. Schemes of studies served to strengthen this planned system of social segregation through education. Its aims and its thoroughness of effect were as visible in the Radical Democracy of the Third French Republic as they were in Prussia and in England, all through the nineteenth century. Any movement to allow of the upward passage of the gifted children of the people at large was delayed till 1902 in England, and till 1920 in France and in Prussia. Even in 1933 it has by no means become as easy for the child of the poor man to get full educational opportunity as it was in the Europe of 1783.

A plain consequence of the necessary assumption, by the modern State, of the costs of education, has been the exercise in various forms of a State monopoly not only of educational administration, but of the direction of ideas. This reversion to the doctrine of Plato and of Aristotle has scarcely ever been accompanied by any recognition of the obvious fact that the Greek polity was everywhere and inseparably both religious and civil in its intrinsic constitution. Practical denial of this essential principle has led to the long efforts of many modern States to oust, or to ignore, or to annex, or to control religious education. There have been many diverse results of this struggle to secularize education. Australia and the United States, England and Scotland, France and Germany, have essayed various lines of action. The results have been most

unsatisfactory as a whole: and even the best of them is far from being fully commendable. It would be impossible to transverse these various national policies in their courses of evolution, since they are national and particular, rather than general. Education was broadly international before the Revolutionary period, 1789-1815. Since then, plans, programmes, solutions of major problems of policy, have all sought expressly to present themselves as separate, and as specifically national.

The most desirable, and the clearest line of presentation will be of representative samples of signal importance. One such example will be found in the final development of the Secondary System in Imperial Germany during the twenty-five years preceding the European War, 1889-1914. That well-planned scheme provided for the education of governing and directing minds, in the interest of a ruling class, for the service of an authoritative State. It had no provision for the transfusion of talent from the working masses of the nation. Highly organized, it was highly efficient in separating the nation into distinct and even antagonistic social types. The stratified structure had no means of cohesion, save as between the elements of each horizontal layer. The resultant national weakness was manifested on a vast scale in the months from June to November 1918. The Secondary System of Prussia, 1889-1914, is therefore all-important, and calls for examination as a representative example of modern planning.

At the outbreak of the European War of 1914-18, attention was insistently directed, in reviews and newspapers of all kinds, to the dominance of professorial influence in the policy of one great European state. This influence was variously described, but all accounts agreed that it had been vast and far-reaching, extending backwards for fully thirty years. One citation, of considerable interest, attributes to the Socialist leaders of 1870-1 a definite forecast of its growth. Yet, until August 1914, there was little belief, in English-speaking lands at least, in the existence of any such dominant influence. True, no one could have read Mommsen without seeing that his great work was set against a background of modern international conflict, racial

alike and political. But this feature of his history was pardoned and allowed for, more especially in view of his profound knowledge of the past. Again, Lord Acton had called attention to the tendency of Mommsen's successors in the same field of research. But the impression was widespread that Lord Acton read into the utterances of German historians more than they ever seriously meant, and interpreted their platitudes as working policies of deep significance. He had moreover that special tendency of the intellectual journalist to discern pivotal events in matters of casual detail, and to endeavour to poise the balance-wheel of diplomacy on insignificant points of fact. Mommsen and Acton had quitted the scene of affairs, and the average student of public affairs scarcely dreamt that European politics were subject to powerful and mysterious professorial activities.

The advent of war speedily changed all this. A few weeks sufficed to make the English artisan acquainted with the theories of Bernhardi. Many who had more leisure and more pretensions to judge of the mainsprings of diplomacy and statecraft found the secret in pocket editions of von Treitschke and Nietzsche. These volumes were copiously reviewed and cited from on all sides. It made no difference that the one, academic stump-orator, had to complain bitterly that students would not listen to him, and that the other, degenerate phrase-artist, detested with the whole of his perverse mind the civilization and the history of Prussia. They and those who followed them—imaginary train-loads of professors—were the cause of the crisis. The war was the offspring of professorial ideas, insisted on in myriad forms, and in a vague multitude of places. The conviction of this was deepened by the publication of professorial manifestoes, which, taken in the mass, have always been a rather sorry and futile form of utterance. Academic assemblies—even of professors—have always displayed to a notable degree the psychological characteristics of the crowd. An extreme degree of misplaced activity results when the assemblage is unusual and fortuitous, confronting problems in which it has no special aptitudes.

Some reflection on the standard types of academic work in Germany, as developed and fashioned ever since the War of Liberation, would have led to very altered estimates of influence in public affairs. The standard works of Paulsen on German universities and university study had for years been available in English: and they might have merited the more attention, just because the wide and steady influence of Paulsen in Germany was largely due to the fact that he reflected the average thought of the average academic circle in that Empire. Paulsen made it quite clear that the dominant feature of academic work and life in his country had always been the independent pursuit of knowledge, under conditions exempt as far as possible from the evident desire of the State to treat universities as State institutions, and not as places closed against the influence of political propaganda. Almost all German universities were the expression of true academic opinion on the necessity of independence as the ideal of scholarship, an ideal honestly aimed at, and widely achieved in German universities. The academic work of Germany is very highly specialized: and this single fact suffices to show that a general or even a wide effect is comparatively rare. The most unlikely of all utterances to achieve such an effect would be the unmoral political disquisitions suddenly set down as the cause of all international troubles. Assume a settled purpose in the rulers of a country, to mould national opinion: they would be inept if they sought their instrument in the specialized scholar, and their mental operation theatre in his lecture-room. Rather, such a purpose must realize itself in the region, the period, the agents of general culture; and all three determinants must be much more subject to the formative influence of the State, than are those universities whose traditional standard of academic culture is based on the independence of pure scholarship.

Such a suitable area of influence was discerned just a quarter of a century ago, in the secondary school system of Germany. Up to 1889, it had in its curriculum and its methods of teaching been characterized by the stamp of formal culture. Languages were instruments of linguistic training: sciences, of scientific

method. In this vast field given over to the 'pure scholarship' ideal, the young Emperor soon discerned the opportunity of cultivating other intellectual crops. He had passed through the gymnasium at Cassel; and this practical experience secured him a hearing from the least flexible minds in the State service of secondary education. The imperial order of 1889 was issued in the first person singular, and decisively marked out the new paths in education:

I have long thought of making use of the schools (not Universities, it may be noted) in their separate grades, for combating the spread of Socialistic and communistic ideas. The prime idea of the schools will always be to set deep the foundations of an accurate knowledge of both public and social relations. . . . The school is called upon to make increased efforts to advance the recognition of the true, the real, and the possible in the world.

No time was lost in endeavouring to secure this marked change, this altering of the 'formal culture' and 'pure scholarship' of the secondary curriculum, into something more 'true', 'real', and 'possible in the world'. No appeal was made to university centres. State pressure through them would be uncertain in its results: and such results as it might achieve would be slow, indirect, and inadequate. A new method, more immediate and effective, was devised. Advantage was taken of the conflict, fully half a century old, between the more strictly humanistic and the more modern types of school programmes. The young King of Prussia, William II, at once entered energetically and personally into the debates on secondary programmes and their time allowances. Of his addresses, brimful of purpose, not to say menace, a few salient sentences will suffice:

We have to do here with measures which we must adopt in order to fit the growing generations for the demands of to-day, for the position of our Fatherland, and our life in the world at large. . . . I have, on my part, proposed some questions, and I hope they will receive due consideration. . . . The last period in which our secondary schools were a standard for our whole national life and our development was in the years 1864 to 1870. . . . Then the Prussian schools

were the bearers of the idea of unity. . . . All who came out of the schools and began their military service, or entered on active life, were united upon this one point, the German Empire shall be again established, and Alsace and Lorraine won back again. That ceased with the year 1870. Starting from the new basis, the school ought now to animate its scholars, and make clear to them that the purpose of our new political condition is that the Empire may be preserved. . . . If one should converse with one of the academic gentlemen, and seek to explain to him that the young man must receive a practical preparation for life and its problems, the answer is ever: 'That is not the task of the schools; their object is the gymnastic of the intellect, and if that gymnastic is properly pursued the young man will be in a condition to accomplish with these gymnastics all that is necessary for life.' We can no longer be deluded by this doctrine. Whoever has been in the gymnasium himself, knows what is lacking there. Most of all is the national basis lacking. We must take the German language as the foundation for the gymnasium. We ought to educate young Germans, and not young Greeks and Romans. We must depart entirely from the basis which has existed for centuries.

Direct and masterful utterances such as this could well be addressed to a first meeting of teachers who had never been brought together before. They could not be spoken before a university gathering, well settled in and tenacious in the strictly academic purpose of its academic work. The Imperial Director of Education judged more truly than that. The secondary curriculum was set round one idea: it could, by one drastic change, be set round another and a more 'real' one. Such an attempt would be impossible to conceive in the case of university courses, university students, university professors. Specialized fields of activity would afford myriad paths wherein inquiring officials could be eluded. The State had never armed itself with power to inspect, examine, and prescribe university work, though it proclaimed universities to be State institutions, and vigorously exercised its exclusive right to nominate to chairs. It had this power in the secondary schools, the sole places of wide general education: and there, too, it had always maintained in full activity the right to devise and prescribe courses of study, periods of study, and aims of study.

Through these powers, ready to hand, the new purposes were to be realized. Every obstructing minister was removed from the imperial path with all convenient speed. The imperial address on the matter and aim of secondary education was translated into a curriculum and a time-table.

The changes made in the curriculum were far-reaching. The curriculum of the secondary school in all the German states requires a nine-year course, carefully mapped out in full detail, and accompanied by a statement of aim, and notes on method. The whole of this departmental legislation is imposed from the centres of Government on all schools alike—they numbered 680 schools with nine-year secondary courses in 1902, with a total attendance of about 140,000. The nine-year period cannot be shortened, and its satisfactory completion can alone open up the path to university education, to higher technical education, to positions in the upper sections of the Civil Service, to the various professions, and finally to the coveted exemption from half the period of military service. The formative influence of a skilfully-planned course, extending from the tenth to the nineteenth year, and unified under a specific aim impressed alike on the teacher and the taught by the omnipresent power of the State, must necessarily be very great. It is intensified still more if it is carried out by those who follow the doctrines of the powerful Herbartian school—the school of Ziller, Barth, and Rein—moulded by that philosophy of education which makes the scholar's mind the literal creation of the teacher and the curriculum, and within the curriculum makes the matter of education even more important than the highly-important method.

It was to so well organized and so effective a moulding force that the Emperor gave a new spirit and a new direction. The Prussian programme of 1891 broke new ground when it declared that 'instruction in German, together with religion and history, is the most significant part ethically of the organization of the higher schools'. The order of ethical importance here indicated deserves special attention. Up to the date of the Berlin conference, German was an adjectival, not a substantive part of

the course. It had no assured allocation of time, no definition of subject-matter, and it was taught—when taught at all—as ‘a foreign language in German schools’. It now got a definite and important position. The use made of this new element, in the hands of such a master and organizer as Schiller of Giessen, excited the admiration of observant educators in other lands, as well as the enthusiasm of those in his own. The Germanic idea ran through the whole curriculum, selecting its own subject-matter wherever it pleased, altering relative values of portions of other subjects, serving at all times and in all branches as a concentration-point, a focus of inspiration, a dominant purpose. The national literature—and the course is literary, not linguistic—‘is most potent’, said an experienced American observer, ‘in developing the intense national pride so characteristic of Germans’.

This significant comment, written in 1900, can be applied with still greater force to the other branch of secular instruction which is joined with literature as the core of German secondary education—history and geography. They are kept close together as twin studies: geography is made—and with set purpose—human, economic, political, rather than physical, scientific, structural; and it is thus better fitted to unite with history. The Prussian aim in history, as defined in 1891, is ‘Knowledge of the epoch-making events of universal history, with their causes and effects; development of historical ideas’. What these ideas should be is carefully defined for the teacher. The important sixth year of the course closes on the note of the foundation of the new Empire; it requires the teacher to ‘emphasize the services of the Hohenzollerns, especially with regard to the improvement of the peasant, middle, and working classes’. The close of the whole course comes round again to ‘the lives and acts of the great Elector, of Frederick the Great, Frederick William III, and the Emperor William I’. ‘Brandenburg and Prussia’ are the limiting areas of this final year. The instructors must be careful to point out ‘the continuous progress that has been made for the better and the mischievous effects of any violent attempt to alter social arrangements’. This

clause was devised to deal with the internal difficulty caused by Social Democracy; and it has been eminently successful in attenuating the power of its earlier ideals. With such a spirit constantly active during the formative years, Emperor and chancellors alike could afford to overlook the ineffective and pedantic Socialism often preached from the university chairs.

The domestic problem being thus provided for, the external issues had to be set before adult and adolescent among the school population. They were dealt with in typically abstract phrases. 'The great aim is to enable the healthy mind of the younger generation of Germans to form a fair judgement of the portentousness of certain lodgings and strivings of our people at the present day.' And again, the American observer, writing even fifteen years ago, is able to record that 'the policy of the German people is reflected in its historical curriculum. The historical instruction contributes to make that policy what it is.' J. E. Russell, another American critic, had put on paper even earlier his view of the results of just five years' work on the remodelled curriculum. 'It is the national history, rather than the universal, which is emphasized; the political, which culminated in a new and regenerated German Empire, rather than the general, which deals with the salient points in the progress of civilization.' In other words, the mental result was to be the imprinting not of 'general civilization' but of specially Germanic civilization. And both critics note 'the absence of any provision for the definite study of English and American history!'

The interlinking of history and geography through the nine-years' course is in itself a great element of educational strength. But its value as a formative agency is still more increased by the 'concentric' planning of the entire curriculum. The German boy and the German girl traverse the whole field of history three times within the nine years of the secondary course. Within the first and also the second group of three years there is a complete and self-contained course, which serves at the same time as a 'core' round which the next period will be lapped. The first triennial period presents national legend and

national heroes. The second recommences the task, which is now so fashioned as to include wars, international politics, and social progress. The third devotes special attention to the aspirations, colonial, industrial, and economic, of the Germanic peoples. All three periods begin in the region of ancient history, and so make of that field not a classical preserve, but the common educational source of 'historical ideas' for all secondary schools, classical and non-classical alike. All three periods reach down, in their final year, to the present day, its great figures, its great upheavals, its economic and industrial outlook. Most particularly in this final period is history linked with geography, and attention forcibly directed to the hopes and claims of the new 'world-power' which had been seeking for means of self-realization ever since 1866. This recurrence to present-day history, and especially to German history and geography, in the thirteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth year of the scholar's age, with an outlook ever expanding and ever appropriately varied, has not failed to produce its full effect. The 'classical' period of history is in the various German codes made a heritage, and a field of self-development for all minds in all secondary schools. This use of Roman and Greek history is significant also of an important change in the whole handling of classical teaching. There is no occasion here to enter into the long and varied history of the controversies between ancients and moderns. As in France, so in Germany, Classical Humanism still easily maintains its firm hold on the greater number of the secondary schools, and on the great majority of thinking minds in both countries. But the whole tread of classical education in Germany was internally modified, in accordance with the Emperor's views, by the new model of 1891. Up to that date, the strictly 'formative' and 'disciplinary' elements of classical culture prevailed, as they have always prevailed in English education. Grammar and composition were all in all: a sense of style, an appreciation of purely literary perfection attained by theoretical linguistic study and personal work in writing, were the aim and the ideal. But in 1891, 'stylistic' was deposed in German schools; the 'cultural and political develop-

ment' of Greece and Rome was set up instead. Grammar was minimized; 'scholarship', in its technical sense, was banned; composition was reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. 'To understand the more important writers' was defined as the chief aim in Latin and as the exclusive aim in Greek: everything was made subservient to it. The dethronement of Cicero was therefore necessary and, it having been effected, the teacher's attention was directed to the significance of the change. 'The deposition of Cicero from its hitherto prominent position in school reading is rendered necessary by the alteration in the aim of instruction. What is read is to be treated first and foremost for its subject-matter.' 'A point of view which has hitherto been too little appreciated, and one of the highest importance as regards the concentration of instruction, is the close association of prose reading with history. This holds good for Latin especially.' Latin and Greek are thus put back into the domain of content-subjects; and the quarry of reading they provide is utilized as a source, unformed raw material, to be shaped and used by the dominant purposes of the Germanic educator. Again, the American observer, Mr. Bolton, had early observed the changed direction of classical education.

In the classics [he writes], those factors which tend to produce fealty to government, stability of purpose, and conservatism of ideas, are all fostered. This view is too important to be overlooked. The dominant questions should be: What does this contribute towards future manhood, towards individuality, towards citizenship? I would not have the latter confined to political boundaries, but be citizenship in the broadest, most far-reaching significance.

But those who shaped the German classical curriculum in 1890-2 would not admit the validity of Mr. Bolton's non-national use of classical literature. A more precise and definite use was at hand. Rome and Roman ideas were of use to them in the exact degree in which they showed the purposes, the ideals, the methods and policies of a great World-Empire, the Empire of the Caesars, from which the restored German Empire derives in right line the heritage. The arts of rule and administration, the principle of imperialism—such are the real fruit

of classical education. Rome in her day utilized for these ends Greek literature and art, so far as they served: so too Germany must utilize the great writers and artists of Athens, and most of all of Athens in her brief period of imperial aspirations and achievement. Latin composition and scholarship are for secondary schools largely without relevance. The formative work they had been hitherto privileged to achieve can now be better and more fittingly attained through German composition, elevated into the position of the principal formal discipline, the goal of all other work in all other languages. The historical side of Roman literature is thus made the most important element in culture through Latin. Much of it was made available, as a branch of general history, for even Latinless secondary schools. The historical sequence of the Middle Ages, and the Medieval Empire, flowing in an unbroken line from Imperial Rome, is restored for imperial ends to the imperial curriculum. The season of unlimited contempt for, or total neglect of, medieval institutions and ideals is ended: the prevalence of such an attitude of mind would be a distinct loss to the educational forces so skilfully mobilized for the formation of right tendencies in 'healthy young German minds'. Some classical scholars, notably Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, would apply the same drastic principle of concentration to the reading of Greek authors also: he declaimed vehemently against the excessive use of Homer, Sophocles, and 'pure literature', advocating instead the 'marrow' of Thucydides, 'manual of statesmen', and with him abundant selections from later Greek writers on science—physical, mathematical, physiological, economic, political. The closing of school reading with the early Empire of Rome, the result in England of Jowett's narrow concept of the word 'classical', finds no favour in Germany. Sir Michael Sadler draws attention to the insistence on elements of classical education in Germany which are neglected or ignored in England: 'the extension of Roman citizenship to the provinces of the Empire, the transference of the seat of government to Byzantium, the barbarian invasions (called more decorously in German school-texts "the wandering of the nations")', the Insti-

tutes of Justinian.' 'These things', he adds, 'are not matters of merely professional or antiquarian interest. Some knowledge of them (I am not speaking of expert knowledge) is surely a necessary factor in any wider form of political judgement.' Classics thus become an exemplification of imperial ideas and policies in their concrete working.

Throughout all the Germanic lands, it is in the field of secondary education that the imperial ideas and aspirations had been most effectively applied down to the War, ever since 1891. In every school the imperialized curriculum had provided for every scholar a definite and denominational plan of religious instruction, extending over the whole nine years: an integral part of the official course, taught at the expense of the State by trained teachers, Catholic, or Lutheran, or Calvinist, or Hebrew, as each scholar required; amply provided for in point of time; the leading subject in the official time-table; not a separated branch, an unofficial annexe to an official secular programme, but in the express words of the Prussian State Code 'an essential part of the general organization of the school, not holding a separate or isolated position, but closely bound up in active correlation with all branches of the school-work which aim at culture and education'. Efficiency in the teacher for this end is secured by the State examination for secondary teachers. The concentrated effect of this curriculum, covering the most malleable years of life for every educated German citizen, skilfully interlinked at every point, was realized and expressed, within the nineteenth century, by the ablest organizers of general education both in Germany and in England.

In 1892 Dr. Reinhardt, then Director of the famous Goethe Gymnasium at Frankfort-on-the-Main, deviser there of the famous 'Frankfort plan' for unifying the school curriculum on an initial basis of French teaching, and later Director of Secondary Education at the Prussian Ministry, wrote of the new designs:

A spiritual and intellectual movement which stirs the whole nation, penetrates into the school at every pore. Lately we have often heard the phrase, 'He who commands the school, commands

the future'. But if phrase there must be, it had better run 'He who commands the future, commands the school'.

In 1900 Dr. Michael Sadler, then Director of Special Reports and Inquiries at the English Board of Education, concluded his report on Problems in Prussian Secondary Education with statements which amply bear out the views expressed in this article:

In Germany the system of Secondary Education is as much a national institution as the Army itself. It is regulated by the State as a necessary line of intellectual, and indirectly of commercial and industrial defence. It has been moulded with foresight and resolution to many of the new and various needs of modern life. Its methods, experiments, and curricula are examined with as much scientific care and interest as is the practice of medicine or of any other branch of professional skill. The German secondary schools have had a profound influence on the mind and character of the nation.

No such result was counted on, perhaps no such effect was desired, from the German primary school course, markedly efficient in its own area though it long had been. His specially restrictive and directive curricula for continuation schools were designed, from 1900, by Kerschensteiner of Munich, precisely because only after fourteen years of age could a due civic stamp, an adequate national and racial purpose, be impressed on the German scholar's mind. Not in the primary schools, not in the universities, but in the secondary schools, on the pupils there, on and through their teachers, the Germanic imprint was most fully given and received.

CHAPTER V

STATE MONOPOLY IN FRENCH EDUCATION

NOT less momentous than the action of a powerful Government on German education, from 1889 to 1914, has been the policy of the Third Republic of France during the same critical twenty-five years. Towards the modern issue concerning religion in education, the trend in France has been very different from that in Germany ever since the war of 1870-1. The *Kulturkampf* itself did not prevent a substantial measure of working harmony being achieved on this issue in central Europe. The Third Republic, on the other hand, always claimed to act in education on the lines theoretically stated in the Revolutionary Assemblies of 1790-5. State monopoly has been persistently aimed at ever since 1815. Between 1815 and 1880 it sought to act on the Napoleonic plan of enveloping the religious element, and so controlling it. Since 1880, the Napoleonic organization has been directed towards the ejection of religious principles from all grades of State education. The effects of this policy are best observed within the universities and schools of the State in France, as they developed since the complete secularization of French State primary schools, achieved by 1889. As in the preceding example selected from Prussia, the strands of opinion are best observed within the Secondary School System, always the pivotal point in the modern educational structures of Europe. The doubts and fears of representative thinkers operating within the State schools will also serve to show that in the France of the last half-century there is an unacknowledged yet very real and cohesive educational doctrine, a doctrine and a body of thinkers that virtually replaces the governing State itself, and is independent of ministries and legislatures. After a tentative scheme for a State Philosophy of Education, based on Kant, had been silently dropped, such a theory for the 'University of France' was built between 1905 and 1925, on a combination of the doctrines of Comte and Durkheim. This functional education

system largely replaces the State. It is self-recruiting, and eminently active. Its resultants are clearly observable in the evolution of the *École Unique*, 1918-33, as well as in the transformation of the 'Compagnons' movement through the same period.

Despite all the denials by the leading administrators of the Third Republic, the Napoleonic idea still dominates the whole organization of French government. In vain do they endeavour on paper to seek out the origins of their plans in the multitudinous projects of the assemblies of the Revolutionary period. The code of law, the relations of general and local control, the principles of administrative policy continue to show the unmistakable imprint of the greatest and most despotic of all the rulers of France. In no domain is this more clearly seen than in that of education. The University of France, containing in its unique plan all the education—university, secondary, and primary—given by the French State, is to-day much as he designed it. The grand master of the university is to-day, as Napoleon defined that he should be, one of the greatest officers of State. This concentration of a vast array of educational machinery, extending to all parts of the commonwealth, and reaching down into the lives of all classes of citizens, would seem to offer a unique opportunity for State action, and State influence on the lives and thoughts of citizens. There is no such unification and centralizing of all educational types to be seen even in the most centralized of modern Teutonic governments—that of Prussia. There is assuredly nothing of the kind in English-speaking countries. That this far-reaching and effective machinery has been used to form and develop one specific type of mind in France, during the past forty years, is beyond question. That it has been a failure in this respect is equally certain. That it has been a source of union is demonstrably false, shown to be so by the warmest champions of the ideas of the French State in education.

The stages by which the Third Republic, ever consistent in its educational policy since the days of Jules Ferry, has brought French education directly under State direction are well known.

A succession of measures, chiefly in 1882, 1886, 1901, 1903, has excluded absolutely all religious teaching, all religious instruction, all reference to God, from the French primary schools, now educating five-sixths of the rather restricted child population of France. The remaining section is still educated in free primary schools under definite religious influences. That this is so is but a chance survival from the storm that has buffeted these devoted schools with unrelenting fury for the past thirty years. But they have survived, though menaced every year with final destruction. In the domain of secondary instruction, the persecution of all ideas save official ideas has been even more persistent, but has been much less successful. Despite all the pervasive power of the university as a State instrument, the free secondary schools of France could count, up to the ministry of M. Combes, scholar for scholar as compared with the secondary schools of the State. During the years 1903-8, the number of scholars in the non-State secondary schools notably fell off, as was but natural owing to the wholesale closing of secondary schools by law. But since 1908 the forces opposed to exclusive State control have been able in great measure to recover the lost ground. The position occupied is weaker in schools for boys than in those for girls. But even in the former group, the free secondary schools were estimated in 1911 to contain about 90,000 scholars, as compared with 135,000 in the 300 splendidly equipped and liberally subsidized *lycées* maintained by the State.

The significance of these figures will be seen to be all the greater when it is noted that the patronage of the State in all departments of administration has always been exercised in favour of those who support the State schools in all their various grades. The tendency for the best ability to seek Government positions in France is far greater than it has ever been in Prussia, or in England, or in the United States. It has been well said that the commercial and industrial eminence of a country depends on its best talent being adequately directed into that field as well and as fully as into politics, or learning, or education. But the finest practical talent of France has always sought

an outlet in the administrative service of the State. Yet even this lure has not appreciably diminished the favour in which the free secondary schools of France, derided and hated by the University of France, have always been held by a large and an increasing majority of families in the French Republic. To this wide and persistent body of support is alone due the successful maintenance of the religious concept of secondary education for the sons and daughters of France.

The significance of this unexpectedly successful stand of the free secondary schools in France, during the last thirty years, has not escaped the attention of both these bodies of propagandists. They have set themselves to examine it, to reconsider and restate their position in view of it. The result of their deliberations is a most surprising one.

The unanimous conclusion of all the exponents of official theories of education in France is that the thought of a unified educational doctrine and policy must be put aside. In other words, the Republic must renounce the plan with which she set out in the days of Ferry and Paul Bert, that of making education '*le nerf de sa politique, le lien de ses institutions*'.

The reasons advanced by the advocates of the established State system for this self-denying ordinance merit some examination in detail. They may be divided into reasons of principle and reasons of tactics and policy. Under both heads it will be clear that the apologists of the State system find themselves unable to agree within their own household, unable to face the practical consequences of their own centralizing and unifying policy.

The leading reason of principle which constrains such men to a renunciation of the idea of national unity based on national education arises from the nature of the instruction with which Jules Ferry and his successors have striven to fill the void in the school programmes caused by the abolition of definite religious teaching in the schools. Germany unites definite religious instruction with the State programmes in all stages, and attaches moral instruction to religious training. The State schools in England, both secondary and primary, rely upon a

nebulous form of undenominational instruction; but such is the suspicion with which it is regarded by the secularist group that they are opposed to State-trained teachers being trained in the art of giving it. In his celebrated speech on the new policy of France in 1882, Jules Ferry announced the establishment of moral instruction. When he was asked what moral instruction, his reply was the famous temporizing statement: 'Mais tout simplement la bonne vieille morale . . . car nous n'en avons qu'une. Les instituteurs peuvent enseigner la morale sans se livrer aux recherches. Ce n'est pas le principe de la chose qu'ils enseigneront, c'est la chose elle-même, c'est la bonne, la vieille, l'antique morale humaine.'

Most of the writers on the side of the 'lay' school ridicule the very principle of 'neutrality' in any form of teaching, and most of all have denied its possibility in the field of 'moral instruction'. The plan of Jules Ferry is characterized as an attempt to make the teacher the auxiliary of the family and the various religious organizations. The French primary teacher did not intend to be anything of the kind: still less did the secondary teacher in the State schools. A few years showed the need of a basis of dogmatic philosophy for moral instruction, and the writers of manuals in vogue in the period 1890-1900 turned to Kant: their views were little else than a popular translation of his *Practical Reason*. This period had at least the basis of sincerity: the attempt to filch Christian moral teaching, not obscurely advised by Jules Ferry, was abandoned: 'on ne renvoie plus tacitement au catéchisme'.

But the great outbreak of legislative warfare in the educational field, which began in 1900, and was still raging when a sterner struggle came upon the opposing forces, led to the discovery of an insufficiency in Kantism. Kantian moral teaching may be philosophic; but it was found to be unscientific. With Comte and Spencer, it was seen that the science of morals must be positivist, sociologic, evolutionary. And so to-day the teaching of 'morals' in the State schools is anarchic. All references to duty towards God, to moral sanction, to the nature of obligation, were struck out of the Code in 1905. One party

follows the regional theories of Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl on the evolution of morality; another adheres to the more respectable system of 'solidarity' evolved by M. Léon Bourgeois from his own inner consciousness. M. Belot and M. Jules Payot have written manuals of 'positivist' morality for use of schools. But this is not all. A further source of internal peril made itself felt within the official circles, the universities, the schools. M. Gustave Lanson, a protagonist of the official party, indicated the nature of the change, and realized that it affects secondary teaching even more than primary. 'In these last years, the question of neutrality has become difficult as regards religion. But it has passed from religion into questions of moral principle and even social order. At the same time, the homogeneity of the State teachers has been gravely affected: strong currents have begun to flow in various opposing directions.' This latter cause he elucidates in words of striking significance: 'The progress of socialism and of anarchism has been so great that one can no longer teach either respect for law, or the duty of refraining from violent measures, or regard for contracts, or deference to the decisions of universal suffrage, or love of country, or esteem for the army, or the duty of military service', as questions on which France is of one mind. M. Lanson declared that fathers of families who are positivists, materialists, monists must be secured the full benefits of neutrality of moral teaching. He put the further question: 'Are the guarantees of neutrality to extend to all the questions of social morality stated above? Are these questions to be excluded from teaching as being controverted issues, doctrines of sect and party, and belonging only to the family?' And he adds: 'The worst of the situation is that these questions do not divide families alone: they cause profound cleavages among the teachers in all grades of State education. It has become exceedingly difficult to secure uniform teaching, and to prevent each teacher from preaching for and fighting for his own particular social beliefs. What hope is there of a solution?'

Whatever hope exists did not make itself clear in the discussion which followed the exposition of M. Lanson's views at the

École des Hautes Études Sociales. M. René Pichon was in doubt as to what a teacher could say on the question of property. Should he teach the doctrine of the laws of the State, or his own views, or entirely avoid the topic? M. Hubert Bourgin saw much trouble ahead between teachers and the State. 'Who is to interpret the words "fatherland", "social justice"? Is it inspectors, or State departments, or ministers, or Parliament itself? We are exposed to every species of arbitrary influence.'

No more striking instance could be found of the operation of a State doctrine of State morals as a dissolvent of the unity that should reign among the State forces in education. The official leaders of the university could claim, as far as votes went, the support of the distinct majority of the French people in their policy of attacks on the schools outside the State system. Measure after measure had been passed during the past thirty years, securing them in the possession of every privilege that they desired to enjoy. The triumph appeared complete when the Law of Associations, passed in 1901, drastically enforced by successive ministries ever since, had thrown into disorganization and destitution the establishments opposed to their ideals of State unification and of elevating State education into the bond of national union, the mainspring of national institutions. The disaster of disunion has revealed itself within their own body, apparently splendid in its coherence of doctrine and unity of purpose. The dissolvent forces of anti-social heresies, cherished and elaborated within the new Sorbonne, have paralysed the victorious array of secular State education in France.

The net result of their realization of the new situation, expressed in the words of M. Lanson quoted above, may be summarized as follows. The radical politicians of France, ever since 1905, were in full cry for the establishment of a State monopoly of education in all its degrees. They had as a text the classic utterance of M. Waldeck-Rousseau on the existence in France of *deux jeunesses*, opposed in education, in social outlook; and the war-cry of unification would also be extremely useful to divert attention from pressing problems of an economic and

industrial character. But ever since 1910, when the leaders of the official education party began to realize their own internal difficulties, they have been active in controverting the propaganda in favour of State monopoly: and a leader in the new Sorbonne has discovered that, after all, 'Waldeck-Rousseau n'est qu'une autorité politique', he did not understand education; in that field he had no special capacity or aptitudes. The reasons advanced in the new-found zeal of the latest defenders of Liberty in education are of the most surprising character; it will not be possible here to do more than give them a bare outline: but even in outline they will serve to show what the University of France meant all along by 'neutrality', and how inconvenient it would be to have to practise it.

The most distinguished of the band of university professors who joined the movement known as *la nouvelle Sorbonne* was M. Alfred Croiset, Member of the Institute of France. M. Croiset opened the conferences of 1910-11 on Neutrality and Monopoly in Education by a remarkable pronouncement against the partisans of monopoly. Admitting the attractiveness of their aim, 'the moral unity of the State' achieved through education by the State, and further admitting that the education question in France 'cleaves the people in two by a perpetual civil war, to its great loss of strength', he went on to deny that the desired result could be attained. Liard had shown that even the Napoleonic university was a unit in the mechanical sense only: it never attained to unity of doctrine and ideas, 'without which no teaching is fruitful'. In the Orleanist epoch, Victor Cousin had tried to organize and impose an official philosophy—his own eclecticism. The effort was without permanent result. Every attempt to secure unity of official teaching can be successfully resisted as a tyrannical and hateful monopoly. 'La malice naturelle' of the scholars will have 'pour complices l'irritation des familles et la faveur d'une partie de l'opinion publique.' Moral unity is thwarted rather than favoured by such attempts. An organization of long standing, such as is the French nation, cannot achieve moral unity at all, with or without the use of education as an

instrument. With others of his school, and apparently with the benevolent assent of M. Ferdinand Buisson, M. Croiset had discovered that France is not uniform, but diverse; that liberty means variety in aims, views, and policies; that such differences are desirable, while they are certainly inevitable. We are here a long way from the idea of Republican unity, which the Third Republic professed to have borrowed from the records of the First. For many years acts of suppression were justified, by being traced back through 'Imperial tyranny' into 'Revolutionary freedom'. Now the discovery is made that France is not, need not be, and ought not to be, a moral unity. M. Lanson reproduced this idea when he maintained that moral and social teaching in the secondary and primary schools should follow the policy of the majority of the electorate for the time being. Hence, he declared that it cannot be neutral as regards either the Monarchists on the right, or the Unified Socialists on the left. No wonder that the Socialists proclaim that the State is the State of one class, and that in its schools there is a body of doctrine by no means neutral, but rather *un enseignement de classe*. No wonder, too, that the recent congresses of French teachers call for a fuller degree of personal liberty to teach what views they hold; a fuller degree of independence of political pressure exercised by the local deputy or prefect; a fuller measure of security against having to take the views of parents of pupils into account.

But those who argue against State monopoly, yet do so through no love of educational freedom in France, have other and more practical reasons to urge in support of their policy. They have been set forth in various places by such elder exponents of the official position as MM. Basch, Lanson, Reinach, Steeg, and Bernes, and may be classified as follows:

In the first place, the effort to secure moral unity through a State monopoly of education would bring into the State system some 1,000,000 primary scholars heretofore in religious schools, and at least 80,000 secondary scholars who have been under similar influences. The result which is predicted varies with the prophet, but all agree that it would be a disaster. These

scholars would have a spirit quite different from that of the existing school population. According to one view, there would be great friction between the types of scholars. According to another prediction, the teachers would have to 'wound the convictions of the new school population', a result all the more likely if, as M. Buisson's chief publication declares, State neutrality in teaching leads the teacher to 'affirm scientific results without preoccupying himself as to whether the Church has condemned them or not'. M. Basch foresees a third result, much more undesirable than the other two:

Teachers will try to respect the convictions of the new-comers. They will adapt their teaching to this school population composed of heterogeneous elements. They will neutralize it, and in doing so will deprive it of all living force; they will feel themselves cramped in their work, and lose interest in it. As a consequence, the establishment of a State monopoly of education will lead not to the liberation of the minds of the former scholars of the dissentient schools, but to the Catholicizing of the University.

There could not be a more illuminating comment on the meaning of the word 'neutrality' as hitherto used in connexion with the establishments of the French State.

The results expected within the family circle will shed even more light on what this much-used term really means in the minds of those who have adopted it as their official countersign. M. Basch takes the example of what he declares a 'reasonable' case, and shows what may be expected to arise from it. The son of a Catholic family is obliged, under the monopoly plan, to change from the free secondary school to the State school. He will there receive the 'instruction large, rationnelle, libérale' which State teachers give their pupils. The teacher in this case, 'tout en sauvegardant, avec le plus extrême scrupule, la neutralité', gives utterance to views on the origin of things, on natural history, on national history, on moral doctrine—'idées simples et qui nous paraissent évidentes'—which are inconsistent with revealed religion. The religious forces in family and in Church will have to attack what the teacher delivers as 'scientific truth'. M. Basch has the candour to admit that the severing of national

unity, long denounced by the partisan supporters of State monopoly, will be greatly aggravated in consequence. He sees that the logical result of such a situation would be a prohibition to parents to interfere with the views taught to children in school: the establishment of a State monopoly for free thought. He refuses to go so far; but his statement of the problem makes still clearer the kind of 'neutrality' observed in the secondary and primary teaching of the French State system.

The consideration of the influence of scholars themselves, and of their families, when thus brought into contact for the first time with the State schools, naturally leads the prudential opponents of State monopoly to consider the probable results of the development of a new type of teacher. Dealing with the arguments against monopoly, the new encyclopaedists under the direction of M. Buisson took note that, except by arbitrary methods, it would be impossible to exclude '*maîtres et maîtresses animés d'un autre esprit que celui de l'école laïque actuelle*'. M. Basch finds the same difficulty. These lay believers in revealed religion would be intolerant with an intolerance all their own! Were the State to test their opinions as a condition of admission to her teaching service, it would be the Inquisition over again. And M. Théodore Reinach is struck by the appalling danger of such a development: '*Le parti catholique pourrait se servir de l'établissement du monopole en envahissant l'Université avec sa clientèle et ses idées.*' Again we may note the unconcealed assumption that the University of France is the fortress of a party of doctrinaires, and that the attempt to compel all French scholars to come under its control, and all French teachers to teach under its direction only, is in reality an attempt to admit the enemy within its walls.

These arguments led up to the final and conclusive one, tersely put by the writers under the direction of M. Ferdinand Buisson. The closing of free schools of both grades would at once entail heavy additional expenditure by the State, and would relieve the Church of the whole financial burden of the free schools. The result would be to release vast sums for direct propaganda work—work classified under the various heads of

professional associations, recreative clubs, *patronages*. To these M. Basch paid an unstinted tribute of admiration, noting the fervour of conviction that has led to their creation, and contrasting them with the 'few and wretched' undertakings of the same type which the State system can show. M. Buisson declared himself gravely preoccupied by this new use which the Church of France has made of the restored liberty of association. Like M. Basch, he would say that if the partisans of the State system cannot display an equal vigour of enterprise they will deserve to be and will be beaten in the struggle for supremacy. But he would never go to the extreme argument used by M. Basch in his opposition to State monopoly, when that idea, the idea of the moral unity of France, is declared to be an idle dream—nay, worse than idle, because it is borrowed from the idea of unity of dogma, policy, and discipline which inspires the Church. Democratic France must shun such an idea. Here we are far indeed from the concept of French education advocated by M. Buisson, to whom it is the source of energy for the Third Republic, 'le nerf de sa politique, le lien de ses institutions'. The interested opponents of the political demand for monopoly in education will have none of this. They wish that the hostile forces be not compelled to surrender. They dislike acutely the prospect of having to make room for them, and share with them the intellectual and financial privileges of the entrenched and consolidated partisan organization named the State system of education in France.

And what of the results of the system of free schools, which stands outside the State system? M. Basch is here quite candid. Despite the successive elaboration of hostile laws, and the fact that all their pupils have to seek admission into the higher professional schools through an examination, largely oral, conducted exclusively by university officials appointed by the Ministry of Education, the free secondary system is admitted to be making greater progress than the State secondary system. The hostile critic notes carefully that it is in the secondary stage that the mentality of 'the directing classes'—organizers of trade and commerce, merchants, doctors, lawyers and, above

all, officers of the army and navy—is formed and developed. And then he adopts the view that, even still, more than half the officers of the army and navy, and a large proportion of the picked candidates who proceed to higher technical schools and to the central normal school, are the product of the secondary schools directed on religious lines. Nay more, there are actually Catholic professors in the University itself, and in the secondary schools of the State: their number is increasing, and they do not conceal their existence; they even have organized an association for themselves. Those who have followed, even from afar, the excellent work of M. Jean Guiraud, M. Jacques Rocafort, and others, know what splendid service men of their type have rendered to the true cause of French education. The result is already seen. The new Sorbonne laments the presence in the State system of thousands of newer pupils, who are convinced believers in revealed religion, and give themselves to the cause of national regeneration on the lines set by the national traditions of historic France. Their position and influence is as assured in 1936 as it was in 1913, for all the efforts made to delude them by the concepts of *l'université nouvelle* and of *l'école unique*.

CHAPTER VI

RECONSTRUCTIVE INTEGRALISM IN EDUCATION

EVEN the Revolt of the sixteenth century had in no way disrupted the essential unity of religious and secular instruction in one unitary plan of training for the young. This disruption was expressly aimed at by the makers of the Revolution, such as Voltaire and La Chalotais. From the middle of the nineteenth century the counter-truth of integral education had been propounded from Rome, as in 1854 to Ireland and 1863 to Bavaria. Leo XIII, at the close of the century, restated and developed this consistent and constructive teaching, which has been rounded off by further elaborate expositions in 1905, 1918, and 1929. The need of a supranational and universal structural principle for education, in face of national and ideological conflicts of aims and methods, is all the more obvious when it is noted that, outside the special action of the English State in Ireland, 1536 to 1831 and later, education did not enter into diplomacy and international politics till after the Revolutionary period, 1789 to 1815.

The two typical and highly important systems of administrative thought, presented as operating in France and in Germany during the twenty-five years preceding the European War of 1914-18, exhibit divergent policies concerning the unification of education, and its integration as a fully human process. Quite distinct from the Prussian policy of incorporative religious education in a system of concentrated Nationalism on a class basis, and from the French secularist system which is equally disastrous in severing the strata in which a Nation's forces must seek a compenetrative plan for unity, have been the lines of supranational and integrating action formulated for the Central States of Europe and for all peoples in all continents, by the statesman Pope who had to deal with Imperial Germany and with Radical France at the close of the last century. Only since the upheaval of 1789-1815 was it necessary for the Church

to propound, in relation to education, the essential rights of families and individuals.

To European writers on the history of educational practice it has often been a cause of surprise that, in respect of educational systems and principles, the religious revolt of the sixteenth century evoked no new theories, led to no distinctive departures. Yet that troubled age did open a long period of arduous constructive work in education, culminating in the stabilized success of the Counter-Reformation.

Quite other were the consequences of the revolutionary epoch, 1775 to 1815, in regard to European education. Viewed in relation to practical provision for schools and scholarship, the revolution was essentially and exclusively destructive. Those forty years of international disturbance and devastation opened a wide chasm in what should have been a path of progress leading to ever wider popular facilities for cultural training. This interruption has not yet been bridged over in either Latin or Teutonic Europe. But the very nature of the forces operating during that radical upheaval throughout Europe served to unsettle many of the structural principles on which must rest any true system, any ordered sequence of plans for public education. The French Revolution did call out into new and malignant energy the ancient tenets of State control and State monopoly of education. The new French advocates of this policy, 1918 to 1936, avow their inspiration by Condorcet, 1793. In this way there was called into enduring and crucial controversy, as a question of natural right in conflict with domination by the secular power, the supreme educational issue of the modern world, the issue concerning the true place and the true function of religious knowledge within the school system and within the educative process. Should instruction in religion be excluded from schools and from school curricula? If not totally excluded, may it be treated as a merely adjectival or incidental addition to the education provided in the school—optional, permissive, debarred the use of the standard school hours? In either plan religious knowledge would clearly claim no real educative status, no substantial and ordinary place in

education. It would in effect be denied the opportunity to leaven, to inform that form of education given in the schools of the people, to the children of all those families whose desire and right is that religion be the essential and informing core of all instruction and training.

The two main positions here indicated are to be seen at work in large areas of the world to-day. France, for instance, affords a rigorous example of the method of exclusion, applied on a vast scale since the legislation of 1880-6 and 1901-3. Less positively hostile to religious knowledge are the systems of secular schools so long established in the United States and in the Australian Commonwealth. The policy of a strictly secular education has been applied in forms hostile to religion, or again, indifferent to or neglectful of it; it has even, in certain rare cases, been benign towards it, while not positively helpful. All three attitudes of the secularist State systems are also at work to-day in secondary education, in universities of various types, and in technical or industrial schools. There was in the late German Empire, and there still are, traces of another policy which had much significance in its day. The State, within the 'mixed' schools of the State, has been known to make a full course of religious instruction, elementary and advanced, an obligatory subject in the State curricula of education. Religious teaching was to be found within the primary and the secondary schools of Germany, from 1871 to 1919, as a prescribed part of the work of every student, the particular 'confessional' type being elective. Thus a 'mixed' secondary school exhibited in many cases three or even four parallel courses of religious instruction—Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Hebrew—extending over nine years, enforced, regulated, examined on by State authority active in conjunction with more or less willing ecclesiastical powers. But the neutral State saw to it that the religious knowledge thus given was effectively 'insulated'. Within the curriculum of the 'mixed' school, where the various subjects prescribed were taught by a 'mixed' staff of teachers who were civil servants, State officials, before all else, even a full course of religious instruction, however comprehensive and

well organized within itself, however well taught even by a trained theologian, could exercise little if any formative influence on the total education there given. Such a system might be made to some extent tolerable by careful and considerate working policies. But it was obviously open to the suspicion that in its administration the neutral State would be but skilfully utilizing ecclesiastical authority, and even the intrinsic content of the religious courses themselves, as an instrument of State influence, working in a 'mixed' system, tolerating no other form. Something of this same special type was also to be seen in the imperial secondary schools of France, as organized by Napoleon, from 1801 to 1814, as First Consul and as Emperor.

Religious knowledge, again, might be so placed in the educational work of the school that it could and would exercise its complete power. Yet even in this case, the case of the distinctively Catholic school, problems of great moment have arisen since the epoch of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. In all grades of general education, the years 1789-1815 saw the passing away of one great operative principle in the curriculum and organization of studies, one that was prevalent practically from time immemorial among European peoples. That change affected Catholic schools quite as markedly as State, or non-Catholic, or secular schools. Before the closing years of the eighteenth century the structure of the curriculum was very simple in its principles. Subjects of instruction were dealt with in succession. They were taken up, one by one, in a traditional sequence. Each had its period of exclusive attention, in its due place and time. This held good not only for the secondary and university curricula, covering in their fixed order 'the seven Liberal Arts and the three Philosophies', as the Oxford Statute of 1431 phrased it. The same unitary system came to be applied to the primary course, all over Europe and European America. Arithmetic, the final subject, was preceded in line by writing; writing came after reading; reading, in its hour, was separated from and placed after spelling; even spelling had its separate grades and stages, issuing from the alphabet.

This 'unit plan' of studies made close cohesion with religious

education very feasible. Relations to the secular system of instruction were obvious and facile; very little was needed in the way of adjustment. In all countries these relations were, in practice, extremely close. The whole work of elementary instruction was done on and through the subject-matter of religious knowledge. The secondary school of the Middle Ages, the grammar school, taught Latin; that was the scope of its service. Close interrelation of Latin studies with religion was always a simple problem. Even the change caused by the Renaissance, when the texts of classical writers were the sources of Latin culture, and when Greek was annexed to Latin as a content-subject of lesser grade, did not substantially modify the traditional working arrangement. Both the major and the minor subjects were kept, in all European schools, under real allegiance to religious knowledge and practice: Sturm, Melanchthon, Trotzendorf took definite and complete measures to realize the full sense of *pietas litterata* in education. The Jesuit and all other corporate codes, such as those of the Oratorians and the Piarists, all provided for *litterae cum pietate coniunctae*. The unit plan, the succession of subjects, made it easy to penetrate the whole treatment, first of classical studies, then, in their turn, of the sciences and philosophy, with religious ideas, matter, applications. No schools existed that had diverged from this principle. University studies, whether those of the initial faculty of arts, or the *graviorae disciplinae* of professional study, which were the crown and the final aim of advanced education, all exhibited the same close connexion. Every university in Europe was in the closest alliance with a publicly recognized religious system. A mixed university population, drawing on various religious beliefs, was unknown in any academic centre. Louvain, the model of Catholic universities, was always consistent, as it is in recent times, in requiring that all its students for degrees and all its teachers be Catholic.

The bold and ordered simplicity of structure in the entire educative process and content, which marked the schools and universities of Europe down to the epoch of the French Revolution, is now abandoned. It was a fine system; so fine, that in

1907, lecturing in the Sorbonne, so distinguished an authority on education as Wilhelm Muench, of Berlin, practically advocated its recall into liberal or general studies. 'Away from concurrent and varied series of subjects; back to an ordered succession among them,' was his plea. Were it realized, the adjustment of religious knowledge to that ordered succession would, as in the past, be found at once easy and effective.

The problem of organization which faces any really complete school to-day is, it will be obvious, much more complicated than it was in the past. The modern class takes many subjects concurrently. Each week, each day, each session of the day palpably exhibits this situation. Religion has now, in any really integrated system, to be made to influence, directly and intrinsically, many subjects at once. Again, there is the complication arising from the number of teachers concurrently at work in each class. Down to quite recent times, one teacher took one class; very frequently, too, that one teacher 'advanced' with his class each year, over a large tract of the secondary school age. It was then easy for any earnest and thoughtful teacher to emphasize continually, in all branches of his instruction, leading doctrinal, historical, moral truth.

Imperial Germany, between the two great wars of modern Europe, was careful not to let teaching become specialist in type. Even in the highest secondary classes, one teacher had specific charge of the class instruction as a whole, and was aided powerfully in this duty by having three or even four main subjects in his own keeping. He was thus the *Ordinarius* of the class: there is a wealth of history and of organization implicit in that telling term. The State schools of modern France had set aside this policy of unifying control, between the same two wars, from 1871 to 1919. But it was definitely resumed in 1923, and is vigorously active now; no class is minutely sectioned between specialist instructors; some attempt is made to avoid giving ten disparate educations in place of that one education which is always spoken of, but seldom realized.

But the problem of the integral school, primary, secondary, or collegiate, is a good deal more exacting than the situation

thus partly dealt with by these two leading peoples. There has to be a unified and penetrative presentation of the totality of truth, in all subjects, in all classes, by all teachers. Unless this is secured, then the actual education given is, at best, religious by mere extrinsic denomination. That the positive religious educational influence in a religious school could be reduced to this level is quite conceivable. The temptation to take this line of inaction is quite considerable. Little organization is needed. A school may, on this supposition, provide separate and definite hours for religious instruction in every class. It may have abundant extra-curricular means of influence—religious services, sermons, sodalities, leagues for social action—and it may thus virtually secularize the teaching of the usual school subjects, handled by many teachers in many classes every day. This will be all the more likely to occur if text-books composed by secularists are freely used. It clearly facilitates the admission of non-Catholic pupils to class halls thus adapted to their service. It also makes it facile to utilize the services of non-Catholic teachers. But it as obviously denudes of the integral spirit the essential hours of activity in the school itself. When all is said and done, these essential hours are the real thing in any real school. Adjuncts and annexes are superadded activities, however attractive and however well organized, and are a very poor substitute for what should be the spirit inherent in the substantial part of what a school is.

That such a method of organizing a religious school, such a system, evacuating the curriculum of its due and vital spirit and positive direction, is foreign to any true and complete system of education has on many occasions been emphasized by the Holy See. Perhaps the most explicit instance of such public affirmation is found in the special letter of Leo XIII, issued on the 1st August 1897, to the lands of Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. Directed primarily against acquiescence in the 'neutral' and 'mixed' types of both primary and secondary schools, this *Militantis Ecclesiae* letter states plainly what is the due measure of influence to be secured to Catholic teaching in all school subjects:

Catholics must have schools, especially for the young, not 'mixed', but everywhere their own (*ubique proprias*). Instruction is full of danger when the religious element is either decayed or rendered null. Let no one think that piety can be, with impunity, set apart from teaching and instruction (*posse pietatem a doctrina seiungi*). . . . It is therefore necessary not merely that young men should be taught religion at fixed hours, but that all the other subjects of their educational course should breathe in fullest measure the spirit of Christian piety. If that is lacking, if that hallowed life breath does not thoroughly penetrate and stimulate the minds of both teachers and pupils, but little advantage will be derived from any branch of study; often the resultant losses will be considerable. The acquisition of many branches of knowledge must have as its allied function the thorough development of mental power. But let religion thoroughly inform and dominate every subject of instruction, whatever it is (*omnem autem disciplinam, quaevis denique ea sit, religio penitus informet ac dominetur*).

A true education must therefore be animated, mastered, in every part and element of its whole content, by definite and positive religious teaching. Stronger words to convey, beyond all reach of cavil, this express teaching of an essential principle could not easily be found than those of Rome, thirty years ago. They were uttered publicly, on a critical occasion. They were addressed to the Catholic authorities in the three areas that make up central Europe. The letter *Militantis Ecclesiae*, in its closing sections, explicitly appeals to the evidence of Christian tradition in this respect, and most of all to the educational action in and after the age of religious revolt, the sixteenth century.

The practical aim towards which the school organization of all education should be directed is here very clearly demonstrated. To-day we have many subjects to teach; the integrating spirit must penetrate the very marrow of each of them. It cannot be left to the precarious fortunes of chance comment, casual allusion, incidental reference. The organized school to-day has, in every class above the junior standards, several teachers. The worthy intentions of each will avail but little if there is not a systematic unified plan of action, a *communis*

disciplina, among them. Vague and undefined general understandings are quite insufficient. These undefined generalities, commonplace phrasal expressions in school prospectuses and rules, are utterly inadequate. A complete constructive plan, descending to even minute details, is essential for every coherent group of schools and colleges. It must be elaborated by faculties and by controlling authorities, acting in concert. In no other way can a living process be originated. This process has not merely to live, but it has to attain a maximum of effective control throughout the whole of a very complex situation, made up of pupils, instructors, subject-matter, teaching methods. With all of these aspects it would be impossible and undesirable to deal in a survey of general principles. It will be sufficient to point out certain leading consequences as regards unification of education through the thorough penetration of subject-matter and methods by a *communis disciplina* based on religious knowledge.

Religious knowledge, as a distinctive subject in the curriculum, is the real power-house in any such distribution of a unifying and energizing force. Its complete internal development calls for a progressive elaborateness. In the earlier stages it is substantially the communication of instruction and training on a simple basis; it is then essentially tradition, a giving of knowledge. In the secondary school years, it will become fuller in content, more intellectual in its mental working: *iuventus plenius excolatur*. It is, in fact, a first-rate means of intellectual formation and enrichment, even if viewed in its natural mental processes as such. This is all the more fully secured if the various branches of such a complete course are properly correlated among themselves. It is not enough to have a curriculum including Dogmatic Studies, Holy Scripture, Sacred History, Liturgical Theory and Practice, Applied Social Study, developing up to the close of advanced general and professional education, and intellectually commensurate, in its range and treatment, with any subject of humane studies—with History, Economics, Physical Sciences, and Law. It is not enough to have these distinct branches existing within the formal study

known as Religious Knowledge. Unless they are fully inter-related as between themselves, they cannot fully provide the *informare, dominari*, the entire content of a multiform modern liberal education. Left in the state of mere juxtaposition, as they too often are left to-day in many religious schools, they are likely to be as ineffective as the disconnected engines and apparatus of any electrical power-house that could be, but is not, a combined unit plant for the production of energy.

This necessary internal correlation of all the elements in a systematic presentation and educating use of religious knowledge is therefore the primary requisite of a complete education plan, whereon that religious knowledge will be able to do its work, to inform and control all other subjects, to make them all *pietatis sensus redolere*. At the school and college age, such internal and antecedent unification is far more needed than it is in professional theological studies. These studies occupy the whole of the student's time; they are a complete course in themselves. But in general and professional lay education, their task is in a real sense far more severe. They have to penetrate and animate—*pervadere, fovere*—the use of other sciences and arts, there and then, in the same school, in the same academic year. Hence the books and methods used in Religious Knowledge need complete interrelation and adjustment, each to the others: and all need correlation with other studies.

The internal organization of the specific courses in religious knowledge, in an integral school system, is therefore a matter of widespread and most practical urgency. The various sections must be fitted together on a common structural principle, must be handled by a continuous method, psychologically modified with the progress of a student's education as a whole. Both the structural principle and the method must be such as will allow the maximum influence to be exercised, by this core and heart of the educative process, at once on all the other branches of education, and on the extra-classroom activities of the school. Religious Knowledge should be the nexus of the entire system.

The main line of transfer of power from religious knowledge, thus integrated and vivified in the True Way, into all the

other elements of complete education, into the curriculum and into all extra-curricular organization, will be historic in principle. One effect of this may be specially referred to. The teaching of history need no longer be artificially partitioned into secular and ecclesiastical history. The Church, the liturgical life of the peoples, the saints, moral action in all its forms, will take their rightful place in the one subject of history. Just as religious knowledge should not be operative merely at certain hours on certain days, so, too, the religious life of any people is the only true and adequate viewpoint for a survey of all its aims and activities.

EXEGETICAL METHOD OF HISTORY IN
MODERN TIMES

By M. C. D'ARCY, M.A., LL.D.

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PART I

THE changes which have taken place in the writing of history in the last one hundred and fifty years cannot be summarized in one sentence. The professional historian would probably describe what has happened by saying that history has become a science, and this will serve as at least a rough description with which to begin. Human beings have always been interested in their own doings and the deeds of other men and women, and this interest has marked itself in the telling of stories. These stories, however, are regarded by most modern critics as below the level of history for many reasons. The storyteller knowing his audience selects only the facts which will be of interest; furthermore, his artistic and dramatic sense tends to make him indifferent to exact truth as long as he can make a good story out of the battles and love affairs of the memories and traditions of past heroes and villains, and, lastly, being ready to believe much that a critical and incredulous generation would dismiss as fiction, his story becomes a pastime and not a scientific work. If this severe criticism refers to the earliest of stories, it can be accepted in the main, though with certain reservations to which I will return later.

The next stage is that in which a civilized people like the Greeks or Romans sets down the record of its past. The modern critic again refuses to consider these records as worthy of the name of history. He points to the credulity of a Herodotus and Livy, to the lack of any principles in the reconstruction of the past. Instead of facts being used to adorn a tale they are chosen to point a moral. This, I suppose, would include even such writers as Thucydides and Tacitus, who on a first impression read so like a modern study. They certainly surpass their contemporaries in their grasp of philosophic principles and power of disinterested judgement, but on closer inspection, it

is claimed, they belong to the class of moral writers who are interested in individuals and the doom that follows on their choices. Polybius, perhaps, alone emphasized the rational element in history and kept free from the temptation to make events subserve some moral teaching. All the others are wanting in a love of history for its own sake; they are gossip writers or rhetoricians; they have no idea of the relation of individual lives to institutions and institutions to general laws. This cannot mean, however, that great works were not written which have a bearing on history. No one can neglect the writings of the earlier Christian 'historians' or such a work as the *De Civitate Dei* of St. Augustine, and it may be added that, if the medieval writers were not critical, neither were they sophisticated. Men like Bede, William of Huntingdon, Matthew Paris, Oderic Vitalis, Jocelyn of Drakelond, and the chroniclers Froissart and Philip de Commines, do not write to prove a thesis; they are faithful to facts, rarely indulge in the whitewashing of evil men, and still more rarely attempt to prove an abstract thesis. The whirligig of time brings its revenges, and it is interesting to see that these despised chroniclers are not infrequently being proved right against the criticisms of the nineteenth-century historians. It remains true, however, that by modern standards the period of the Middle Ages is not one in which history, strictly so called, was written. Nor was the situation improved at the Renaissance and Reformation. The former led to an exaggerated respect for all that had been written by the classical authors, and the latter gave birth to a new kind of controversial literature which flung about texts drawn from Holy Scripture and paid little attention to the historical circumstances in which they were written. Even Bossuet thought that this was the way in which events should be treated, if a history of the world was to be written.

The beginnings of a change, however, became visible before the eighteenth century. Scaliger and others in Holland initiated new methods of studying documents, and the careful marshalling of evidence in written records is to be seen in the work of the Bollandists and the Benedictines of St. Maur. In the eigh-

teenth century modern history proper develops. The habit of mind which had been formed by the mathematical sciences was bound to influence the study of history, and it is not surprising therefore to find that during this period a serious effort was made in various countries to write national histories. And these histories are no longer chronicles or theses; the writers are interested in the development of institutions; they are critical of sources, and working by cause and effect they try to arrive at conclusions instead of seeking evidence for conclusions already adopted. Not only this, but we see a growing consciousness of the special problems which await the writers of history, and essays appear devoted to reflection on what should be its general characteristics. Inevitably injustice was done to the writers of past ages, and in the enthusiasm for new methods men like Voltaire and Gibbon lost sight of the guiding threads of men's beliefs in earlier centuries. Ancient writers may have been credulous, but it was at least as serious a fault to be as incredulous as Hardouin, who maintained that the Latin classics had been composed by monks of the Middle Ages!

Fortunately at this moment the Romantic Movement came to correct the narrow and somewhat silly rationalism of the eighteenth century. The Romantics saw the past in rosy colours and avidly collected all that was to be known about it, songs, ballads, folk-lore, and sagas. What is more, each country found itself in possession of an immense treasure. In England, as might be expected, Scott led the way by recreating Scottish and English history in his novels, even as Hume had taught an earlier generation of Englishmen their own past. Hallam followed with the first supposedly scientific account of medieval England, and the invaluable Surtees, Camden, and Chetham societies were formed. How far that robust reformer Cobbett was influenced by the ideas of his time may be debated, but there is no doubt that the Oxford Movement in its attempt to revive the customs and beliefs of the early Church was affected by the Romantics. What was romantic ceded, however, before another influence which has determined the outlook of historians ever since. This influence may be summed up in the word

'evolution'. The learned and scientific world of the nineteenth century saw all things in terms of process and development. 'Le siècle actuel sera principalement caractérisé par l'irrévocable prépondérance de l'histoire, en philosophie, en politique et même en poésie.' The scientist had for a long time been occupied in taking things to pieces in order to explain how they were made, and he had also taken for granted that if we know the primary constituents of the Universe a simple explanation of the rich variety of things, animate and inanimate, which we see around us, could be given; but his explanations had been so far crude. With the advent of Darwin he hoped to have for the first time a scientific account of the nature of change and growth. But in the belief that the secret of life and nature lay in change they were anticipated by the philosophers. Hegel made the fortune of the philosophy of development by his gigantic synthesis of nature, culture, and religion. What had been thought of as static and independent he forced into a Dialectic, an ever-moving process which gathered up pieces and fragments into new unities, and showed that the very life of the Absolute consisted in a form of becoming or development. So gargantuan and so convincing did his work appear to his contemporaries that his biographer, Haym, could write: 'Not to be an Hegelian meant then to be relegated to the class of barbarians and idiots, to be stamped as a contemptible and retrograde empiricist.'

The system of Hegel fell after a time into disrepute, but its influence has been lasting. First he started as a Romanticist and afterwards came to be an exaggerated Rationalist. In both these moods he inspired the historian and at the same time drove the historian to reject his excesses. As a recent writer, Christopher Dawson, has said: 'The cultural sciences all succumbed to the charm of the genetic method, to the simplicity of the trinitarian scheme, to Hegel's grandiose manner of pre-determining the course of history and of constructing it along unitary developmental lines.' They broke away, however, from the schematization which Hegel employed, and took their cue here more from the methods used by the physical sciences. The genetic method suggested by Darwin and his disciples

seemed to be more truly scientific and to lead to more accurate results. Thus we find that in the nineteenth century the guiding principle was genesis and that the historians divide themselves into two schools, those who are stimulated by some philosophical explanation of change and those who follow the scientists and explore the details and accumulate the evidence for the changes which have taken place in the growth of historical institutions. The former include such widely separated thinkers as Marx and Croce, and under the latter must be grouped the long succession of distinguished German historians who set an example to the rest of the world by their industry and exhaustive researches into sources.

When we recall the names of the great historians of the nineteenth century, it is easy to understand why it has been argued that the advance in this century in historical science has eclipsed even the remarkable successes gained in the physical sciences. Niebuhr, Boeckh, Ranke, Mommsen, and Treitschke in Germany; Thierry, Michelet, Guizot, Thiers, and Taine in France; Lingard, Grote, Macaulay, Stubbs, Maitland, Acton, and Gardiner in England—these are but a selection from the mass of historians from every country whose names cannot be forgotten. And we have to remember, too, that not only were the histories of their own country and institutions brought to light by these men, but Greece and Rome and Egypt and India, old scarcely known cultures and religions also became their quarry. The methods, too, employed to reconstruct large canvases were brought to bear on what had been thought too insignificant to need treatment. Histories of families, of municipalities, of military and naval warfare, of needlework, of household furniture, all became grist to the mill of the expert, and it gradually became the habit to refuse credence to any statement made without reliance on the new scientific methods. The task before the historian was thus made much more difficult as he could no longer be content with a reading of the pertinent texts, and his difficulties were increased when it became recognized that a vast amount of supplementary information could be acquired by the study of topography

and that comparative philology and archaeology could not be safely neglected. Schliemann's excavations in Troy and Mycenae revolutionized the beliefs hitherto held about pre-historic Greece, and for the correct interpretation of the Bible it is now taken for granted that the works of Maspero and Flinders Petrie on Egypt, Ramsay on Asia Minor, Eduard Meyer on the Near East, the Tell el-Amarna tablets and the *Oxyrhynchus papyri*, and the discoveries in Palestine and at Kish and Ur and even the aeronautical work of an O. G. S. Crawford are necessary aids.

The revolution in historical methods and the vast advantages accruing from it were described in a lecture on the Study of History by Lord Acton in 1895. The writers of the Middle Ages had become content to 'live in the twilight of fiction', whereas now the deeds of history 'are done in the daylight. Every country opens its archives and invites us to penetrate the mysteries of State. When Hallam wrote his chapter on James II, France was the only power whose reports were available. Rome followed, and The Hague; and then came the stories of the Italian States, and at last the Prussian and the Austrian papers and partly those of Spain. Where Hallam and Lingard were dependent on Barillon, their successors consult the diplomacy of ten governments.' Whereas before historians had suffered from a drought, now there is more fear of drowning. But he goes on to point out that the achievements of the nineteenth century have been gained more by 'solidity of criticism than by the plenitude of erudition'. For such criticism three operations are necessary. The first is that the critic ask himself whether he has read a passage as the author wrote it, that is, he must be on the look-out for the work of the transcriber, censors, and editors. Secondly, he must ask where the writer got his information. If from another author, the same question repeats itself; if from an unpublished source, that source must be traced. Lastly, the question of the veracity and the motives of the writer must be suspected until that veracity be proved. Thus, as Acton says, the critic must begin with suspicion and suspense of mind.

But this is not all. Lord Acton had been the pupil of Ranke, and for him Ranke always stood as the model of historians. 'He taught it [the age] to be critical, to be colourless and to be new.' In one of his letters he expresses his own ideal of scientific history in the words: 'You want things to be brought to bear, to have an effect. I think our studies ought to be all but purposeless. They want to be pursued with chastity, like mathematics. This at least is my profession of faith.' This statement of Lord Acton is of the first importance in its bearing on the nineteenth-century conception of history, as at the time he was the liaison officer between the great German historians and the English, and being fully persuaded of the excellence of the German methods he was out to raise the study of history in England to the same level. In the same letter he says that

the Germans have a word, *Quellenmässig* = *ex ipsissimis fontibus*, and another, *Wissenschaftlichkeit*, which is nearly equivalent to the Platonic *ἐπιστήμη* as opposed to *αἰσθησις*, *δόξα*, *μνήμη*, etc. When a book of theology, history or any other science is destitute of these essential qualities, it belongs to a wholly different category, and, however meritorious it is in its own sphere, is not treated or spoken of seriously. I might have Gibbon or Grote by heart, I should yet have no real, original, scientific knowledge of Roman or Greek history, though I might make a great show of it and eclipse a better scholar. So in theology I might know profoundly all the books written by divines since the Council of Trent, but I should be no theologian unless I studied painfully, and in the sources, the genesis and growth of the doctrines of the Church.

Such a high ideal of scholarship as this is worth inculcating at any age, and Lord Acton himself set an example of it which has been of lasting benefit. One can detect nevertheless the danger of sacrificing all to industry. He, however, was not blind to some of the other dangers, for he observes that there are common faults even among the truly scientific, such as the want of an energetic understanding of the sequence and real significance of events, and the proclivity to neglect and by degrees to forget what has been before certainly known. These are not the vices which would perhaps strike us as the most

prominent of the period, but before enlarging on these it will be well, with the help of Acton's analysis, to describe now more accurately what is meant by the historical method.

It claims to be scientific, and by this is meant that as much relevant evidence as possible should be collected and that it should then be scrutinized critically. When this is finished the historical event or events should be set in their historical setting and judged as significant or insignificant in the growth of some institution or nation or culture. When Thucydides told the story of the Peloponnesian War he showed himself critical of much that earlier historians had believed; he tried, too, to show what causes were at work to account for the failure of Athens. In all this he proved himself a true historian. But when he treated history dramatically and worked out his conclusions on the principle that pride will have a fall he ceased to be scientific. Nor did he know how to criticize his authorities, to marshal his evidence, to avoid the rhetoric of set speeches; he interpreted also past figures and past events in the light of the ideas of his own time. The modern historian, for his part, in writing on the period surveyed by Thucydides would have to begin with a critical study of the text of that author, and establish its authenticity and substantial veracity; he will look, if possible, behind him to find his authorities, mark down any discrepancies in the text, be on the look-out for interpolations. This done, he has to compare the account with any other he can find which refers to the same events, and then look afield for further corroboration from inscriptions, topography, potsherds and remains. He will be fairly certain to discover a number of obvious or apparent discrepancies, and from these he will in all likelihood reconstruct the whole history and, if his conjectures be ingenious, win a reputation as a distinguished historian. Where, then, the modern historian differs from the old is in his use of exegesis, accumulation of evidence from every quarter, the sifting of it, and an hypothesis based on some principle of development which will serve to cover the facts or the majority of the facts.

That great successes have been attained by this method no

one can deny. Our knowledge of the past has been increased beyond what writers two hundred years ago would have thought conceivable, and I have given only a selection of the names which have become household names. It is worth noting, however, that a large number of the most successful historians failed to observe the standard of dispassionate judgement observed by Ranke and preached by Acton. Grote was a fervent democrat and Mommsen a worshipper of Caesar, Michelet and Lord Acton himself apostles of liberty. The idol of the Victorian Age, Macaulay, undoubtedly misread his history in the interests of the Whig tradition, and he was only one, if the greatest, of many Whigs. Even now this tradition has not received its quietus, as the recent publications of Trevelyan prove. Wherever we look in fact we can see examples of history wrested to suit a theory. Pollard whitewashes a Henry VIII, Seeböhm in his *Medieval English Community* interprets the evidence as indicating a Roman origin for the English manor, and to go back a little Mandell Creighton in his *History of the Popes* turns antipapal when he reaches the Reformation. More curious still perhaps is the fact that the real father of English history, Lingard, who lived before the ideals which came from Germany had made their mark on English writing is on the whole conspicuously fair and detached, and the two who are most free of the vices which the German methods were to overcome, Stubbs and Maitland, owed little to these theories of how scientific history should be written. It may be said of course that many writers owe their reputation to the brilliance of their work and not to its soundness, and as evidence for this Renan might be cited or even Fustel de Coulanges. But there is a distinction between the merits of these two which is worth noting. Renan invented where evidence was already abundant, Fustel de Coulanges daringly united slight and scattered evidence. The action of the latter is almost always praiseworthy, whereas that of the former may be foolhardy and deserving of no credit. This can be seen by a concrete example. Of the character and culture of the Canaanites all that we know has to be gathered from various references in the Bible and possible

allusions in other early records and what has been found with the help of the spade. A scholar who can piece together the evidence into a coherent hypothesis will advance our knowledge even though his hypothesis has later to be modified. Now compare this with some of the hypotheses invented in the nineteenth century to revolutionize the traditional interpretation of the Fourth Gospel. In this case the hypothesis runs counter to a mass of evidence; it has a short vogue and then disappears bringing no honour to its author. The moral of this is that there are two standards for judging conjectural reconstructions of history. Often in archaeology and in the study of little known tracts of history we are bound to make headway by daring speculation, but such a procedure is wrong and pernicious where we are in a position to let the facts speak for themselves. It would almost look at times as though there had to be a flaw in the armour of the scientific historian. If he disciplines himself and takes infinite patience in the accumulation of exact evidence he will take a leap at the end, as a relief, into the wildest hypothesis, and so a Sir James Fraser will need a watch dog like Andrew Lang to bend the Golden Bough back into a recognizable shape, or the erudite commentator on Aristotle will have to be balanced by recourse to the pages of a medieval Aristotelian like St. Thomas Aquinas. The *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle, for instance, has been commented upon both by Aquinas and distinguished modern English scholars like Stewart and Burnet. In the latter there is evidence of serious historical investigation; the text has been studied and restudied; we are given every opportunity to realize the sources for the views in the text; we see the background of ideas; in fact so far as the accuracy of the text and exegetical and historical criticism are concerned these modern commentaries are of a high order. Their advance on Aquinas in these regards is obvious. He is typical of his age, an age which could take the writings of a sixth-century Neoplatonist for the work of a convert of St. Paul. But whereas Burnet is interested in the views of Aristotle as a piece of history, Aquinas has only one object, to possess himself of whatsoever is true in them. And the result

is that the modern is at sea as to the meaning of this philosophy and Aquinas is on the whole a very safe guide.

These weaknesses raise the fundamental question whether this application of scientific methods to history can be as suitable as the pioneers in the movement supposed. In the physical sciences the principle which lies behind all investigation is that of determinism. I know that some distinguished scientists have recently been suggesting that for all we know nature may be indeterminate. They cannot, however, and do not, let this fancy stand in the way of further study, for in the pursuance of their aims they continue to rely on the principle just stated. Now in history the situation is apparently quite different, as it is freedom which makes the doings of men important, and it is only when they are ceasing to be human beings that the law of determinism comes into force. For this reason the old chroniclers chose to write narratives in which the determining features are ever the whims and choices of men and women. They were interested principally in human beings, and we see the same tendency in the preoccupation with kings and great warriors in the old histories. If this were not sufficient, they brought in the agelong conception of fate and its doom or, as happened in Christian tales, the providence of God and the supernatural. The change came when historians began to pay more attention to institutions and to material factors, economic and social. Gradually the personal element came to play less and less part in the history, which, as said before, came to be estimated in the light of a continual and necessary development. As Vacherot wrote in his *Essai de Philosophie Critique*: 'La loi du progrès avait jadis l'inexorable rigueur du destin; elle prend maintenant de jour en jour la douce puissance de la Providence.'

In justification of this change it can be urged that a truer account of history can be given if we disregard the arbitrary and concentrate on what can be treated scientifically. What accidents helped to bring about the French Revolution at the exact moment it took place, what chance events effected Napoleon's meditations in the night before Austerlitz must be omitted. Incidents like toothache, whims, and fancies are not

the subject-matter of history; nor even those motives which flicker and come and go in the mind and colour the action subsequently performed. It comes to the same thing finally whether we assume that the hero was the product of his age or the age the creation of the hero. The historian must deal with events and choices only in so far as they can be treated scientifically, and a hero outside the forces and influences of his time is as crude a solution as a *deus ex machina*. No wonder then that in the last fifty years that form of literature called the novel has become so popular. History, which was originally concerned with the actions of human beings, having passed into a species of science, the novel had to resume what was lost in a new way, and save man from science; and debarred from the field of history because of the scientific accuracy required, it tended to confine itself to experience, to what goes on within the human mind.

Now this is a serious objection against much that is written in the name of history. The answer would be no doubt that it cannot be helped, and that the method has been justified by its results. Besides, the situation is not so bad as described. If man is free he is also subject to many forces, and in the long run these forces determine history. We are not departing from truth when we ignore the free choices of individuals in writing about movements and institutions and the growth of a people and a nation. The Englishman of to-day is different from a medieval Florentine and from a modern Greek, and if we wish to explain these differences we have to look to climate, to topography, environment, and examine the cultural influences which surrounded or surround each of them. The Englishman of to-day is made intelligible by facts such as that he lives on an island, that he has escaped invasions for several centuries, that he has been able to benefit from both the Germanic and the Graeco-Roman cultures, while the Greek has lain on the borders of the West and the East, has suffered invasion and the country changed its population. These and other factors go far to give a true explanation of the average outlook of citizens of these two countries, and it makes little difference that there are English-

men and Greeks who are exceptional. Again it would be absurd to deny the gradual or rapid influence of American ideas on immigrants to the United States because it happened that a certain family by strength of will perchance fought against these influences. History does indeed differ from science proper in that it has to deal with tendencies instead of with fixed, determining causes, and as a result the conclusions of history have a degree of certainty suitable to the subject-matter, a degree which is lower than that of biological science.

It is perfectly true that we ought not to expect a higher degree of certainty in any study than is allowed by the subject-matter, and for that reason I do not think that it is profitable to discuss the dose of uncertainty which human freedom gives to history. All would be well if historians realized this characteristic of their study and allowed for it. But unfortunately in the hands of the lesser historians the methods now applied tend to conceal the special nature of history. To take an illustration. Mommsen makes Julius Caesar the chief determining factor in the future of Rome and therefore of the civilization of the West:

That there is a bridge connecting the past glory of Hellas and Rome with the prouder fabric of modern history; that Western Europe is Romanic and Germanic Europe classic; that the names of Themistocles and Scipio have to us a very different sound from those of Asoka and Salmanassar; that Homer and Sophocles are not merely like the Vedas and Kalidasa attractive to the literary botanist, but bloom for us in our garden—all this is the work of Caesar; and while the creation of his great predecessor in the East has been almost wholly reduced to ruin by the tempests of the Middle Ages, the structure of Caesar has outlasted those thousands of years which have changed religion and polity for the human race and even shifted for it the centre of civilization itself, and it still stands erect for what we may designate as eternity.

Now here is a statement which could come from the pen of any historian, long-past or present; it is free from preconceptions of inevitable progress, and, when due allowances have been made for the tone of passionate admiration, it is a sound and defensible view. Nevertheless it has been considerably revised by

later historians, and along two lines. The first can be traced in the passage from Mommsen in the reference to Germanic Europe. In the interests of national honour historians have been inclining to minimize the influences which are external to a nation and to see instead in national genius an inevitable growth to the position it now occupies. And this meets the second line of revision which is to sink the individual in the processes of change which come about through economic and social factors. There is something naïve, so the modern historian thinks, in celebrating the doings of a man. For all we know Caesar may have been a pure opportunist with a touch of the adventurer in him and at the end of his life a megalomaniac seeking to set up an oriental despotism. At any rate if there is such uncertainty it is better far to concentrate on issues which can be weighed and measured. The growth of the Empire and of the importance of the proconsuls, the social conditions in Italy and in the lands lying near, these and many other causes should be brought forward instead of the unverifiable genius of one man.

The first of these lines of study just mentioned has been responsible for much crossing and recrossing of familiar ground in history and still unended disputes about the importance of the Roman and the Celtic and the German elements in the development of the nations of the West. The second is, however, more to our purpose at the moment. Though legitimate within limits as we have seen, a method which works most smoothly when it disembarrasses itself of the personal factor in history has its obvious dangers. Moreover, it may easily lead historians astray when they come to deal with episodes or movements which are due to spiritual causes. Naturalism all too easily becomes the creed of the historian. Religion, for instance, only too often occupies a very minor place in the explanations of the development of a nation or a culture, as the very various estimates of a St. Bernard, a Joan of Arc, or the Crusades clearly show. The civilization in which we now live is taken as the term of all that has gone before and as the criterion of past cultures and, as it is dominated by material forces in a way

perhaps hitherto unexampled, it is easy to ignore factors which for the moment seemed to have been swamped. And yet it ought to be seen that it is precisely owing to the uncurbed sway of the material factors that prophets of the future have become increasingly alarmist and pessimistic. Our knowledge now of the past is sufficient to show that religion has been the womb of civilization, that every successful culture has possessed a distinctive view of life, and that its main stimulus has been in the moral, the artistic, and the religious orders. This holds true universally, as the investigation of the anthropologists has proved. But while acknowledged in many quarters the knowledge has not produced the radical revision of current assumptions which might have been hoped. The reason is that it is so much easier to make a pseudo-scientific structure of the past if one makes use only of material counters and the concept of progress. The errors resulting from this are considerable in every field of history, and they are fatal when it is a question of the history of the Jewish people or the rise of European civilization. The story of Israel has no meaning if it is not interpreted in the way the Jewish people themselves interpreted it; that is to say, as a choice by God of them as a chosen people. Innumerable efforts have been made to explain away all that is original in their history by recourse to contemporary races and the surrounding cults, but it is only in defiance of the evidence and in the interests of a preconceived view that this can be done and their striking originality ignored.

Similarly with the rise of Christianity. The scientific historian has had to manipulate the evidence to suit his prejudice and has looked in vain for parallels and influences which will reduce the Christian religion to a level which he can understand without appeal to the supernatural and the miraculous. He thought for a time that he had found the clue in the mystery religions, in the cult of Isis and Mithras. He talked of Trinities and of dying Gods, of sacraments and regeneration. Yet all that can be said for his supposed parallels is that the most unlike objects look similar from a distance, even as the faces of a strange and unknown people appear at a first acquaintance to be all alike.

A closer inspection of the parallels, such as that of the Trinity, make it clear that neither in origin nor in nature is the Christian Trinity to be likened to the supposedly pagan parallels. The Christian is monotheist and historical; the pagan polytheist and mythical. As nugatory have been the various attempts to read the early struggles of the Church in terms of modern economic categories, as Kautsky in his contribution to the *Geschichte des Sozialismus in Einzeldarstellungen* and L. Brentano in *Die wirtschaftlichen Lehre des christlichen Altertums*, for example, have done. Of the latter Ernst Troeltsch has written: 'Brentano's treatment of the subject betrays an absence of all understanding of the spirit of the Early Church; indeed, his one desire seems to be to prove that the ideas of Early Christianity are of no use for a Liberal Capitalistic economic policy which was otherwise quite evident', and of Kautsky it is sufficient to remark that he explains all by a theory of historical materialism and suggests that 'out of a communistic institution' the Catholic Church made 'the most gigantic machine for exploitation which the world has ever seen come into being'.

It would be easy to multiply illustrations of the failure of historians to give a proper explanation of the rise of Christianity owing to prejudices against the spiritual and the supernatural. If the mystery religions will not do, then recourse is had to the Rabbinic literature or to the Mandaeans or Essenes, to any possible hypothesis, in fact, which will save the historian from accepting the plain evidence. Even one of the greatest amongst their number, Harnack, openly admitted that rather than accept the supernatural he would prefer to jettison the whole story of Christ and Christianity, and, to turn to the opposite end of the pole, a recent publication by Eisler assumes that all that the Christian authorities write must be worthless as evidence and that what they say must be totally reconstructed so as to give the picture of a fanatical sect led by a hunchback which failed to capture Jerusalem. Such a delirium is fortunately rare among scholars, and it is only fair to record the names of some of the many Catholic scholars, Duchesne, Battifol, Lebreton, and Pinard de la Boullaye—not to mention

Newman himself who was singled out by the exacting Lord Acton. These and many another have applied the rule and ideal of Acton to the history of the beginnings of Christianity. Amongst English non-Catholic scholars also one can point to names like those of Lightfoot, Ramsay, Gore, Bevan, Kidd, and C. H. Turner, names honourable for their relatively conservative criticism. But, of the results of historical criticism and the continental theories of even conservative Protestants, L. de Grandmaison has sadly but truly to declare that 'as soon as they claim to leave behind absolute dogmatic agnosticism', they have to 'roundly reject what the Catholic Church has always considered as the corner stone of the dogma of the Incarnation'.

If asked how disciplined thought can fall into such errors of judgement, one answer is that science does not necessarily liberate us from prejudice; in fact in historical study it seems at times to increase. The materializing of a humane study has brought with it a retribution and caused the blindness of incredulity. It is this fixed incredulity which is such a marked feature of modern scholarship. Michelet could write: '*il faut faire volte-face et vivement, franchement tourner le dos au moyen âge, à ce passé morbide, qui, même quand il n'agit pas, influe terriblement par la contagion de la mort. Il ne faut ni combattre, ni critiquer, mais oublier. Oublions et marchons.*' And even Acton could say of the same period that its writers 'became content to be deceived, to live in a twilight of fiction, under clouds of false witnesses, inventing according to convenience and glad to welcome the forger and the cheat'. With this belief the modern historian held that not only must nothing that is old be left unsuspected but it must be rewritten out of all recognition.

This principle reached perhaps its apogee at the end of the nineteenth century and has now been moderated owing in part to the most recent archaeological discoveries. At one time the historian Herodotus was treated as a writer of fairy tales, the Homeric poems and the historical parts of the Old Testament as almost worthless as evidence. Classical scholars have been

forced back to a more conservative position. Whereas the late Professor Bury could maintain in his history of ancient Greece that the Homeric story was founded on the early attempts at colonization by the Greeks on the coast of Asia Minor and thereby ignore the main point of the story, which was an Odyssey, a return of the hero to his native land, now archaeological discoveries have made it plain that Homer knew what he was writing about. The clothes and the armour and buildings can be matched with those that have been revealed by the spade, and even such suspected passages as the catalogue in the *Iliad* have been shown to be based on actual localities and families. Similarly with the Old Testament there are now many indications that what is narrated there is at least founded on facts; there are traces of the exodus of the Jews from Egypt and of their sojourn in the desert; Jerusalem continues to bear witness to the descriptions of it in the Bible in David's time and, to give one other small confirmation, there is the witness from Jericho that the walls of the ancient city do seem to have collapsed. Lastly within recent years we have witnessed the rise of an excellent school of medieval studies, which has had for result the truly historical work of Tout and Davis and Powicke.

Those who are lovers of tradition and have been ill at ease in watching the insouciance of historians generally seize upon these confirmations of tradition to uphold its veracity against modern criticism. In doing this they are in danger themselves of slipping into exaggeration. There is this to be said in favour of their view, that an illiterate people is far more likely to remember events and the spoken word than a generation which is brought up on reading and writing. If there be any meaning in the theory of the struggle for existence it would certainly cause a race to preserve with care all that is important. Now we have evidence to prove that a story or ballad can be passed on without the alteration of a single sentence, so exactly in fact that the oral tradition has been able to correct a confusion in the versions of the manuscripts. Now this proves, I think, that more attention should be paid to tradition than has been

customary in the nineteenth century, but it does not prove that we should as a rule give precedence to such tradition over historical criticism. In the oral tradition the first version may often be preserved, but more often than not this version will itself be a highly coloured account of the events described. The story-teller will want to make a good story out of the events, and so the dramatic sense does damage to exact history. We have, however, at least this: that the story is founded on a history, and both odd details and the most striking episodes are likely to be true. The exception might be when owing to credulity causes are assigned, impish and heavenly, which are an interpretation of the facts and not given in the facts themselves.

All so far said about tradition assumes that the transmitters of it regard it as important. Laws, the words of a prophet or wise man, family history, these can pass on without serious change because it may even happen that it may be thought sinful or unlucky to make any change whatsoever. Such reverence acts as an antidote to the also very prevalent habits of amplifying and believing what one wants to be believed. If we were to take as a test the circulation of a story among friends at the present day we should become entirely sceptical of oral tradition, and it is easy to find in history notorious examples of how desire has distorted documents to its own ends. This latter happens especially in an age where beliefs are held with vigour and with violence. We see according to our likes, and if these likes are convictions they may unwittingly falsify the evidence. That is the bad side of the picture. There is another side, as I have already tried to point out, and it must never be forgotten that if a conviction can lead to error it can also serve to see the truth. The unbeliever tends to miss the meaning of the evidence of a point of view with which he is out of sympathy. He will regard many popular religious practices and devotions as approaching to superstition; he will seize on all that lessens its importance or makes it ridiculous; he will misunderstand the arguments in its favour. If the Catholic Church lays claim to a unique position for its popes and attributes to them an

infallibility, such an historian will be apt to think of infallibility as a magic or miraculous inspiration, confuse it with the immaculate and persuade himself that the primacy of the Roman Pontiff can be easily explained by the influence of the Empire on the constitution of the Church. Gibbon and Bury, for instance, turn a blind eye on all that tends to discredit their rationalism, in sharp contrast with the patient work of Pastor and of Mann, who have done so much to give us the plain but illuminating story of the popes.

What then can we say on the value of tradition? The answer depends on the subject-matter handed down. Where it is reckoned important, even to the detail of the language, the value must be put high, both because of the persistence of oral memories and, so to speak, magic attributed to turns of language, and secondly because in religion it was held to be impious and extremely unlucky to change a word in an oracular statement. Secondly, in oral tradition once the story has taken shape in dramatic and artistic form, that form is likely to persist amongst comparatively illiterate peoples without serious deformation. This tradition, however, does no more than give us the original artistic representation of the facts and not the facts themselves. It is useful as being founded on the facts, but it may be a highly coloured version of them. And thirdly, inasmuch as it is an interpretation of facts, with racial prejudices and local credulity playing their part, it has to be received with at most a critical appreciation. It is this change from contempt to a moderate appreciation which would improve modern historical studies.

Another way in which tradition is useful is that it brings out the point of view of those who lived in the ages which are being studied. The modern historian has always to check a natural inclination to judge the past by present standards. As an onlooker equipped, as he thinks, with methods of criticism far in advance of what has gone before and tending, too, to do homage to current conceptions of progress, he can scarcely do otherwise. Now such an attitude makes it more difficult for him to forget for the moment his own beliefs and adopt those

of a past and different culture. He cannot share with the pilgrims to Canterbury, as he has no interest in the pilgrimage. What he does instead is to set about gathering every shred of evidence he can find, and he kills the fatted calf in joy if he manages to discover some new details which his predecessors and contemporaries have not noticed. He grows more interested in guessing that the original of 'the Cat which could look at a King' was the domestic pet of Hieronymus Resch, whom the Emperor Maximilian visited in 1517. Scholarship owes a great debt of gratitude to Germany which throughout the nineteenth century led the way in physical and historical science, but the gift of German methods was not wholly beneficial. We have only to consult the critical editions of the Greek and Roman classics, the laborious massing together of detailed evidence in historical monographs, to see that simple truths can easily be buried under the dust of an indiscriminate learning. The habit in German universities of demanding an original thesis for a degree could not but mean in many cases the multiplication of useless information and it gave a spurious value to original research of any kind. In certain universities of the United States this form of learning has been exaggerated to absurd lengths, and students have been rewarded and regarded as scholars for collecting all the data possible on the shapes of certain manuscripts and counting the number of times a certain word is used by a set of authors. By this means useless information was gathered at the expense of judgement; a scholar could point triumphantly to his pile of data no matter what ridiculous judgement he might pass on the subject with which he was supposed to be acquainted. Thus a class called the learned or the experts came into being in the nineteenth century who were treated with as much reverence as the mandarin or the ancient seers and prophets. The segregation of the expert is more pronounced in Germany than it is in England, where the amateur can still gain a hearing and the expert is allowed to write literature. The situation nevertheless is a serious one. The editor for instance of one of our leading journals could argue recently that since a critical point in the history

of the Christian religion was in debate between the two greatest experts on the subject, namely Harnack and Loisy, it followed that no one could be certain of Christianity until one of these two had triumphed. That a division should arise between the expert and the amateur is, no doubt, inevitable, for knowledge has been subdivided now into so many sciences that it is impossible for the average man to know intimately and at first hand all that is requisite for the study of any period. He must know many languages and the old form of these languages, he must have been trained in exegesis, in the reading and dating of manuscripts; the study of economics and constitutional history is needed and some acquaintance with the science of geography, agriculture, guilds, racial types, and so forth. What was one subject falls apart into many, and each of these has to be scientifically handled.

Now this multiplication of sciences within one science is inevitable and serves the interests of truth if its importance be not exaggerated. Its possible defects, however, have been amusingly criticized by Mr. Chesterton. Writing on behalf of the man in the street against the usurpations of an academic priesthood, he says:

the obscure things, the details, and disputed points, the great scholar can always see, and note better than we can. It is the obvious things that he cannot see. I do not say this in mere deprecation; I think it is really inseparable from that concentrated research to which the world owes so much. It is the truth in the traditional picture of the absent-minded professor who remains gazing at a fossil or a Roman coin and fails to observe external objects, such as a house on fire, a revolution, an escaped elephant putting its head through the skylight, and similar things.

What Mr. Chesterton says here of the expert would hold true of him in all ages, but the peculiar mark of the last century is that the experts tried to make a corner of all knowledge. They took away from the amateur and the man in the street all right to have a judgement, and they enlarged upon the need of training for knowledge of any subject worth while. This nemesis befell them, that in the hands of many lesser men history became

an affair of evidence and nothing else, a ticking off of the number of the trees and all their characteristics and a lamentable ignorance of the wood. This defect was more noticeable in the historical sciences, where the subject-matter often falls within the competence of the average man, and where sanity of judgement is more sorely needed than in the pure physical sciences. It is in vain that the historian gathers together all the bricks if he has no notion of the purpose of a human city, and he will be altogether at a loss if he investigates the heavenly city without any belief or interest in heaven and the things of the spirit. It is from this failing that the histories of civilization of H. G. Wells or Spengler suffer, and again Dr. Coulton's criticism of the Middle Ages. But two mistakes made in a slighter work, *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits* by Fülöp-Miller, will serve as a convenient illustration. The first concerns free will. Fülöp-Miller puts it to the credit of the Jesuits that they introduced free will for the first time into Christian theology as a principle of perfection, and he explains the disputes of the Jesuits with the Reformers and other schools of Catholic thought on this assumption: 'Ignatius taught that man can attain perfection by his own will and his own powers' Here, despite great industry, Fülöp-Miller has not succeeded in reaching the true nature of the dispute, and his lack of success is due to his misunderstanding of some of the cardinal teachings of the Catholic Church on the relation of grace to free will. The second error occurs in the following statement: 'Of late years, Catholicism has made considerable progress in England, a fact which is largely due to the activities of the Jesuits. A devotional guild with a large number of members, at the head of which is the Jesuit Provincial Bodkin, has been founded, and issues its own paper, *The Cohort*.' It would be difficult to find a statement which is more misleading, though Fülöp-Miller could no doubt point to evidence to support what he says. Catholicism has made great progress since the Oxford Movement, though probably it has not made considerable progress in numbers in recent years. The way in which it has undoubtedly progressed should have been stated or nothing said. That the Jesuits have

been active no one will deny, but they would be the first to disclaim the unique influence which is attributed to them in the sentence quoted. But if they have an influence it is not gained principally by means of a devotional guild with a paper called *The Cohort*. *The Cohort* is a small local magazine edited by a Jesuit who has charge of what is known as a retreat house in the north of England. It can hardly be said to have any connexion with a devotional guild, and it certainly is not one of the main productions of the English Jesuits.

I have quoted this instance not because of its intrinsic importance but because it illustrates admirably the kind of error which can come from an over-devotion to evidence. The modern expert has accepted the formula that history consists of evidence and he has fallen into the bad habit of putting evidence in the first place and at times in the only place. The result has been that the meaning and significance of the facts he has collected escapes him altogether. He flattens out all that he learns, and so at the end is in a far worse condition for a sound judgement than he was at the beginning. In denouncing this error as peculiarly modern I must not be taken to imply that it is universal now or confined to the last century. There are admirable historians who avoid this and other errors and, assisted as he is with all the modern equipment for testing truth, the historian now is in an enviable and privileged position compared with his predecessors. That is why the nineteenth century was *par excellence* the period of the great historian. But now, as always, the secret of success has not been due principally to any mechanical contrivances, to easier means of study, to improved methods; it has depended ultimately on the native genius of the writer and the power to sympathize with others and interpret the meaning of men's actions.

It would seem then that in most of what has been written about the science of history and the methods it adopts the chief requisite for the historian has not been sufficiently emphasized. This is not surprising as in the explanation of the methods of the physical sciences also philosophers have been at sea. They have talked much about induction and have been puzzled by

the fact that though for a perfect induction the enumeration should be complete and exhaustive, the scientist, in fact, never follows this rule, and indeed could not follow it. The reason for this discrepancy between theory and practice is that no attention has been paid to a power of the mind to read through data to the intelligible unity which binds them together or to see the design in the varying signs of its presence. Now in the natural sciences the genius is the man who can interpret even from a few data the cause or law both hidden and revealed in them, and the same gift or habit is required with even greater instance in the study of history. In history we are in the presence of a number of facts which are the result of human thinking and acting, and the human thinking and acting are in turn determined in part—and in part only—by the conditions in which the human agents live. The historian has then a double task. He has to fix on these predisposing causes, and, when that is done, interpret rightly the design of the agents in their choices. He will be aided in this by the declared intentions of those agents, if he can find any evidence of such attestations. But that will not suffice even where it exists, for we have only to consult ourselves and the witness of our friends to realize that rarely do we carry explicitly in our minds all the reasons for our actions, and on many an occasion we could not give a full, adequate account of them. Hence the historian has to weigh carefully all that he finds written by men of themselves; he has, in fine, to come to an independent judgement about the series of events and actions of the period he is studying. Where then in the last resort is the secret of a successful judgement? It lies in the power of seeing how all the data hold together, of interpreting them, both those which are necessarily determined and those which are freely chosen, in their right order and proper design, and so explaining what really happened and why it happened.

For the proper functioning of this integrating and interpreting faculty several virtues are of course requisite. The first, it need hardly be said, is what is called variously honesty or fairness and, what comes to the same thing in the end, compassionate

judgement. Obvious as are these requisites they are not so easy in practice. The nearer the historian comes to his quarry the more sure he becomes that the evidence all points the same way, and moreover it is easy for him to blind himself to the significance of facts which tell against his theory. Few historians can be dismissed on this charge without a stain upon their character, and the danger is all the greater when we reflect that knowledge in history has in fact advanced by means of these exaggerations of some aspect of a man or a period. The prejudiced historian does see the black spots on what he hates which have been missed by others, and he has a way, too, of bringing out favourable points which his affection enables him, and only him, to see. The Whig English historians are now seen to have been very one-sided, and yet it is doubtful whether a true history could have been written without their help. Sybel gained as well as lost by his devotion to Prussia, de Maistre by his adherence to the monarchical principle, Taine by his dislike of the Revolution, Froude by his hatred of Catholicism. It remains true, however, that prejudice can go too far and end in mere caricature, and there is always need of a Ranke and a Stubbs to balance the excesses of the fanatics. Hence the rule holds that it is the duty of historians to beware of their own predilections and to be guided by the facts.

This does not mean, however, that the historian must become so impersonal as to resemble a recording machine. If he has to avoid prejudice, he has nevertheless to cultivate sympathy, and this is the second virtue which is requisite for understanding and true interpretation. By sympathy is meant here something more than kindly feeling; it means rather the intellectual virtue which enables a reader or critic to enter into the habit of mind of the persons he is studying. It is opposed both to bigotry and to detachment; it demands open-mindedness as to the merits and demerits of another's thought, and it enables the historian to understand what an author of deeds or thoughts had in mind and the value which he attached to those works. Without such a quality Meyer could not have written with such success on the Church and State in the reign of Elizabeth, nor Gairdner

on the Reformation, nor Maitland drawn his epoch-making conclusions on medieval England. In the criticism of art and philosophic writings this virtue is vitally necessary, and one has only to consult the criticisms of modern painting and architecture, of philosophies such as those of Kant or Aquinas or the position and influence of the Catholic Church in history, to realize how often it is lacking. We meet either laborious compiling—as if one could make history as the slaves built the pyramids—or wild or foolish guessing which is the reverse of true interpretation. A sympathetic understanding is necessary, and lest it, too, turn into a prejudice, it must be kept on an intellectual level. It must, that is, be an intellectual and not a sentimental passion.

Supported thus by integrity and sympathy the historian can successfully find his way through the past and interpret it aright. So-called historical and critical methods are indeed means to success, but that interpretation is the real secret can be seen from another angle. The period which the historian studies is either one which abounds in data or it is one which is barely retrieved from complete darkness. We know very little of many of the Egyptian dynasties, of the Etruscan domination, of the early immigrations and the links connecting the early civilizations of the East and the Levant. On the other hand, an overwhelming amount of data is available for much of European history. Where then the data are slender it is obvious that it requires a special power to be able to make meaning out of them, to co-ordinate what is apparently discrepant and interpret them aright. And it is no less obvious when there is a bewildering variety. Not all the facts can be included in a reconstruction nor can they be taken as all identical in significance. Discrimination is needed, what is useless discarded and even of the significant only those facts selected which bear on the truth of which the historian is sure. It has been said that the need of selecting destroys historical certainty, and this would be true were not the mind endowed with the power of knowing through signs—gestures and looks and movements and sounds in the individual and conduct and expressions in art and

language and industry for history—what the meaning of events is and what the character of a man or city or period must be.

So far I have been dealing with what is more generally considered to be historical science. In a less strict sense, however, these semi-philosophical works which for the most part have been influenced by Hegel must be reckoned as history. The nineteenth century saw the rapid development of historical methods and gave birth to an unrivalled number of distinguished historians. These and a host of smaller writers ransacked the libraries of Europe, explored every nook and cranny where evidence might be forthcoming, and they have made history as scientific as it can possibly become. Influenced, however, by the dogma of progress and evolution, it also saw a series of works which attempted to give on a large scale a philosophy of the universe in terms of history. This movement took two directions, one of which is covered by the name of Marx, and the other by the name of Croce. The two issue from the same source but are completely opposed to one another. The Marxian theory is antecedent in time to that of Croce, but as the view of the latter tries to sum up and complete all the tendencies of the nineteenth century, it will be convenient to criticize it first. Croce surveys all the past and sees in it the attempt to reach to the solution which he gives. Before him neither philosophy nor history was completely understood. Philosophy was an immobile science until the coming of Hegel; it did little more than catalogue. Everything was static. God was immutable, and man did nothing more than renew in his own fashion what was already complete in the absolute divine experience. History, too, suffered from the same defect; it was nothing more than a post-mortem examination. Even when scientific history came into vogue, it could not remedy the radical defects of the old way of looking at reality. The uniform laws it sought with their undeviating recurrences took all life out of what was essentially living. To Croce and his disciples sociology and all the departments of the science of history, which were affected so much by Positivism, give false and very misleading conceptions of the meaning of history. The aim of

Hegel was far better. He perceived that process was of the very stuff of perfection, that the abstractions of his predecessors can be cured if those abstractions of thought are brought to life by being embodied in the movement of history, as the hydra renewed its strength whenever it touched earth. Truth consists in the endless adjustment of mind to new situations and new problems. In other words, instead of conceiving philosophy as a twice-told tale, an aftermath, the reflection of a race already run, Hegel grasped the fact, so Croce thought, that true philosophy is the race and movement itself. Sometimes indeed Hegel fell into the very errors he denounced and looked to a philosophy of history instead of to history as lived and judged. Where Humboldt claimed that history was art and asked at the same time for some order or design with which to make it intelligible, Hegel was inclined to fall back upon some *a priori* scheme, some foot-rule with which to measure it. In this he was mistaken, and Croce maintains that his own part has been to rid the Hegelian system of these remains of dead matter and bring to the fore the supreme and culminating truth that reality is history and truth is in the present historical judgement.

This odd and bewildering conclusion is really the colophon of what was believed in the nineteenth century. It takes the assumptions of the period seriously. A vast amount had been written about progress, the genetic and historical method and about evolution. If history is really a development, then philosophy cannot stand outside it, cannot pretend to any transcendence; in other words, truth itself can exist only in a process of development or self-expression. Nietzsche somewhat earlier had seized hold of the notion of evolution and used it to glorify the coming of a race of supermen, though in his later years he had mingled with this optimistic belief a contrary belief in an eternal return of all things. Bergson again had conjured up an *élan vital* whose nature it was to be ever in action and movement and so to be as distinguishable from all static thought and mechanical science as a symphony played from the dead notes written in the score. But these attempts to turn to profit the

conception of development were partial and modest compared with the ambition of Croce to show that experience is everything and that experience is precisely the living process of judging which we call history. To make this clear we must remember that he regards what we are accustomed to call history, namely, the record of the past, as a most unworthy parody of its true meaning. For him there is no past; there is nothing but experience, and what is called past is lived and judged in our present experience of it. As Angelo Crespi puts it:

Even the past becomes concrete only when it is thought as past by and in a present act of knowledge, i.e. only as a distinction within the total actuality of present thought. When we are dealing with Pericles or Alexander, we do so out of some living present interest of ours, and deal with them as intuitions and concepts necessary to our full understanding of our present historical condition. It is only out of purely practical convenience that we differentiate philosophy from history in the ordinary way; in strict truth we know only the present in perception; and in facts and reason, history and philosophy always meet.

And that the full meaning of this should become still clearer it must be remembered that Croce like Hegel is an idealist and in place of a real independent world of objects and a divine transcendent God ruling us by His providence, he believes that there is no reality outside experience and that the Spirit is just human judgement ever preceding and renewing all the past in the present.

Here then we have the apotheosis of the dogma of progress and evolution, and by that reason alone we can explain the success and influence of Croce's philosophy. Naturally it is particularly in Italy that this influence has been felt in the domains of criticism and history. Croce himself and Gentile were responsible for the periodical, *La Critica*, and Prezzolini in *La Voce* and Piero Gobetti in his *Rivoluzione Liberale* are notable examples of men who have applied the Neo-Hegelian principles to history and politics. But this new form of historical criticism has not been confined to Italy, and as a reaction

against the excessively scientific historical methods the emphasis laid by this new school on freedom has done good. In the long reign of Positivism we had work after work which treated individuals and groups of persons as little more than puppets dangled by cosmic forces and social and economic laws. Now in some strange way persons have become important again. I say strange, because in this new Liberalism it is spirit which makes judgements, makes history, makes everything, and this spirit is one, is all, is God and man, is freedom and completeness, is past and present and perfection, and what freedom means in this *galère* let no man try to say. All that it seems to mean is the opposite of materialism, of law and any form of determinism, absolute or mitigated, and it is as a standard of revolt of this kind that Croce's view has done so much to encourage national aspirations and activities.

It is now time to turn to the conception of history which, though a tributary from the same source as Italian Idealism, differs from it, as red from white. This conception is that of Karl Marx. If Croce epitomizes many of the beliefs and assumptions of the nineteenth century, the same can be said of Marx, strange as it may appear, and it is still stranger that despite the opposing points of view of Croce and Marx they should bear such a likeness to each other. For Marx the solution of everything lies also in history. Where he differs, however, from the idealist is in laying emphasis on economic development. Social life changes and develops, and the culture which arises is determined by the form of economic production at any time. What this means, in fact what is the correct statement of orthodox Marxism, it is not easy to settle, for it is a matter of dispute among Marxians, and the different interpretations of it have led to such opposed results as the Russian Revolution and the German Republic. That there are inconsistencies, at any rate on the surface, no one can deny, and that Marxism is a logical extreme of the tendencies of the time to look for scientific and determinist explanations in history and to rely on the dogma of development, is also clear. As such it is a landmark in historical theory. How Marx reconciled his economic

materialism with his appeal to individuals and to revolutionary activities is not certain, but an interesting theory has been recently put forward by an American critic, Sydney Hook. He says that

Marx came to critical self-consciousness by settling accounts with the various intellectual traditions and attitudes of his day. None of his works can be understood without a comprehension of the opposing positions to which he makes explicit or implicit reference. Against the idealism of Bruno Bauer and his young Hegelian associates, Marx presents the argument for materialism. Against the passive materialism of Feuerbach, Marx defends the principles of activity and reciprocity which were central to Hegel. Against the fatalism of both absolute idealism and 'vulgar' (reductive) mechanism, Marx proclaims that human beings make their own history. As opposed to the revolutionists of the phrase, however, he adds that history is not made out of whole cloth but under definite limiting conditions. To the *wahre Sozialisten* who sought to initiate a movement of social reform on the basis of absolute ethical principles like 'social love' and justice, Marx declares that every realistic social movement must be a *class* movement. To simon-pure trade unionists struggling for a 'fair day's wage for a fair day's work' he insists that every class struggle was a political struggle. Against the classical echoes of economics which had regarded its economic categories as valid for any historical system, he urges that economic categories are not Platonic Ideas but are as transitory as the historical relationships which they express. Against the historical school of economics he vindicates the necessity of analysing the structures of political economy independently of speculative fancies about its origin. As opposed to the anarchist ideal of complete decentralisation, he defends the principle of authority. To the Lassalean cult of the state, he counters with the idea of limited local autonomy. It was as easy to characterise Marx as completely Hegelian in his method because he attacked the assumptions of atomic empiricism as to indict him as 'a "soul-less" materialist for seeking a causal explanation of values'.

This attempt to reconcile much in Marx may be right and it would seem to give meaning to the word 'dialectical' as used by Marxians. But to defend a theory by making it avoid all possible extremes is not to make it any the more consistent;

in fact all it does is to make it well intentioned and a mass of contradictions. If Marx derided the notion that the course of economic development would automatically produce his ideal, he is really giving up his belief in materialism. A 'social necessity' which includes besides economic conditions leaders and a revolutionary class-will means when analysed that human wills do play their part in the making of history. It is no escape to say that a dialectical whole embraces both economic forces and revolutionary organization, for such a whole is mere verbiage, combining, as it does, a theory of necessity and freedom.

No wonder then that the followers of Marx have interpreted his historical determinism so differently. Already in his lifetime his associate, Friedrich Engels, began to give it an academic colouring. Whereas Marx has many passages to show that his theory is really a method and that revolutionaries must seize upon events and not merely await them, Engels sketches a science of history in which all comes to pass by the conjuring wand of economics. A few quotations will best explain this theory of history.

The older view, which Hegel too accepted, saw in the state the determining factor, bourgeois society being state-determined. . . . If we pursue this inquiry, we find that, in modern history, the state-will owes its form on the whole to the changing needs of bourgeois society, to the control exercised by this or that class, and in the last resort, to the development of production and conditions of exchange. . . . If the state and the state law are determined by economic conditions, no less is private law, since it actually sanctions only those relations between individuals which belong to existing economic conditions. . . .

Engels then goes on to say that this fundamental truth is often disguised, especially in sophisticated societies which invent ideologies and so obscure the issues. 'Professional politicians, theorists of public law, all lose sight of the connection with economic conditions.' Religion and philosophy are nothing more than ideologies, and Engels tries to show how religion arose and came to be highly thought of, while 'the people in

whose minds this process runs remain inevitably unconscious of the fact that the course taken by this process is ultimately conditioned by their material needs'.

The influence of Engels was in part responsible for the orthodox and academic interpretation of Marx. His views became a theory having nothing to do with practice or the Communist Manifesto. All it set out to do was to prove scientifically that socialism was a necessary stage in the development of society. An economist and historian therefore was in no sense bound to be a revolutionist. His interest was *Wissenschaft*, and if in fact he was a politician he would in all likelihood belong to a party such as existed in Germany and England before the War, a party, that is, which waited on the gradual and inevitable coming of Socialism. Far different from this orthodox Marxism was the interpretation of Sorel in France with its emphasis on the class struggle and his dislike of academic and intellectual views—an attitude no doubt which took its origin indirectly from Bergson. But this interpretation of Marx fades before that of the Russian revolutionaries who took up the theory as elaborated by the German socialists and demanded all and more than Sorel had claimed. Lenin and his group made their objective an immediate control of power. To them the idea was a Utopia which might take generations to achieve. But that did not mean that they had to sit quietly awaiting the gradual change. As Lenin wrote: 'an ideologist is worthy of the name only when he marches ahead of the spontaneous movement, points out the road, and when he is able ahead of all others to solve all the theoretical, political, and tactical questions which the "material elements" of the movement spontaneously encounter.' In other words, human activity does play a part in history, and its function is to seize power.

Léon Trotsky in his *History of the Russian Revolution* brings out very clearly this latter conception of history. He is the exponent of dialectic materialism and as such is the heir of many of the beliefs and assumptions which dominated the nineteenth-century historians. Writing as an historian he says that 'an historic

exposition has a right to demand that its objectivity be recognized if, resting upon accurately established facts, it reproduces their inner connexion on the basis of the real development of social relations. The inner causal order of the process thus coming to life becomes the best proof of the objectivity of the exposition'. Many writers would agree with this while repudiating the inner connexion which Trotsky tries to establish. The foundation lies in economics; a law of change and development is presupposed and the principle of that law is dialectical materialism. By dialectical materialism he hopes to escape from fatalism and any extreme of determinism. Historical events are not identical with physical events; individuals have a real part to play in history, for the forces of history are 'super-personal' and 'these forces operate through people'. Instead of a 'pedantic schematism', a 'pseudo-Marxism which confines itself to historical mechanisms, formal analogies, converting historic epochs into a logical succession of inflexible social categories', we have personal agents who direct changes. 'Without a guiding organization the energy of the masses would dissipate like steam not enclosed in a piston-box. But nevertheless what moves things is not the piston or the box but the steam.'

It will be noticed that in the above accounts the writers are careful to deny that their views lead to fatalism. Fatalism is the shadow which lies heavy on historical science during the nineteenth century. Once the old simple method of the chronicles had been abandoned which recorded the doings of heroes and kings, warriors and statesmen, the difficulty was to find some theory to take its place. Most historians did not realize this and talked and wrote a little too easily of causal connexions between historical data, as if their subject-matter were akin to that of the physical sciences. Beset, too, by the desire to trace a line of progress and to exploit the new theories of development, they concerned themselves with the genesis of a fact or doctrine to the neglect of its intrinsic value or validity. There still remained wanting, however, a justification of such methods. The analogy of the physical sciences suggested a view of complete

determinism, and it is difficult to see how certain historians escaped it. Some indeed quite frankly embraced determinism and confessed themselves materialists. Others without attempting to make clear the categories they were employing also took for granted some kind of determinism. An example of this kind of history is provided by Buckle in his *History of Civilization*. There he claims to put forward definite laws, but in fact after emphasizing the influence of climate and soil and physical nature he goes on to say that mind, too, plays a part in civilization. Thus we are left uncertain of the degree of determinism in his philosophy of history and of the form it takes.

Spengler offers us another example. Something of the spirit of Hegel survives in him, but it is neither the Crocean nor the Marxist Hegel. He has a contempt for all such, for 'sub-men of the monster city, Marxists and literary people'. They have been bewitched by the notion of causality and so have been blind to the true nature of history, which moves by destiny and not by cause. History has its own peculiar life, and the secret of that life is 'the culture', an organic whole which has its own principles and form. All that the historian has to do is by a faculty called 'physiognomic tact' to grasp a *Zeitgeist*, the spirit of an age which manifests itself in every movement of that time. Each age or culture is a self-contained whole and they are alike in so far that each follows a certain course of growth and decay. This course is absolutely fixed by destiny, so that it should be a comparatively easy task for the true historian to reconstruct the past by examining the chart of the culture. Spengler will have nothing to do with the so-called causes of historical events and explains mutations in terms of destiny. But whether he writes of cosmic necessity or ordinary laws the difficulty remains. We are face to face with a theory of fatalism which much that he says seems to contradict.

The alternatives are the dialectical materialism of Marx or the universal activity of spirit which Croce propounds. Here we are given a justification of the methods so much in vogue in the nineteenth century. If they have done nothing else these two philosophies of history should at least set the historians

on the track of an explanation of what they mean by history. Even the Marxian admits that the necessity in history is not merely material. But when he triumphantly adds the word dialectical it must be pointed out that he is trying to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. All civilizations have been affected by economic conditions and forces, but they are not the sole condition, not even the chief condition. Again in his assumption of progress the Marxian has been too prone to take over an idea, which has not been thought out, and then to read into it a moral ideal. As in physical and biological science evolution has been used without caution in history and many flimsy theories have been built on its foundation.

That in some respects a civilization follows an upward curve is a fact no one can seriously deny. The histories of the various countries which have been written in the nineteenth century, the history, too, of European culture, all show the first stages as primitive and barbaric, the slow formation of laws and institutions, peaceful habits, and progress in the arts and humanitarianism and science. What this betokens, however, is not so clear. The ancients thought that a golden age had preceded their own, the poets and moralists often inveighed against the corruption of the life around them and contrasted it with the simplicity and happiness of their forefathers. They made little account, too, of the notion of progress, and it was reserved for the nineteenth century to make it into a scientific law and to be happy with the bare idea. It was forgotten that development has no meaning save against the background of what is unchanging, that change without some permanent unity is chaos. They were troubled, too, to fit into one scheme the variety of changes, so different in kind, in the world of physics, of life, of thought and institutions and morality and religion. It was in vain that they lumped them altogether, that ambitious thinkers, like Herbert Spencer, tried to reduce them to a few simple formulae. As soon as hypothetical laws which seemed to work for lower organisms were applied to man's history they were belied by facts. So far as doctrine was concerned Newman following his own ideas had made a discovery which was to

prove of permanent value, but no general theory had the same success. Hegelianism had to be abandoned and materialism explained nothing. Such a failure was inevitable, for without any clear conception of what is the end and ideal of man no satisfactory definition of progress can be given. Now if we do acknowledge in man a soul with infinite aspirations united with a body so as to make up one complete and single being, we are in a position to measure his doings and his culture. It is natural to expect in a people a development analogous to that of a child. So-called primitive people and savages are in possession of faculties which exercised at their highest would bring to birth a society in which laws and institutions minister to the needs and safeguards of the body, to mutual co-operation, and, in the things of the spirit, would reach to truth and goodness and beauty. But we are not always in the position to know whether barbarism is in fact a decline or a childish state, and we are not justified from development in one direction to concluding that a people has really developed. And the reason for this latter doubt is that there is a continuous conflict between the desires of the spiritual and the material within us, and even within the spiritual one activity may be in advance of another and do damage to that other. Art for instance may coexist with a harsh and cruel morality, and the intellect if exercised without due relation to the weakness and the needs of the senses and the will is capable of causing a sharp decline in a race. Lastly there is always the imponderable influence of free will. It can set a match to a fair building and it can cling against all difficulties to the highest beliefs of the soul. Philosophy and above all religion are the stars to which man can hitch his wagon, and they are of their nature unchanging in themselves and yet mighty to change individuals and nations. So far as the body is concerned man is subject to influences and causes which he cannot escape, and even when he can determine their influence he does so within definite limits and for a finite space of time. The way in which he manages to do this is by disciplining the mind to keep it fixed on what he knows to be true and ideal.

While therefore the historian is justified in expecting a growth in experience and improvements following on this experience, he will be ready to change his mind when facts do not tally with these expectations. He knows that generally a collapse of belief leads to a collapse in morals, that excessive material comfort and laxity of morals is generally a sign of decadence, but he will be slow nevertheless to prophesy the rapid fall of Soviet Russia for instance, though some of the fundamental human beliefs are being destroyed there; he will hold his judgement about the United States, though its great cities are said to be lax in morals and it has been surfeited with wealth. Just as in lesser matters there must always remain a degree of uncertainty, why a Cleopatra should arise at the end of a long dynasty which indulged in incestuous unions, why the Irish people should be swayed by persons like Parnell and de Valera who have signally lacked the gifts of oratory, so, too, in the rise and fall of empires and civilizations there are anomalies and surprises which no one could deduce either before or after the event. Such, I suggest, can be found in the history of the Jews and the story of European civilization. As a modern writer has excellently said:

It is impossible to disregard the importance of a material and non-rational element in history. Every culture rests on a foundation of geographical environment and racial inheritance, which conditions its highest activities. The change of culture is not simply a change of thought, it is above all a change of life. The fall of the Hellenic culture was not due to the passing of the Hellenic idea . . . ; on the contrary, the Hellenic idea never died, it is eternal and imperishable, and the decline of the culture was due to a process of social degeneration—the passing of the Greek people from the land that had fed and nursed it into the melting pot of urban cosmopolitanism. It is even possible for one culture to extinguish another, as we now know happened when the conquering Spaniards settled in Peru, and from the countless instances in which primitive cultures have withered away in contact with modern European civilization. Nor is it only the lower cultures that are destroyed in this way. There are instances of highly developed urban civilisations falling a victim to barbarian invaders, as when the flourishing culture of the Danube provinces

was wiped out in the fifth century A.D., or when the cities of Eastern Iran were destroyed by the Mongols. The idealist attempt to see in history only the 'glory of the Idea mirroring itself in the History of the World' (Hegel) fares no better than the optimism of Dr. Pangloss, and calls forth in the manner of the Hegelian dialectic that opposite and complementary view of *Candide*, which looks on history as an irrational welter of cruelty and destruction in which brute force and blind chance are the only rulers.

The same writer then goes on to point out that the conditioning of a culture by material factors does not mean that it is entirely determined by them, for a culture receives its form from the spiritual element, and this, though it is affected by the material conditions, as a form by its matter, is in essence independent of racial and geographical conditions. When then the author of the article on history in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says that the tendency to look at things historically makes our outlook upon life differ in just this particular from that of preceding ages, that 'criticism no longer judges by absolute standards; it applies the standards of the author's own environment', 'that each age has its own expression, and in judging each we enter the field of history', that 'in ethics the revolt against absolute standards limits us to the relative, and morals are investigated on the basis of history, as largely conditioned by economic environment and the growth of intellectual freedom', if he is saying anything at all, he is exaggerating the claims of history beyond all measure and sounding the knell of truth. We admit a dose of relativity because the spirit is conditioned by the material factors in any age, but philosophy and religion and science are independent of any one culture; they are passed on from one age to another, and it is because of this permanent and formative force that cultures are linked together, that the morality and thought of to-day can be compared with that of ancient Greece and Israel, and that it may well be that in the highest things a balance is kept which leaves the world richer in one respect and poorer in another.

To sum up this section. It has been said, and said truly, that

'in the nineteenth century history underwent a sort of industrial revolution'. The rapidity with which changes took place in industry, science, and political institutions almost invited thinkers to investigate what they saw around them in terms of change, of their coming to be. Moreover, they were now in a privileged position compared with their predecessors. A vast amount of material never before known was at their disposal. Texts had been discovered and received a critical revision; books were at hand which gave after a day's study what could not have been discovered without a lifetime of effort by an individual. Libraries were opened and private archives put at the disposition of students, and the advance in kindred sciences threw a new light on old problems and facts. History now became intensely critical and methods were invented to check and control error in all the mechanical side of research. Inevitably, too, it was split up into departments, of social and political history, folk-lore and literature, warfare on sea and on land, and connected closely with these departments were such new sciences as palaeography, numismatics, the study of languages, of weights and measures, and every apparently insignificant detail which could be discovered by archaeological investigation. By this means much of the subject-matter of history could be scientifically controlled, abundant evidence could be procured, and history could call itself critical. All this was pure gain, if we except the one consequence that human judgement became more and more dependent on that of the expert, and the one danger that the expert should exploit the opportunities given to him. But if historians are now, so to speak, able to climb a tree to look down on the fields of history, they are still at a loss to know how to map it out and show its design. I have tried to show that the success of the new methods has tended to lead them astray, to make them think of history in terms of sciences which do not belong to it, to reduce it to laws of economics, to be critical of past beliefs without any new foundation of belief or to invent hypotheses which lead to a partial and prejudiced selection of evidence or to surrender judgement altogether and be content with an industrious

compilation of evidence. The supposed science of history has been responsible for a new kind of ignorance, the ignorance due to lack of sympathy with past ideals and inability to interpret rightly. Above all the over-indulgence in the genetic method has blinded the historian to the validity of past and present beliefs and hypnotized him into a new credulity, the absurd trust in some inevitable progress leading nowhere. The extremes of this new philosophy of history are to be found in the opposed theories of Croce and the Marxians. The one deifies progress in the name of Spirit ever moving, ever recreating the past in present judgements, and the other traces the development of civilization as though it could be determined always as a function of economics. But man does not live by bread alone and the true historian when he has taken into account the economic conditions of a city such as Rome or Paris or London and estimated the value of their positions as seaports or markets will wisely turn to other factors which have helped to make them great and remember that Rome, for instance, would never have become the Eternal City had it not become the shrine of an imperishable truth.

PART II

EXEGESIS

THE word 'exegesis' had originally to do with the interpretation of oracles. As oracular sayings were often obscure and in the form of a riddle the word came to be applied to the solving of any difficult or mysterious saying, written or spoken. With the growth of the scientific study of history it was used to cover the scientific eliciting and explanation of the meaning of texts, and in particular the text of Holy Scripture. That such an exercise is requisite in historical investigation needs no proof, as the sources of our historical knowledge are generally written, and now that experts rely on many other sources than manuscripts a so-called exegetical method is applied to them also. From time immemorial the study of texts has been held in honour. Both in ancient Greece and Rome there were schools of exegetes, and for at least two centuries before Christ the Doctors of the Law in Israel explained the Bible in the Jewish schools and their explanations were preserved in the Talmud. With their great reverence for the Word of God it is not surprising that they often used the text as an oracle foretelling what was to come in the days of the Messiah, and as the study became systematized it was taken over by legalists who became more and more intent on finding multiple meanings in each word. A scribe could assert for instance that seventy different meanings could be discovered in each single word. Among the dispersed Jews the principal school of exegesis flourished at Alexandria, and they may claim to have made a beginning of that interpretation of the Scriptures which has now come to be called scientific. Their method has been called 'allegorical', because they turned away from the literal meaning of a text when it appeared to offer a difficulty in relation to another passage and because, also, they attempted to find in the Law what might fit in with the Greek mind as they encountered it at Alexandria.

Modern exegesis, however, is so much more elaborate and

critical that it can justly be called a product of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century. Questions of the texts, of the manuscripts and versions and translations, of interpretation and authorship and credibility, all are connected with it, so that the old methods at first sight look very amateur and the new, again on a first impression, appear to have reached a fine art. With such a big subject I propose to begin with some general remarks on the nature of modern exegesis, then to sketch the history of its development in the nineteenth century, and finally to exemplify its working in regard to the first books of the Old Testament and the so-called problem of the New. The general remarks must involve some repetition of what has already been said in the first part of this essay, as the same temper of mind is displayed in exegesis as in historical conjectures. Exegesis, as I shall show later, is not concerned merely with the accurate editing of a text: it becomes the fulcrum of a theory and the justification of many a far-reaching criticism of traditional beliefs, and hence it must be treated as no innocent occupation.

The nineteenth century witnessed a passion for exegesis. For this we have to thank the German scholars. They were the first to exploit all the possibilities of textual criticism. By the careful collating of manuscripts, the study of an author's vocabulary, the use and fashion of words at any one period, the application of the laws of language and speech, the comparison of different languages and kindred tongues, they made it easy to assign a place and time to a text and to detect errors and interpolations. Gradually critical editions of many of the classics of the chief literatures of the world were produced, both medieval and ancient. The student will find in any large library such editions of Early English, Scandinavian, Indian, and above all of the Greek and Roman writings. And with the text he will find also vast commentaries which are reckoned exegetical, and it is here that the student will begin to discover that all this scientific investigation has frequently brought not peace but a sword. Theory after theory has been advanced, and the pathway of exegesis is strewn with their ruins. The

most notable example of all is Homeric criticism. Mainly owing to literary exegesis it became the fashion to take the *Iliad* to pieces, so that after a time in certain editions a page of the poem would look like the result of that after-dinner game which consists in writing a line of verse, folding it up, and passing it on to one's neighbour. A passage would be divided, sometimes in the middle of a line, and assigned to different authors and periods. Here was a case of exegesis run wild, and, as was bound to happen, a more moderating influence set in. In the present century a tendency, supported by new evidence as well as by the instability of adverse theories, set in to restore the unity to Homer.

The Bible has had the same fate as Homer, the same dissection, the same mutilation, and though critics have had to retreat from many of the positions taken up some decades ago there is no sign of a change of spirit. Nor indeed should the value of a scientific textual criticism be denied. The grounds for anxiety and scepticism do not lie in their application but in the attitude of mind which is so prevalent amongst the critics. Both Catholic and non-Catholic avail themselves of the methods of modern exegesis; they could not do otherwise. Where they differ is in their philosophy and outlook, and this difference is markedly shown by the severity which the Catholic Church exercises in its regulations and censorship of Biblical exegesis. The reasons for this can be stated shortly as follows. Just as the historical methods have been in fact used by historians to ends which are subversive of the spiritual and the supernatural by men who despised tradition and medieval beliefs or were bitten by a theory of necessary progress, development, relativity, or dialectical materialism, so too exegesis has been a beast of burden carrying strange opinions. If it has justified itself it has done so only when precautions have been taken, and its brilliant successes have been off-set by ugly failures, and these in the field of secular, not sacred literature only. Whatever, therefore, may be said of its excellence in the abstract, historically it has suffered the same fate as the theory of democracy; that is, it has fallen into the hands of doctrinaires with an anti-religious

bias. When Pius IX issued his famous condemnation of what was called liberty and progress, and he and his successors seemed to regard democracy coldly, they were not repudiating these ideas; their words were directed to the concrete manifestations of them and the false philosophy which lay behind them. Similarly, the unwillingness to give unqualified approval to exegetical methods is due to the use made of them in so many quarters during the nineteenth century.

To those therefore who accuse the Catholic Church of an undue conservatism or obscurantism a double answer can be given: a direct denial and an appeal to a list of Catholic scholars, and also a plea of justification for the steady prudence of Catholic authority in this matter. The first defence by itself is the less likely to succeed in that, though there are Catholic scholars, their work is necessarily less striking and less revolutionary than that of their rivals, and hence less easily recognized. The prudence on the other hand is fully warranted and should appear to all sensible men as reasonable even in the face of the present exegetical theories, which are on the whole less extreme. What is held to be of great price cannot be thrown to the winds. We do not expose a unique work of art to the public without precautions. Now the Church regards the Scriptures as the Word of God and a word of life, and there have been too many mistakes in the past, gross errors which at the time of their vogue it would have been thought hopelessly obscurantist to deny. What guarantee is there that the fashion of the moment may not in turn give way to some other theory? Then again, looked at in their true perspective these old theories are seen to have been askew because they were motived by conscious or unconscious prejudice against religion and tradition. There is no evidence that this prejudice has disappeared and consequently many theories are bound still to be suspect.

Lastly in Biblical exegesis, as distinct from that of secular literature, an attitude which may be possibly fitting elsewhere is, if the orthodox Christian conception be right, hazardous and at times fatal. In any criticism the absence of sympathy with the beliefs of a past writer and a preoccupation with the genesis

of his thought are apt to interfere with sound judgement; in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures more is required even than sound judgement, if it be true that they are the Word of God. From the beginning of Christianity it has been the unswerving conviction that both the Old and the New Testament were inspired and that to the Church had been committed the custody of them and that with it lay the true interpretation of their meaning. If this be true, then to treat them as merely secular documents cannot be wholly right. No doubt the meaning which can be elicited by human reason with the help of scientific methods of criticism should not be in conflict with what the Church knows of them as inspired. They can and do reveal enough to assure an honest inquirer that they record God's intentions with regard to man, and the New Testament leads one straight to an acceptance of their central message. But it has to be acknowledged, nevertheless, that the scientific study of them in the last century has meant taking sides, that pure science has meant in fact an attitude of rationalism and the consequent rejection of miracle and all supernatural elements and the assumption that many errors are to be found in the sacred writings. Between this standpoint and the orthodox there is nothing in common. Not that orthodoxy is committed to a fundamentalist view; neither inspiration as understood by it nor tradition involve this. Inspiration allows for the personal expression of the human writer, for modes of thought which belong to an ancient people and to a Semitic race. History and native imagery and allegory can all be allowed for, but this is something quite different from the modernist view which can suppose that to be true of Christianity in 1932 which if it had been known in the year 32 would have meant the rejection of the Founder and His teaching. But if we turn to the story and development of exegesis we shall see more easily how far the two attitudes diverge.

The first great work to be accomplished was the restoration of the original text. We have no autographs of the original writers, but by the labours of scholars who have ransacked libraries and compared versions and manuscripts a very fair

and accurate restoration has been made. There are indeed problems still to be settled, for we have only to remember that there are over two thousand manuscripts of the New Testament to see that there may be different opinions of the relative merits of the various families. The number at first was an added source of embarrassment until H. v. Soden invented a system to give order to them, a system simplified still further by Dr. Gregory. When we recall that this study meant an examination not only of manuscripts but of inscriptions and potsherds, of writing without punctuation, of versions in different languages, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Armenian, the search for patristic quotations, part of the immensity of the work can be realized. A similar work has been done for the Old Testament, though naturally it is not so far advanced as that of the New. The reason is that the New Testament is of a nature to attract more attention and all the books of it are written within one short period of time. The Old Testament takes us back indefinitely into the past, and the Hebrew language, belonging as it does to the old Canaanite, provides many difficulties which have to be overcome with the help, for example, of the Tell el-Amarna tablets and by reference to comparative Semitic studies. The Septuagint version was from this old Hebrew and is therefore useful both in itself and as a translation for the restoration of the original text.

Long experience of manuscripts has taught scholars rules for the interpretation of them. It is clear, for instance, that the mere number of manuscripts in favour of a reading is by no means decisive, as it is the quality of the manuscripts which counts; on the other hand, we can be fairly certain of the sense of a passage if the earliest manuscripts and all the other authorities are agreed as to that sense despite varied readings. Similarly, it is more important for manuscripts of different groups to be in agreement than for a large number of the same group, and when these different groups represent different localities the agreement may be regarded as decisive. The difficulty arises of course when a reading is given by one manuscript or only a few, which nevertheless are generally right, and

against this reading has to be set an almost universal agreement with another. There is no mechanical rule which can decide the issue, and as always the last appeal is to the good judgement of the critic. Other simple rules which are in vogue are that a more difficult reading is likely to be right against the easier, and a short reading is to be preferred to a longer. The reason for these two rules is plain. Throughout the history of manuscripts the copyists have been a constant source of trouble. The late Professor C. H. Turner, in writing of the so-called Neutral text and its connexion with Alexandria, indicates shortly how these copyists' errors arise:

For there are two great dangers to which texts such as those of the New Testament are especially exposed when they pass through the hands of professional scholars and theologians. Unlearned scribes in copying texts will make mistakes of all sorts: the letter of the texts will progressively deteriorate, marginal notes and illustrative comments may creep into the text, and the ultimate result may well be at first sight deplorable. But the texts, all the same, will be reasonably free from anything like systematic rehandling or the conscious removal of difficulties; and the sort of corruptions that will arise will be more or less the same all the world over. The mentality of the average scribe is what any modern editor of any text gets accustomed to deal with as an essential preliminary to his work. From errors of this sort Alexandrian MSS. will be relatively free, and the texts they present will be superficially attractive. But all the same they will be suspect from two points of view, and the more suspect in proportion to the linguistic and other attainments of those responsible for them. Grammatical solecisms will be assumed to have come in through transmission of the text at the hands of ignorant scribes, and will be silently corrected. More serious and more difficult to detect are the changes that bear on the subject-matter; and it is even in proportion to the reverence in which the subject was held that a special danger arises. . . . Different grammarians no doubt varied a good deal in the extent to which they allowed themselves license in correcting the text; but even the greatest of them did not hesitate to remove whole lines or emend words and phrases, where the contents of the transmitted text ascribed to gods and kings sentiments or behaviour that appeared 'unfitting', 'unseemly', 'undignified', or even 'inappropriate'.

Progress in the science of textual criticism has naturally been gradual. So far as the New Testament is concerned, the landmarks are the printing of the New Testament in Greek in 1514 under the direction of Cardinal Ximenes and the publication of a text by Erasmus in 1516. Erasmus, however, was interested more in giving a Greek text in place of a Latin one than in distinguishing between various possible Greek texts, and so his work can hardly be called a critical one. The first volume with an apparatus criticus came from the Stephanus family in 1550. For a time attention was distracted by the Reformation to doctrinal questions, and both sides accepted the texts before them as a common ground. It may be said indeed that the Protestant doctrine of the authority of the Bible stood in the way of a critical study of the text and certainly in the way of an historical and scientific investigation of it. The words they knew were the Word of God which gave to them that inner assurance of its truth and authority. Not until the Oratorian, Richard Simon, in 1689 and 1693 had four volumes published on the text and versions and the chief commentators of the New Testament, and the Benedictine, Pierre Sabatier, collected in 1751 all the pre-Vulgate evidence for the text of the Bible, were the foundations of the critical method laid. After them the work was taken up in Germany, and a series of scholars, of whom Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf were the chief, began a reconstruction of the text. The most epoch-making work, however, was done by Westcott and Hort in 1881. It would take too long and lie outside the scope of this essay to give the details of their grouping of the texts and the authority they gave to the members of this grouping. They succeeded in dethroning the *textus receptus*, but the scholars who have succeeded them, such men as H. v. Soden, Nestle, and Vogel, have criticized the perhaps excessive reliance on the evidence of the earliest Greek manuscripts. The great discoveries of the nineteenth century, such as that of the codex Sinaiticus in 1844 and 1859 and the publishing of the codex Vaticanus, were bound at first to dazzle scholars' minds, and even at this day finality has not been reached in the apportioning of merits to the various texts.

This critical examination of the text of the Scriptures has sometimes been called 'the lower criticism' to distinguish it from 'the higher criticism' which consists in the rationalist, scientific investigation of the origin and credibility of the book in which the text is to be found. Neither expression, however, is much used by scholars, though the distinction is an accurate one, and we must now consider the second, which is the main concern of exegesis. It is here that the Catholic attitude comes into conflict with the rationalist. The latter disregards entirely the orthodox tradition which holds that the Bible is the Word of God and regards it as one among many ancient documents about which he is free to make any hypothesis he likes. The Catholic for his part is certain that it is inspired and he feels that he is in a favoured position to grasp its meaning. He sees the Old Testament as the story of God's dealings with a chosen people and the preparation of them for an event to come. The clue to the New Testament lies in the dogma of the Incarnation and there is one and one only interpretation of the meaning of the 'good news'. No one will deny that for the successful interpretation of a work of art or philosophy a proper appreciation of the aim of the author is essential at the start. The comments of sight-seers in the rooms of the primitives at the National Gallery which used to be heard are an amusing illustration of this truth. But what holds true for all works of human design is *a fortiori* true of the New Testament. To take one example. The Catholic Church accepts the divinity of Christ and it is consistent in defending two implications of this doctrine, the first that a divine person with a divine message would have taken the means to safeguard this message and the main facts about himself; the second that, if the record in which this is done relates that he acted with supernatural power and worked miracles, such doings, so far from being unlikely, are consistent with his nature and to be expected. The rationalist professes to be open on the question of Christ's divinity, the modernist will not deny it. Neither, however, can make an intelligible whole out of the New Testament. The modernist in one breath says Christ is divine and in the next that the history of Him must be

taken to pieces and that the miracles at best were forms of natural healing. That is to say that God after teaching with infinite pains a message for the whole world has allowed that teaching to be contaminated and spoilt within one generation, and again that he appeared to his contemporaries and biographers to claim to work miracles whereas he was really deceiving them and doing nothing of the sort. The rationalist again can find no happy mean between impostor and divine and neither pleases him. And the fruits of such historical exegesis? They are summed up by Loisy, no biased critic in favour of orthodoxy: 'One is certainly tempted to consider that contemporary theology—with the exception of the Roman Catholics, for whom traditional orthodoxy has all the force of law—is a very Tower of Babel, in which the confusion of ideas is even greater than the diversity of tongues.'

The attitude of the Catholic scholar does not, however, preclude his studying a book or text scientifically. He knows that a well-informed study will not lead to disconcerting results, and he will keep his mind rightly ordered by using the principles laid down by the Church about thinking with the Church and respecting patristic tradition. From the beginning of Christianity exegetical interpretation of the Bible was allowed and encouraged. The Alexandrian school, for instance, indulged in an allegorical method of interpretation, and Origen distinguished a threefold sense in Scripture, the literal, the moral, and the spiritual. The Antiochene school, on the other hand, preferred the literal or historical sense, and the greatest in this company was Chrysostom. In the fourth and fifth centuries rules of interpretation were systematized, but as the fashion of the age was rhetoric these rules fell under rhetoric rather than what now is called exegesis. Two authors of the sixth century deserve special mention, Julius Africanus and Cassiodorus, because they had considerable influence on later developments and distinguished in the modern way the questions of authorship from those of the truth and canonicity of the sacred writings. In the Middle Ages the Scholastics occupied themselves for the most part with the doctrine of the Scriptures and paid

little attention to the historical meaning and the context of their quotations. Their influence and work were, all the same, of the greatest value, as they were not distracted by inquiries into the history of the text from what after all is the most important duty of the exegete, the explanation of the doctrinal significance of a document. They made mistakes and they were serenely confident where scholars now would be sceptical, as when they took the famous passage from Job about the Redeemer who lives and used it for evidence for immortality. There are plenty of such over-confident interpretations and inferences, but it remains true that they succeeded in erecting out of Scripture a theological monument which still stands. There is no gainsaying the fact that St. Thomas, for example, understood the central ideas of St. Paul as few moderns can boast with justice of doing.

The coming of Protestantism brought with it a fresh and almost undivided interest in the literal sense of the Scriptures. The Church had never allowed itself to fall into what may be called the fundamentalist exaggeration. It has decided the canon of the Scriptures and is their official interpreter, and it has allowed immemorially a spiritual and allegorical sense; that is, both the sense intended by the writer and a hidden sense intended by God and an accommodative sense: We might add a creative sense also were it not that these distinctions may easily become confusing and have been, in fact, used with different meanings. St. Thomas, for example, groups under the literal sense allegory, parable, and metaphor, and it has been maintained by certain Catholic scholars that if only later theologians had kept to this definition much of the confusion which arose in the nineteenth century might have been avoided. For if we keep to a literal sense in St. Thomas's use of the word, then we are absolved from having to seek for false or artificial agreements between the discoveries of modern science and the thought of the Jews. We go back, that is, to what the Jews actually thought; we go back to historical exegesis instead of worrying ourselves unnecessarily with scientific exegesis. But to return, the period after the Reformation was one in which great stress was laid,

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as the Galileo incident showed, on the literal sense of the Bible. The commentators of the time have been lauded by some and belittled by others. One great modern scholar, Père Lagrange, writes of them,

that while the Fathers will, for their own sakes, never be in want of readers, the commentators of the time of the Council of Trent are falling into oblivion to rise no more. Their works, when read at all, are read as documents relating to the controversy against Protestantism, while Cornelius a Lapide owes his continued popularity with preachers to the fact that he has embodied an admirable selection of extracts from the Fathers.

The same writer states that the

school of literal exegesis from the time of St. Thomas to the beginning of the nineteenth century really stands isolated, a mere academic exercise. It knows little history and still less philology. And it has lost even that practical knowledge of the ancient world and of the East which makes the writings of the Fathers such a valuable mine of information even for the historical critic.

To call six centuries of study a period of isolation, a mere academic exercise, is a statement of rather a tall order especially as it has been saluted by others as the golden period of Catholic exegesis, the period in which Cajetan, Cornelius a Lapide, Menochius, Maldonatus, Salmeron, Toletus, Calmet, and others flourished. But perhaps the two views can be more or less reconciled if we admit that in face of the modern methods of exegesis the old do look naïve and unprofitable. The first to introduce the new method was Richard Simon (d. 1712), and it was taken up by Hug and then by a succession of critics, such as Haneberg, Cornely, Jacquier, Ubaldi, and Vigouroux. The principles of exegesis as set forth by Simon and his successors consisted of a clear division of the study of it into sections which included the study of the canon, of the text and versions, and the critical inquiry into the authorship and authenticity of the various books with their date and origin and circumstances. In the study of texts the general contents of the book must be taken into consideration, the context and underlying ideas and the outlook of the author. Parallel passages must also be sought

to throw light on the meaning or particular usage of words, and for the general meaning the religious habits and customs of the Jews and their neighbours must be studied. With these principles lucidly set forth it is not surprising that A. Sabatier has written: 'Richard Simon et certains docteurs jésuites frayaient ici la voie nouvelle dans laquelle on allait s'engager.'

In the meantime in non-Catholic circles little was being done in the way of criticism owing to the theory of verbal inspiration and direct influence from the Holy Ghost. When finally a change did come about, it was unfortunately stimulated and directed by a form of rationalism which tended to scepticism or at least indifference to the supernatural character of revelation. As this movement lies behind much of the criticism of the nineteenth century it is important to recognize its character. In England it was represented by the Deists and in France by the followers of Voltaire and Bayle. Their views were taken up in the period of the Enlightenment and issued forth under the new inspiration of Kant and Hegel. Kant was far too religious to follow the eighteenth-century rationalists, but he limited religion to the natural, while Hegel on his part eviscerated, in fact, Christianity of its historical truth to elevate it, as he thought, into an embodiment of the Idea. I shall have later to write of the effects of this new rationalism on the exegesis of the Old Testament. For the moment let us confine our attention to the New. To the Kantians it seemed right to denude the story of Christ of the miraculous and supernatural elements, while the Hegelians proceeded to treat the same history as a myth akin in character to the great pagan myths. This latter method was the one followed by D. F. Strauss. The Gospels were the product of the beliefs of the early Christians and were as little historical as the myth of Samson. He was helped to this conclusion by the more critical work of F. Christian Baur who pushed forward the date of the Gospels to the second century. Baur thought in Hegelian terms. Christianity rose out of the conflict of two opposites, the Judaism of Peter and the Gentile tendencies of Paul, which met in the synthesis of the Catholic faith. How this theory could be reconciled with the myth did

not matter to Strauss or to Renan; the Tübingen school had done its work and Renan was satisfied to paint in glowing colours his 'ideal legend'.

The immediate success of these new theories is explained partly by the philosophy of the time and partly by the condition of Protestantism. Protestantism had for a long time deprecated the use of reason in faith, especially on the Continent. In England there still persisted apologists of the old tradition, as the *Evidences of Christianity* by Paley bore witness. But abroad religion had become more and more an affair of the heart, of the immediate witness of the Holy Ghost, so that the new ideas fell on a fertile soil. Schleiermacher and others were not disconcerted by a theory which separated history from value. As long as the Christian story warmed and uplifted the heart, it did not matter whether it was historically true or not, and this cleavage between fact and value explains in large measure the progress of New Testament criticism for the next hundred years. It salved men's consciences, leaving them free to remain Christians the while they destroyed all that had constituted orthodox Christianity for hundreds of years, and it is still active in the Modernist school which contains many of the leading contemporary critics of the Bible.

The authority of the Tübingen school lasted for nearly half a century, but as one after another of the positions which it had taken up were upset by further discoveries it gave place to another school of liberal critics more in accord with the traditional teaching about the Scriptures. The date of the Synoptic Gospels was gradually pushed back to the first century, and instead of the Tübingen theory of the priority of Matthew and Luke to Mark, who was supposed to be a conflation of their opposing views, later criticism has insisted on the priority of Mark. Amongst those who have stood out in this second development Holtzmann, Jülicher, and A. Harnack deserve special mention. Far better equipped than their predecessors and to some degree less tendentious, they paid more attention to sources and as a result they produced what is called now the Synoptic problem. To this I will return later. Suffice it to say

now that this problem is due in part to an excessive occupation with the literary exegesis of the Gospels to the exclusion of history, as Sir Edward Hoskyns and Noel Davey in their recent work, *The Riddle of the New Testament*, have pointed out. Again, though it be true that the unsubstantiated conjectures of the Tübingen school have been abandoned, few of the later critics have abstained from hypotheses of an extreme character. To Harnack, for instance, it was a fixed idea that the doctrine of Jesus has for its sole content the Fatherhood of God—‘the Gospel, as Jesus proclaimed it, has to do with the Father only and not with the Son’; Loisy for a time removed almost all historicity out of the Gospel story, Salomon Reinach denied even the historicity of Christ, and Schweitzer made the teaching of Jesus and His disciples turn on their belief in the rapid end of the world. There are also more than a few reputed scholars who disbelieve almost all the details recorded of Christ. Bultmann, for instance, credits only the sayings; so that if at present a more traditional view is generally taken up as to the date of the Synoptic Gospels, the authorship of them and of the Pauline epistles, the same cannot be said of the interpretation of them, and that despite the excellent work done by a number of distinguished scholars from Lightfoot to the late Professor C. H. Turner. Furthermore, whether the criticism be on the whole conservative or radical, the same spirit permeates both. No one dares to regard the Scriptures in the old, traditional way, and de Grandmaison does not exaggerate when he writes in his life of Jesus Christ, that

in all these essays there is a fundamental defect which vitiates the sometimes really considerable effort of their authors, who as a result of their philosophical opinions are led in the first place to simplify unduly the text of the Gospels and the historical data of early Christianity, and secondly side by side with this simplification to multiply the least plausible postulates, infiltrations from pagan sources, literary plagiarism, complicated redaction, or the existence of a first version of the documents, to which are attributed all the elements it is proposed to retain as authentic, while the undesirable features are put into the class of later tendentious alterations. . . .

The study of documents 'underlying' the Gospels affords the skill of the exegetes a splendid opportunity to multiply disputed verses, redactional devices, and interpolations; if one critic points out three documentary layers beneath one sentence of the Gospel, we may be sure that his successor will demand a fourth. Through their stubborn insistence on details, they lose sight of what is certain and of the main outlines; they cannot see the wood for the trees.

The development of Old Testament exegesis can be given more shortly and may be seen by one illustration, the criticism of the Pentateuch. Leaving aside the two philosophers Hobbes and Spinoza, we can say that modern methods of criticism begin with the work of Simon in 1682 and Astruc in 1753. The latter argued that Moses had made use of different documents, for instance in the account of the Creation, with different titles for the divine names. This suggestion was taken up by Eichhorn and by Alexander Geddes, a Scots Catholic priest, and soon its effects were seen to be far-reaching. The changes made in the Pentateuch affected necessarily the whole of the Old Testament, the date of the books, their authorship, and the growth of the recorded laws and institutions. As Wellhausen remarked, it used to be a question whether some of the Psalms did not belong to the time of the Maccabees; now the question is whether any of the Psalms were written before the Exile. It would take too long to recount the various theories, extremist and moderate, and it is not necessary, as after Wellhausen one hypothesis became fairly well established. The first six books of the Hebrew Bible were considered to be the fusion of four separate sources, and as an example of the new dates the editing of the first two books of Kings is thought to go back to the sixth or seventh centuries and the books of Paralipomena are said to be a revision completed after the building of the Second Temple after 300 B.C.

The nineteenth century tended, as I have already explained, to see everything, religion included, in the perspective of history and evolution. It was this new perspective which directed the work of the critics of the Pentateuch. Their first theories depended on a study of the language and the style, and this

study led them to distinguish the different sources which at first they thought compatible with the Mosaic authorship. From language the critics passed naturally to historical criticism; that is to say, they studied the ideas which were expressed in the supposedly different sources and, as the results of such criticism did not tally altogether with the literary conclusions, they began to make new and more startling reconstructions. With the help of archaeology and epigraphy and comparative religion they were successful in accumulating a vast amount of material for service in their exegesis. In 1864 investigations began in Jerusalem, and from 1880 they have been systematic and continual in Palestine. The results can be found well stated in the book of the Dominican P. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration*, and in the *Revue biblique*. Then there are the excavations which have been carried out in Syria and the discovery of documents in Egypt and Mesopotamia. The data thus discovered have proved of considerable value in controlling the evidence of the writers of the Bible. We have, for instance, the mention in a cuneiform text of the ninth century of Ahab, King of Israel, as taking part in the battle of Karkar, the discovery in Samaria in the palace of Ahab of seventy-five ostraca, with for the most part Hebrew and alphabetic characters, and in Egypt of the Tell el-Amarna tablets which comprise over three hundred letters, mostly in Babylonian, written to kings of Egypt by subject princes of Syria and Palestine. Such finds have proved very useful, as can be well imagined. They are, however, subsidiary to the main source, which is the literary one.

The bringing to some kind of completion of the literary and historical exegesis is generally attributed to Wellhausen. Wellhausen came to the conclusion from his reading and study of the Bible that the Law must be later than the Prophets. Once he had adopted this idea he found that his judgement was confirmed by the hypothesis of Graf, which so far had not met with general approval among scholars. He thereupon worked out the hypothesis to the full. The literary exegesis had already been responsible for a division into four main sources J, E, D,

and P. The general assumption was that P was the first in date and the other sources had been made to fit in with it. Graf and Wellhausen reversed the order. As the theory now stands J represents a source of the eighth and ninth centuries which asserts that from early times God had been known under the name of Jahweh; E is a little later and belongs to the northern kingdom and it is distinguished by the fact that it employs the title Elohim for God up to the time when God made His special revelation to Moses. Preserved in both the accounts are still earlier sources. Most of Deuteronomy probably belongs to D, certainly the first thirty-one chapters, which were edited in the sixth and seventh centuries and served King Josiah in his zeal for reform. The same editors revised J and E so as to bring them into line with the principles of the reform. Lastly P, the Priestly Code, is the result of the efforts of Ezekiel and the priests to preserve the ritual laws after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 had put an end to the Temple ritual. The task was one not only of preservation but of purification also. The common opinion is that they were promulgated by Ezra in the latter part of the fifth century.

In accordance with this documentary theory Wellhausen and his disciples rewrote the religious development of Israel as follows: In the days which preceded the writing of J and E, when the Israelites inhabited the land of Canaan, there was no single place set apart in which they were commanded to worship. 'The historical and prophetic books show no trace in Hebrew antiquity of a sanctuary of exclusive legitimacy.' 'For Israel properly so called, Jerusalem was at no time, properly speaking, the place which Jehovah had chosen.' Furthermore, in this period we hear nothing of a priesthood vested in one family, such as that of Levi. The priests of the High Places were drawn from the members of the local tribe. Gradually, however, a change came, the first stage in the development. Wellhausen argues from the well-known passage from the first Book of Kings (ii. 27-35) that the family of Eli was rejected and that of Zadok was raised to the High Priesthood. This family then works to get more power and to con-

centrate all the worship at Jerusalem. With the help of the prophet Jeremiah they persuade the King Josiah to sweep away the worship of the High Places and restrict it to Jerusalem. The eventual success of this manœuvre was due according to these critics to various causes, such as the polemic of the prophets Amos and Hosea, the fall of Samaria, and the convenient finding of what we know to be Deuteronomy. 'The language used by these men [Amos and Hosea] was one hitherto unheard of when they declared that Gilgal and Bethel and Beersheba, Jehovah's favourite seats, were an abomination to him.' Nevertheless, 'not until about a century after the destruction of Samaria did men venture to draw the practical conclusion from the belief in the unique character of the temple at Jerusalem. . . . Prophets and priests appear to have made common cause in the prosecution of the work. It was the high priest Hilkiah who, in the first instance, called attention to the discovered book which was to be made the basis of action; the prophetess Huldah confirmed its divine contents.' And so by this convenient finding of a so-called Mosaic Deuteronomy the pious King Josiah is imposed upon and 'in the eighteenth year of Josiah, 621 B.C., the first heavy blow fell upon the local sacrificial places'.

The work was not, however, yet completed because, although all the High Places had been closed, the priests who served at these places had been invited by the King to Jerusalem, and they shared the privileges of the line of Zadok. A further intrigue was necessary to dispose of these priests and give the full power to the Zadok line. This was accomplished after the Exile, and this time with the assistance of the prophet Ezekiel. The priests had for a long time claimed to be the lost tribe of Levi, so that priest and Levite meant the same thing. From certain passages in Ezekiel it is inferred by Wellhausen that he was now persuaded to make a distinction between the two. 'The priests, the Levites, the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of my sanctuary' are given the preference to 'the Levites that went far from God'. 'They shall be ministers in my sanctuary, having oversight at the gates of the house . . . and they shall not

come near unto me to execute the office of priest unto me.' The Levites, that is, are now to be inferior to the priests and, in order to make everything quite secure, the document P is written into the Pentateuch and asserted to be the work of Moses. As this distinction of the two orders is to be found in this document, it is thus ratified and sanctified by the authority of the great ancient law-giver.

Such is the reconstruction made on exegetical grounds, both literary and historical, and generally accepted by scholars. From this outline of it it is impossible to give an idea of the evidence which has made it seem feasible to so many. Evidence of all kinds is multiplied to support it and much is made of such admittedly difficult passages as that from the first Book of Kings. If a scheme which would make a narrative into a mosaic of different sources be greeted with incredulity, it is pointed out that in the first centuries of Christianity similar diatessara were composed, and recently a history of Abyssinia has been discovered which is written in this way. It is known too that tablets were buried, so why should this discovery of P not have occurred in the way mentioned? There can be no doubt either about the ingenuity with which the evidence is manipulated. This last argument, however, will not bring much conviction to those acquainted with the Baconian hypothesis or Verrall's ingenious reconstructions of Euripides. Clever as the hypothesis is it is too typical of a point of view which has proved such a source of weakness in exegesis and in the use of the historical methods during the nineteenth century. There is the usual disregard of tradition, the unshakable confidence in genesis and development, the absence of a robust good sense and blindness to conflicting evidence. A few examples must serve to show the kind of defects from which this hypothesis suffers.

The theory, it will be remembered, grew up out of literary exegesis, and the two main planks of the argument were the use of the divine names and the frequent occurrence of repetitions or doublets. Now one might suppose that the division of the sources conformed neatly with the use of Elohim and Jahweh

and that before Exodus vi. 3 'by my name Jahweh I was not known to them'. Nevertheless, there exists evidence which points to there being a West-Semitic god, Ya-u, known as early as 2100 B.C.; Genesis iv. 26 says that it was after the birth of Enoch that 'men began to call upon the name of Jahweh', and we find still earlier that Eve says that she has borne a child with Jahweh's help. Again there are so many places which do not fit in with the theory in their use of the divine names that the exegetes are forced to bring in a redactor to get rid of them. Even then all is not well, for as Wiener in his *Essays in Penta-teuchal Criticism* observes texts have to be wrenched from their contexts to fit the theory.

An even more flagrant instance occurs in xxviii. 21, where Mr. Carpenter is compelled to scoop out the words 'and the Lord will be my God' and assign them to J., the beginning and end of the verse going to E. What manner of man was this redactor who constructed a narrative on these strange principles? In xxxi, verse 3 has to go to a redactor, because the preceding and subsequent verses belong to E. yet that gentleman actually postulates the redactor's work by referring to the statement of 3 in verse 5.

It is worth pointing out also that both in the Psalms and in the Chronicles we find the same varying use of Elohim and Jahweh. As to the presence of doublets in the Old Testament it has never been denied that the inspired writer may have used various sources. Such a fact would not of itself go to prove the hypothesis of Wellhausen, and if we take the most famous instance of all, the double account of Creation, it is not too difficult to assign a reason why the two should have been included, for the first account gives the story for its own sake while the second has for object to bring out the fall of man.

The argument therefore from literary exegesis seems, to say the least, far from conclusive¹ and for that reason, perhaps, most of the critics now lay more stress on the historical exegesis, forgetting, it would seem, that the hypothesis originally sprang out of the literary criticism. As it happens, however, the historical argument is as inconclusive as the literary. I have

¹ v. *Moses and the Law*, edited by C. Lattey, S.J.

spent too much space on the literary to do justice to the difficulties. They can be easily guessed. Difficult texts such as Exodus xix. 22 and xxxii. 29 have to be explained away, the text of Amos has to be taken to pieces to make it support the argument, the importance of the Ark of the Covenant has to be ignored, a character and policy assigned to Ezekiel which seems hard to credit and is in fact not borne out by his language, and finally an explanation of the actions of the priests and prophets of which the Jews had clearly no knowledge whatsoever, and one too which those who have any faith in God's designs must dismiss as wellnigh incredible. If this verdict seem unduly severe and slighting it must be remembered that the subject-matter is the sacred narrative of the Bible, and secondly that in rejecting the hypothesis respect can be still felt for all those scholars who in their close or loose adhesion to it have added considerably to the sum of knowledge which we have about the Bible.

Modern exegesis of the Gospels follows the same lines, though it is now more conservative. 'There was a time,' wrote Harnack, 'and the general public is still at that date, when it was thought right to consider the earliest Christian literature, the New Testament included, as a tissue of forgeries and falsifications. This time has passed. For science it has been an episode which has taught it much, and now that it is over science has much to forget.' Certainly we would gladly forget the view of Salomon Reinach that the Passion of Christ was a myth, or that of M. Seydel that our Gospels depend upon a Christian poem written at Alexandria by an author who had under his eyes a life of Buddha. We cannot say, however, that we are out of the wood yet. Almost all critics accept the documentary hypothesis and take great liberties with the text of the Gospels. The late Bishop Gore, for instance, a leader of the right wing of critics, who could declare that a 'great deal in the method' of the specialists was 'in a high degree arbitrary', and that they had not undertaken their historical task with open minds, held that the traditional view of inerrancy is simply not true, and it is plain to him that 'both Luke and Matthew use a document . . .

which appears to have been a very early record in the main of the words of Jesus, though with some historical incidents, extending from John's Baptism down to the eve of the Passion'.¹

The outlook of the textual exegete is well illustrated by the remarks of the writer on 'Textual Criticism of the New Testament' in the fourteenth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. He refers to the variations and so-called interpolations in the Gospels, such as the story of the woman taken in adultery, and then writes:

No satisfactory palaeographical explanation has ever been found for these variants; they are evidently made on purpose, by persons who had new matter to insert into the text and felt themselves at liberty to do so. The fact of the occurrence of these longer Interpolations (as they are usually called) prepares us to find that many of the shorter variants are of the same nature, i.e., that they did not arise through scribal errors but by intentional efforts to improve or enrich the original. It is further evident, from the general course of ecclesiastical sentiment, that such violent modifications of what was regarded as Sacred Scripture must have taken place very early.

Such a saying as this may sound innocent and a right principle of exegesis. Yet it should be observed that there is no restriction put upon the correction of the text, and it seems to be suggested that the Gospels may contain a mass of interpolations and that frequent modifications were made in the Gospels by the early Christians. What are the facts? Students of exegesis examining and comparing the Synoptic texts to be found in ecclesiastical documents from the second century onwards know now that there are a number of variants, and these can be explained by the natural failings of copyists and by dogmatic and personal prejudices. They number about thirty thousand, but, and this is the important point, they are concerned for the most part with tiny details, word transpositions, mistakes in spelling and grammar and syntax. Hort in his edition of the New Testament estimates the total number as one-eighth, but so slight are they as a rule that only one-thousandth have any critical importance. Hence in comparing

¹ *Jesus of Nazareth*, pp. 178-80.

the critical editions of such experts as Westcott, Tischendorf, Nestle, and others we find a substantial agreement, and of the passages whose authenticity is doubtful there is not one which touches on a matter of substantial importance to the Christian faith. As to the pericopes, as they are called, like that of the woman taken in adultery, so far from being common, as might seem indicated in the passage quoted, they are less than half a dozen. We know too that the Christians of the first centuries exercised the most extreme caution and reverence in treating the Scriptures, and that from the beginning the oral teaching was watched over by the authorities. Tryphylus, a bishop, was severely blamed for changing one word in the story of the healing of the paralytic, and this is but typical of the care taken of the sacred word. So Père Lagrange does not exaggerate when he writes:

The books have not changed; we know this from textual criticism. How can we suppose that the first Christians would have revered books containing a doctrine contrary to that which they held from the Apostles? There are not two gospels, said St. Paul. If an angel out of Heaven come to teach me a new gospel let him be anathema (Gal. i, 8). The Galatians had let themselves be deceived. But the Apostle was on the watch, and the Christian communities, so very attentive to religious questions, controlled themselves mutually. Recall how the question of judaic observances was submitted to a plenary reunion at Jerusalem (Acts xv). This faith which was so much more sensitive than indifferent, would it have received as the word of Christ writings contrary to that which had been taught them by the Fathers of this faith of theirs?

The unwillingness of scholars to trust the text is not therefore due so much to textual as to historical exegesis, and in particular to what is known as the Synoptic problem or the documentary hypothesis. Amongst reasons for the adoption of this hypothesis two may be singled out. The critics thought that they observed an increasing tendency in the Synoptics to water down whatever lessened the authority of Christ: in other words a tendency to idealize Him. On this ground Mark was declared to be the most primitive. Secondly, they observed that parts of

Luke and Matthew are to be found also in Mark, and they argued that they must have been copied from Mark. As however there were passages common to Luke and Matthew which were not in Mark they invented as a source for these a document, of which there was no independent evidence, to which they gave the name *Q*. The invention of *Q*, while it settled one difficulty, gave rise to another, for the differences of Luke and Matthew from one another and their common agreement as against Mark did not fit in with the hypothesis of one other source. Two lines of reasoning were, therefore, followed, either to invent other documents to fill the gaps and reconcile the differences, or to expunge and minimize these differences. There is as yet no general agreement on the matter. One theory which has attracted attention is that of Dr. Streeter, who advocates a four-document hypothesis, arguing that both Luke and Matthew had a special source of their own and that the source of Luke is earlier than Mark. Luke's narrative was originally composed of *Q* and this special source; later the Marcan material was incorporated into it, and as the Gospel had already been completed the addition resembles more an interpolation than an incorporation.

This hypothesis has resulted in varying estimates of the worth and authenticity of the Synoptists in accordance with the value attached to the sources. The old views of the Tübingen school have yielded to a more subtle revision of what has been the traditional and orthodox interpretation. No longer are the Gospels pushed forward into the second century. Instead they are taken to pieces, and nothing is judged at its *prima facie* value. We must, it is said, always go behind the texts, and having with much care and labour reconstructed their sources interpret these by the tendencies of the time and of various localities. It is natural to expect a development, the passing from a primitive and naïve attitude towards Christ to a more sophisticated one, and the farther one proceeds the less historical, as a rule, will be the ideas and language presented. In the hands of rationalists, as we have seen, the genuinely historical matter has often been reduced to a minimum and the miraculous

disappears altogether; many too of the modernist and liberal Christians carry the hypothesis so far as to make an argument from text-citations doubtful, and in such a representative work as *Foundations* miracle, the Resurrection, and the Incarnation in the traditional sense are more or less surrendered. The highest that can be hoped for is to be found in the belief of a critic like Adolf Deissmann :

The Synoptic Gospels are great treasure houses with a rich abundance of genuine reminiscences of Jesus. Side by side with the genuine there are others whose genuineness is doubtful or denied. But even those pictures of Christ which were created by the sincere art of His disciples have their value as memorials of the Apostolic Christ-cult and are therefore evidence for the powerful influence of the personality of Christ upon His followers.¹

The results of this hypothesis are sufficiently disturbing to make the orthodox inquire closely into its truth. It is said that taking Mark as more primitive than the other Synoptists we find a progressive idealization of Christ. This seems to leave out of account the many references in Matthew to the indignation of Christ, His pity, and even an apparent limitation of power, and parallel texts can be found in Luke. Texts such as 'No one knoweth; no, not the angels of heaven, nor the Son; but the Father alone', and 'He worked not many miracles there because of their incredulity' are in Matthew as well as in Mark. But the most decisive example is given by R. A. Knox in his *Some Loose Stones*:

Now if we wanted an experimentum crucis by which to test this theory, I cannot conceive of any better than the passage recorded by all four Evangelists (Matt. 13. 55, Mark 6. 3, Luke 4. 22, John 6. 42) where Our Lord's critics complain of the humble origin of One who dares to speak so presumptuously. We should expect, surely, on our hypothesis, that if the accounts differed at all, S. Mark, who has never heard of the Virgin birth, would represent them as saying, 'Is not this the son of Joseph?', or 'Is not this the son of Joseph and Mary?', while the later Gospels would soften it down, in view of their more elaborate theory of the circumstances, into 'Is not this the son of Mary?' and that if S. Matthew, with S. Mark's Gospel

¹ *The New Testament in the Light of Modern Research*, p. 152.

before him, found the words recorded 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' he would change them, from motives of reverence, into the form 'Is not this the carpenter?' 'Well' says the reader, 'and what is wrong with that? Surely this is quite good reasoning.' So it is; excellent inductive reasoning. Only unfortunately when you come to look at the passage the facts are just the other way. It is S. Mark who says, 'Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?' It is S. Matthew who says, 'Is not this the carpenter's son?', S. Luke and S. John who say, 'Is not this the son of Joseph?'

The same writer puts his finger on the weak point in the documentary hypothesis. After comparing it with the Homeric hypothesis he goes on:

... Scholars had observed that certain parts of the Gospel revelation which were recorded by SS. Matthew and Luke were also recorded by S. Mark, and therefore, according to the prevailing theory, must have been copied from S. Mark. They had to get over the difficulty, that there were also numbers of incidents, or at any rate of sayings, recorded in SS. Matthew and Luke which found no place in S. Mark. They were at pains, therefore, to conjure up an entirely new document, for whose existence we have no sort of independent evidence, which went by the name of Q. The *raison d'être* . . . of Q was to contain those records which belonged to the first and third Gospels, but not to the second; the whole basis of the hypothesis rested on the silence of S. Mark. But, latterly, emboldened by the acceptance of this theory, critics have observed Heaven knows what stylistic peculiarities on the part of Q and having found these same peculiarities in certain parts of S. Mark, have proceeded to question whether after all S. Mark did not have Q before him when he wrote his Gospel. It would be hard to conceive a more deliberate outrage on the public intelligence. The Two-Document Hypothesis was pledged to the assertion that S. Matthew and S. Luke had access to a common source of information which was not Mark; all their common matter that was found in Mark was Marcan; all that was not found in Mark was Q. But if S. Mark really knew and used Q then there can be no earthly evidence that either S. Matthew or S. Luke ever saw S. Mark's Gospel; the natural supposition is that there was a document (call it Q if you like), which was abridged by S. Mark for his own ends, and expanded by S. Matthew and S. Luke for theirs.

It is on these and similar grounds that Catholic scholars view with suspicion this documentary hypothesis. Not that they have been idle. They too have followed a scientific exegesis, as the names of scholars like Patrizi, Cornely, Battifol, Condamin, Jacquier, Lagrange, and Prat, to mention only a few, go to prove. They are ready too to acknowledge that there are problems in New Testament criticism which require solution. But as against the documentary hypothesis Lagrange has shown how exactly suited St. Matthew is both in language and incident to be the first Gospel for the needs of the primitive Christian and Palestinian communities; others have remarked on the difficulty in supposing the existence of a document Q which has vanished without leaving any trace, and out of the oral tradition they have worked to a solution of the problem of interdependence between the Synoptics. Most admit, in view of the resemblance of style in the discourses which are common to Mark and to Luke, of the parallelisms and doublets, a dependence of the latter on the former, though some consider that the 'catechism' of Peter suffices as an explanation for what is to be found in St. Luke. The question of the relation of the Aramaic version of St. Matthew to the Gospel as we have it and to the other Gospels has complicated the issue. Lagrange inclines to the belief that Luke made use of the Aramaic 'catechism' of Matthew, which would have already been translated into Greek, while Père Huby prefers the supposition of independent written sources which came from one primitive 'catechism'. Whatever solution be right, and there is no space here to do more than indicate the lines of settlement, the explanations given bear witness to the labours of Catholic scholars in Biblical exegesis. Throughout they have been directed by the norms laid down in the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*:

Those who are called to teach the divine Scriptures ought to be especially trained and disciplined in the true method of criticism; for there is a method both perverse and ruinous to religion to which has been given the title of Higher Criticism, which consists in settling the origin, integrity, and authority of each book by in-

ternal tests, as they are called. It is clear, on the contrary, that in historical questions, such as those of the origin and preservation of books, historical evidence should have precedence over all other forms of criticism, and should therefore first of all be studied and discussed; and as to the internal arguments, they have not sufficient value to be appealed to here save by way of confirmation. Now if a different procedure be followed, serious inconveniences will undoubtedly follow. For the opponents of religion will only have the more confidence in attacking and pulling to pieces the authentic character of the Holy Scriptures; and this kind of transcendental criticism which they extol will end finally in each one following his own taste and preconceived ideas in his interpretation; and consequently neither the light which one looked for to elucidate the Scriptures nor anything of scientific value will ensue, but there will manifest itself that special type of error, the multiplicity and diversity of opinion, of which the leaders of this school themselves provide an example. Furthermore, as most of them are steeped in the prejudices of a false philosophy and of rationalism, they will not fear to remove from the Holy Scriptures prophecies, miracles, and all that transcends the natural order.

Here in this passage from the encyclical we have the clear demarcation of the methods of the Catholic scholars from those who must be called rationalists. The Catholic scholar is at liberty to bring all that has been discovered to bear on the problems of Holy Scripture, and he can take advantage of all the improvements which have been made in the methods of historical research. He has, however, always at the back of his mind the knowledge that he is dealing with a text which is the word of God, and so he moves surely and securely in all that has to do with the objective meaning of the text and with the doctrine contained in it. If he is sure of the text and what it objectively asserts, or again if the Church has given an authentic interpretation of a text or passage, he knows that he is in the presence of truth. Moreover, though he knows that God's revelation was progressive and that ideas have to be understood in part according to the habits of thought in various times and places and peoples, the Catholic critic is not the slave to any false or exaggerated theory of evolution. Tradition can contain

truth, the past is not necessarily worse off in its judgements than the present, and the Divine can dispose of events and transcend the natural order. The failures of the historical methods and of the exegesis of the Bible are not to be attributed to a weakness in the methods themselves. There have been magnificent successes and whenever a scholar with a sound judgement and unprejudiced mind makes use of them the results prove to be highly beneficial. The advances in both secular history and in the study of the Holy Scriptures during the last century are witness to what can be done by applying to history methods which are as scientific as the subject-matter allows. The failures are due to accident and to prejudice: to accident in that the marvellous marshalling of evidence from all quarters that is now possible tends, except when used by scholars who are also great men, to overwhelm the judgement; to prejudice because in the last century, particularly, the cast of mind has been generally anti-religious or at any rate anti-supernatural. The agnosticism which crept into scientific thought as a result of the empiricist tradition and the *Critique* of Kant, and the craze for looking for the sources and genesis of an event or statement, led writers to question all that claimed to be transcendent or supernatural. Even those professing some form of Christianity fell victims to these prejudices. They did not surrender their belief in the Holy Scriptures, but this did not prevent them from explaining it all away; they continued to reverence Christ as God, but they did not seem to think it odd that if this were true the same God should have allowed all that He had said and done to be changed out of all recognition by His biographers and those who corrected and supplemented these biographers. They did not again find any inconsistency in acknowledging Christ's divinity and refusing to allow any supernatural element in the Gospels. Truth to tell, all such critics are in a predicament; for the methods and lines of thought they favour take them away from the beliefs which on other grounds they cherish. Unfortunately the philosophic prejudices have bitten deep into the minds of scientific workers, so deep that it is extremely difficult to say now accurately where the method ends and the

prejudice begins. The extremes of opinion which occurred so frequently in the nineteenth century are less common now, but this is due more to the fact that they could not stand the test of time than to any change of mind and heart on the part of the critics. One fashion of thought succeeds another, one well disposed to religion, a second bitterly hostile, but no matter what their disposition be they have this in common, that they have ceased to think of the supernatural as possible; and this defect is like a beam in the eye which prevents them from arriving at a true estimate and interpretation of that Providence which has guided man from the beginning towards the great and final mystery of the Incarnate Word. Exegesis without this insight is like to a building without mortar, and the historical methods in general, though they have been instrumental in bringing a great advance of knowledge, do not of themselves provide any assurance or criterion of success. The ultimate secret of success in secular history lies in that faculty of judgment or wisdom which can belong to an ancient Greek or Roman as much as to a twentieth-century historian, and in scriptural exegesis to one whose mind is attuned to think the things of Christ.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN MODERN TIMES THE METHOD OF NATURAL SCIENCE

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THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN MODERN TIMES

THE METHOD OF NATURAL SCIENCE

I. INTRODUCTION

THREE or perhaps four well-marked stages seem to be indicated in the effort of the human mind to unravel and understand the phenomena of the material Universe the study of which is called Natural Science.

These may be distinguished respectively as (i) the ancient or classic period, (ii) the medieval or middle age period, and (iii) the present or modern period divided into (a) early, and (b) recent periods.

It is to the last of these that our discussion here will be particularly directed.

The first stage was markedly speculative and not based on systematic observation or experiment. It covered the ages of the Chaldean, Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman philosophy. Although the greater minds of this age made notable contributions to knowledge of facts, yet there was no precise scientific method and for the most part only hypotheses evolved from the human mind itself. Moreover, in the very early part of this age there was an underlying belief in a prevailing animistic or polytheistic control of events, or that natural phenomena were the result of numerous intelligent but invisible agencies, some benevolent some malevolent towards mankind. These, it was assumed, could and ought to be propitiated in some way. There was no idea of an order in Nature existing apart from any arbitrary wills.

The events in Nature may be divided broadly into two classes. There are, first, those which persist with a great regularity such as the succession of day and night, the return of the seasons, and the march across the nocturnal sky of the groups or constellations of stars which retain their arrangement from age to age.

Then there are, secondly, the irregular and exceptional phenomena, the weather, storms and floods, eclipses, earthquakes,

speculation over the subjects of natural science as well as those of logic, ethics, metaphysics, and theology.

In contrast to Plato, who was the fundamental Idealist, Aristotle was essentially a gatherer of facts and a philosophic Realist. He clearly believed in the existence of objects apart from any human mind to perceive them, and as a practical realist he may be considered to be a progenitor of the modern scientific philosophy, though it would be too much to call him its father.

Amongst the later Greek scientists who made real additions to knowledge Archimedes (287-212 B.C.) has a very high place. He was a mathematician of great ability and solved a problem involving the integral calculus by his discovery that the volume of a sphere is two-thirds of that of its circumscribing cylinder.

He investigated the properties of the lever, discovered how to measure the specific gravity of metals, and laid the foundations of the science of Hydrostatics. He also made optical mirrors for converging rays of light, and other inventions. His genius was, however, essentially practical, and he made no important contributions to the scientific method generally.

Beyond a classic poem by Lucretius, *De Natura Rerum* (95-52 B.C.), who also refers to the Samothracian rings, Roman thought made no great contributions to scientific investigation. Their genius was essentially in government, organization, and military conquest.

3. MEDIEVAL SCIENCE

Passing down the ages into the medieval period, the idea of polytheistic control of natural phenomena faded away with the conquest of paganism by Christianity. But this last revelation, of supreme importance, concentrated the thoughts of men chiefly upon theological questions, and the free action of scientific curiosity and investigation was hindered by a too literal or limited interpretation of the Old Testament Scriptures from a geocentric or anthropomorphic point of view. Also by the fear that any very novel or extraordinary knowledge of or applica-

tions of scientific knowledge might be due to, or used in, the service of the powers of evil.

The break-up of the Roman Empire by Gothic invasions and the struggle for existence created by wars, famines, and pestilences left no general leisure or desire for scientific investigations for hundreds of years.

Nevertheless, a few master minds made advances in a study of certain natural phenomena, whilst the revolt against the dogmatic authority of scholasticism which rested on Greek philosophy had its origin in the desire to learn and understand more of the phenomena of Nature.

One important factor in this was the urge to explore the unvisited regions of our earth by sea-voyages.

But this necessitated some means of guidance as to direction for vessels if they were to venture out of sight of land. Who actually first discovered the fact that a loadstone floated on water by attachment to a piece of wood had the power of orienting itself is not known. It has been said that the Chinese knew it some centuries before our era, but this is more than doubtful. The first definite mention of it is in a treatise *De Natura Rerum* (which was a conventional title in those days), written by Alexander Neckam, an English monk born A.D. 1157, who clearly described a pivoted magnetized iron needle by which the direction of the North could be ascertained on board ship when stars were not visible.

The needle might be floated on water by attaching it to a piece of wood. The investigation of the causes of this phenomenon had two results: (i) it vastly increased the possibility of maritime travel, and (ii) it stimulated scientific invention and research.

Amongst the most remarkable scientific documents of the Middle Ages was a letter written in A.D. 1269 by a soldier pilgrim, Peter Peregrinus, of whose scientific attainments Roger Bacon spoke in high terms. Peregrinus described in this letter all the then known properties of the loadstone very clearly and constructed a magnetized pivoted iron needle compass. He added a circular scale of degrees by which to determine the

'bearing' of any object, and may be considered therefore as the inventor of the modern compass.

An even greater contributor to scientific knowledge was that same neglected or rather persecuted genius Roger Bacon (*circa* A.D. 1214-92), whose writings brought the sciences of grammar, arithmetic, music, and chronology into scientific form, who discovered gunpowder and probably invented the telescope.

Of all the men of the late medieval period who may be considered to have prepared the way by his discoveries for the incoming of the second or truly inductive period of scientific research and thought, the great Venetian Fra Paolo Sarpi (A.D. 1552-1623), a friar of the Servite Order, stands eminent.

In every branch of the knowledge of his age he was acknowledged to be supreme. He announced that Heat is atomic motion and that Light consists in undulations of a medium rarer than the atmosphere, and suggested the correlation of these physical effects. He wrote a treatise on the magnet and found that the magnetism of iron could be removed by heating it. The breadth of his knowledge caused Galileo to refer to him as 'my father and my master'.

4. THE BIRTH OF EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE

Amongst the group of scientific investigators who stood on the dividing line between the old and the new philosophy we must unite with Sarpi the names of Gilbert, Galileo, Descartes, and Kepler.

Gilbert was born in A.D. 1544 at Colchester in England and was by profession a medical man.

William Gilbert (A.D. 1544-1603) was unquestionably one of the chief pioneers of the modern scientific method which consists in putting definite questions to Nature and obtaining answers from the results of experiment or observation or without starting with preconceived hypotheses or speculation.

It is this approach to Nature with an open mind, content to learn by strict observation or experiment and loyalty to fact, that is the essence of the genuine scientific spirit. All that is true

knowledge is acquired in this way and by rigorous induction or deduction from the results.

Gilbert was a man of outstanding ability. After a school education he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, as an undergraduate, and after taking his degree he was elected a Fellow and for a short time mathematical examiner. He then travelled in Europe and studied medicine and on his return became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, of which later on he became President. He was Body Physician to Queen Elizabeth, but the position was an honorary one, as from fear of poison she never consented to swallow any physic prescribed.

Gilbert, however, seems to have practised in London on the general public with success and profit. What led him first to his physical researches was the doctrine of Copernicus.

In 1543, the year he died, Nicolaus Copernicus had ventured to publish his book on the doctrine of the axial rotation of the earth and its orbital rotation round the sun. He put it forward merely as an hypothesis but supported it by arguments which drew attention to it. Giordano Bruno had brought the new ideas to England and had held public disputations on them at Oxford. We may presume that it was by him that Gilbert's thoughts had been turned to the subject. But if the earth revolves on its axis, what is it that keeps this axis always pointing in the same direction? That was the query that pressed on Gilbert's mind. He was familiar with the directive powers of the loadstone, and this seems to have suggested to him that the earth itself was a great globular magnet and that the constant direction of its axis was due to magnetic attraction by the Pole of the Heavens or celestial sphere.

Hence he began a systematic study of the loadstone, and very briefly his discoveries were as follows:

He knew that a pivoted magnetized iron needle directs itself nearly along the meridian at any place, although Columbus had discovered the variation of the needle on his first voyage to America. Gilbert therefore made small globes of loadstone which he called *terrelae*, cut out of blocks of magnetic iron-ore which had two well-marked magnetic poles at the ends of a

diameter. On these he placed small pivoted magnetized iron needles and found that these behaved on the *terrelae* just as the actual compass needle behaves on the earth.

Again, he knew that a bit of iron wire held near a loadstone becomes a magnet and he demonstrated that iron bars if vertical acquire magnetism, or, as he called it, verticity. In short he made the proof experimentally complete that the earth itself is a spherical magnet.

He did not, however, give any valid proof that magnetism has anything to do with the constant direction of the earth's axis.

He then went on to examine experimentally the electric properties of amber. He constructed the first electroscope, consisting of a light pivoted metal needle not magnetic, which he called a *versorium*, and used it to investigate the production of electricity by friction. He rubbed every substance he could find and confirmed or refuted ancient statements.

Gilbert had an unlimited contempt for that method of philosophizing which starts by making unproved assumptions. Faraday-like, he made every step forward rest on a solid basis of demonstrated fact.

He was therefore unquestionably the true founder of the experimental sciences of electricity and magnetism. His great book *De Magnete* ('On the Magnet'), first published in A.D. 1600, is and will ever remain one of the great classics of science.

Contemporary with Gilbert was the Italian philosopher Galileo Galilei (A.D. 1564-1642), who did for dynamics and kinematics or the science of motion what Gilbert did for electricity and magnetism. For twenty centuries the teaching of Aristotle on motion had been accepted, and according to this heavy bodies should fall more quickly than light ones.

Galileo said, Let us try! Accordingly he let fall from the top of the leaning tower at Pisa simultaneously a large weight and a small one. They struck the ground at the same instant, and that fall struck a blow at the Aristotelean doctrines from which they never recovered.¹

¹ The *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th edition) has an article by Miss Agnes M. Clerke on Galileo, as an eminent scientist and also explaining his difficulties

He then endeavoured experimentally to discover the law of the motion of falling bodies. As this is too quick to be followed by the eye Galileo ingeniously retarded the motion in a certain ratio by allowing balls to roll down an inclined plane, and he showed that the velocity acquired in various periods of time is proportional to the time and that the space fallen through is proportional to the square of the time.

His great achievement was, however, his recognition of the property of matter called Inertia, and he enunciated the law afterwards called Newton's first law of motion, viz. that a body unacted upon by force will remain at rest or else move uniformly in a straight line.

He also proved that motions in different directions can be added together according to the so-called vector rule, so that if the two are represented as to direction and magnitude by the adjacent sides of a parallelogram, the resultant motion will be represented by the diagonal passing through the junction point.

By his independent reinvention of the telescope and his discovery of the satellites of Jupiter and phases of Venus, Galileo gave an observational proof of the truth of the Copernican doctrines, and in spite of the opposition of his opponents, lay and clerical, those views ultimately prevailed.

The conquest of the old Ptolemaic or geocentric ideas was, however, immensely aided by the work of Johann Kepler (A.D. 1571-1630), who also had his clerical opponents of which the world has not been well informed.¹ Kepler was originally an

with the Roman Inquisition, in which she corrects the popular and imaginary theory as to his having been harshly treated.

¹ The *Encyclopædia Britannica* has also an article on Johann Kepler, but fails to explain that thirty-seven years before Galileo's second trial in 1633 Kepler had similar trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities at Tübingen for his asserting in his work the correctness of the Copernican theory.

When Kepler wrote his celebrated work *Prodromus Dissertationum Cosmographicarum* to demonstrate the truth of the Copernican system of astronomy, he had to lay it before the Academical Senate of Tübingen for their approbation. By their unanimous decision it was condemned as heretical because it appeared to be contradicted by the Bible. As a matter of fact many astronomers such as Tycho Brahé (Kepler's master) were not then convinced that the truth of the Copernican system had been definitely proved and they saw no sufficient reason for abandoning at that time the Ptolemaic theory. [Editor.]

assistant of Tycho Brahé, and under him had made an enormous number of exact observations on the positions of the planet Mars. Tycho was not convinced of the truth of the Copernican theory, but Kepler by laborious calculations showed that the motion of the planets agreed with three laws, viz.:

- (i) The planets revolve round the sun in elliptic orbits with the sun in one focus.
- (ii) The radius vector or line joining the centres of sun and planet sweeps out equal areas in equal times.
- (iii) For various planets the squares of the periodic times are proportional to the cubes of the mean distances.

These laws of Kepler were at first merely the concentrated results of observations, but Newton later on gave a fundamental reason for them.

They supplied, however, a strong proof that the phenomena of Nature are metrical, that is, that everywhere we find exact numerical relations and that our true knowledge of it or science only begins when we can measure quantitatively and express exactly these relations. Hence mathematics is an essential instrument or prelude to the study of Science.

It was for this reason that Plato is said to have written over the entrance to his Academy, 'Let no one enter here without geometry'.

The Greeks had made considerable progress in the study of geometry, and the Arabians had similarly made advances in algebra. In fact this last word is derived from an Arabic expression for 'the square and the completion' in reference to the solution of quadratic equations. What was wanting was, however, a connexion between geometry and algebra, and this was supplied by the French philosopher René Descartes (A.D. 1596-1650), by his invention of Analytical Geometry. In this method the position of a point is fixed by its distance from 2 or 3 axes passing through an origin.

If the point describes any regular curve, then there is a numerical relation between the co-ordinate distances. Thus for an ellipse with the origin at the centre and the axes at right angles the relation is expressed by an equation $a^2y^2 + b^2x^2 = a^2b^2$

where a and b are the semi-axes of the ellipse and x and y are the co-ordinates of any point on the ellipse. This method enabled the properties of certain curves and lines to be easily deduced. Thus, together with the other valuable mathematical notation Descartes introduced, he forged an implement which in the hands of his successors was of immense power. We need not occupy space, however, with a recitation of Descartes's views on the nature of Matter or the structure of the Universe, as they have faded into insignificance, but the value of his mathematical inventions still remains.

Following Galileo, the next great contributor to the laws of motion was Huygens (A.D. 1629-95), who was the inventor of the pendulum clock. He had a clearer notion of the law of inertia than Galileo, and he solved the problem of determining the length of the simple pendulum isochronous, or of equal time swings, with any given solid oscillating round an axis. He also discovered the value of the acceleration of gravity or the distance fallen through in one second by a heavy body at the earth's surface. With the work of Huygens we may say that the late medieval period of scientific research ended, and the early modern period set in with the arrival of Isaac Newton.

In intellectual powers Newton stood higher than any of his contemporaries, and his great work the *Principia*, or the Principles of Natural Philosophy, is undoubtedly one of the greatest productions of the human mind.

5. THE MODERN SCIENTIFIC METHOD

Sir Isaac Newton (A.D. 1642-1727) was born in the year that Galileo died, and his advent marks the beginning of the modern and truly effective method of scientific research.

He was the founder of that great school of scientific investigation in which the experimental or observational collection of events numerically ascertained is followed by exact logical or mathematical discussion and reasoning on them, with the object of arriving at generalizations or fundamental laws.

No initial hypotheses are assumed. Followers of Newton in this method have been such great investigators as Faraday,

Davy, Stokes, Kelvin, Helmholtz, Hertz, Maxwell, J. J. Thomson, and many others.

Thus, for instance, the laws of planetary motion empirically discovered by Kepler presented a problem to Newton to find a more fundamental reason for them, and he found it in the great generalization that every particle of matter attracts every other particle in the Universe with a force which is proportional to the product of the masses and inversely as the square of their distance.

Newton made no hypothesis as to the cause of gravitation. He furnished simply a rule by which mathematical analysis was able to deduce innumerable consequences from it which were found to be in agreement with observed astronomical facts.

Newton's important contribution to dynamics were the ideas of *force* and *momentum*. Galileo had already given what is called the first law of motion or law of inertia. Newton went on to state a second law, viz. that any departure from rest or uniform motion in a straight line in a mass of matter is due to an agency called *force*, and this force is measured by the rate at which it changes the body's momentum either in direction or magnitude.

The momentum is defined as the product of the mass and the velocity. Newton stated also a third law, namely, that when the mutual action of two bodies changes their respective momenta, the momenta lost or gained are equal. Thus when a gun is fired the momentum imparted forwards to the shot or ball is equal to that imparted backwards to the gun.

The idea that one mass could exert so-called force, say gravitative force, on another body at a distance without the aid of any intervening mechanism seemed to Newton to be absurd and unphilosophical; and this action at a distance has always been a matter of controversy. We shall see later on how it has been viewed by Faraday and by Einstein.

Newton's greatest achievement was his book *The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, published in 1687, commonly called the *Principia*.

It is divided into three parts. The first two deal with the

motion of masses and the third with the system of the world wherein the axioms, theorems, and proofs concerning the motion of masses under various forces are applied to the explanation of astronomical phenomena and to other matters such as the tides.

Newton's other great scientific work concerned the nature and properties of Light. He discovered experimentally the compound nature of white light and showed that it could be resolved by a prism into a spectrum consisting of light of various refrangibilities spaced out. He discovered the phenomena of the colours of thin films, and he put forward an explanation in terms of his corpuscular theory of Light.

He had, however, to admit that Light involves waves of some kind, and later on we shall notice how closely modern views as to Light are returning to those of Newton.

Newton considered also the problem of making achromatic lenses and constructed a reflecting mirror telescope on a certain plan now called the Newtonian construction.

In the field of pure mathematics he was pre-eminent by his invention of fluxions, since called the Differential Calculus.

This department of mathematics is an essential implement in the discussion of motion of bodies or of quantities that vary, and its elaboration was necessary before Newton could attack the problems of physical astronomy or follow out his law of gravitation into its consequences.

Newton's work therefore stands as a great mountain amongst the smaller peaks of previous or contemporary science, and it inspired most of that which has followed it.

He showed the way to a method of investigating the phenomena of the physical world which has never been surpassed and has been the model and pattern of all subsequent fruitful scientific research.

Newton's views on the nature of Light were, however, opposed by Huygens, who espoused the cause of a pure wave or undulatory theory of light on the ground that rays of light could intersect at one point without interference, and also on the ground of the enormous velocity of light, which had been measured by Olaus Romer (1644-1710) by a method

depending on observations of the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, and determined by him to be about 170,000 miles per second. Huygens gave his views to the world in a *Treatise on Light* published in 1690.

But if light is an undulation, what is it then which undulates? It cannot be any material gas or substance. Hence the hypothesis of an *ether* was introduced. But this ether was intangible, weightless, and could not be isolated in parts like ordinary matter. Hence it introduced into science the idea of the so-called 'imponderable fluids' and later on Heat, Electricity, Magnetism, and Phlogiston were supposed to belong to the same class of entities, namely, something more tenuous or rare and subtle than ordinary matter even in its gaseous state. The immense influence of Newton, however, prevented the undulatory theory of Light from gaining many adherents, even for a hundred years, until later on crucial experiments decided in its favour.

This closed the epoch covered by the seventeenth century, and the eighteenth was largely occupied with researches concerning the nature of matter and that of chemical combination, as well as the detailed study of electrical phenomena. Although several of the Greek thinkers such as Democritus and Leucippus had suggested the atomic structure of matter, the empirical ideas of Aristotle survived, that there was only one primordial stuff and that four elementary principles of earth, air, fire, and water could modify this stuff into various known substances. Hence grew up the notion that material substances could be changed in nature by suitable treatment, such as lead into gold. This idea furnished a suitable soil for the growth of alchemy with its quackery and deception. Nevertheless, its empirical experiments produced many new substances.

The chief scientific problem, however, was to discover the nature of combustion. It was known, for instance, that when certain metals were heated in air they lost metallic qualities and were converted into a so-called calx, and that the air was in some way concerned in the burning of substances like charcoal.

The phenomenon of combustion had, however, been considered in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and Van Helmont, Rey, Boyle, and especially John Mayew (1643-79) had made important experiments on the combustion of substances such as charcoal, sulphur, and camphor and found that they would not burn in a place deprived of air unless they were mixed with nitre.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century G. E. Stahl (1660-1734) put forward in 1717 the strange idea of *Phlogiston* as the explanation of combustion.

Substances which could burn or which could be converted by heating into a calx were supposed to contain an igneous element called phlogiston, which escaped on burning or calcification. Easily combustible substances such as charcoal were supposed to contain a great deal of this hypothetical substance.

This theory of phlogiston maintained its hold on many eminent minds for the next sixty or seventy years until overthrown by the work of Joseph Black (1728-99), Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), Henry Cavendish (1731-1810), and A. L. Lavoisier (1743-94).

The first blow to it occurred when Black studied the difference between quicklime and mild lime or limestone and proved that it consisted in the fixation of a certain 'air' or gas called 'fixed air'.

This we now call carbonic acid gas or carbon dioxide.

Priestley then began to investigate different kinds of 'air', as gases were then called, and found that the air given off by heating calcined mercury, or, as we now call it, red oxide of mercury, had the power of greatly assisting combustion and making things burn more easily.

It was therefore supposed to be very greedy to take up phlogiston and was called 'dephlogisticated air'.

Another 'air' prepared by treating certain metals such as zinc with acids was found to be able to burn or create a flame, and this was called 'inflammable air'. The great discovery was then made by Priestley, Cavendish, and James Watt that inflammable air burnt in dephlogisticated air produced water,

and Cavendish with his exact and careful methods determined the volume ratio of the gases combined to be 2 to 1.

Then came Lavoisier with his use of the chemical balance or scales, and he proved that the calcination of metals increased their weight. Also that if mercury was heated in atmospheric air it withdrew something from the air and that what was left could not support life or combustion, but the 'dephlogisticated air' produced by heating that calcined mercury, when put back into the 'air' left behind on heating the mercury, just restored it to the condition of atmospheric air. Lavoisier named this dephlogisticated air 'Oxygen', and proved that combustion consists in the combination of this oxygen with the body burned, and calcination consists in the combination of oxygen with the metal forming an oxide.

Thus the false theory of phlogiston was completely destroyed and, like the erroneous views of Aristotle on motion and Ptolemy on planetary orbits, it passed into the limbo of obscurity and was replaced by a true knowledge of the facts of combustion.

Atmospheric air as we breathe it consists of about one-fifth part by volume of oxygen and four-fifths of a gas now called nitrogen, and both combustion and calcination or oxidation are due to the oxygen, which is also the life-supporting element in the atmospheric air.

Thus the eighteenth century ended and the nineteenth began with Chemistry rescued from empiricism and erroneous ideas and sent forward on the right lines of scientific investigation.

During the same period of the eighteenth century sound progress was made in understanding electrical phenomena.

Gilbert had discovered that a large number of substances could, like amber, be put into an electrified condition by friction, and could then attract light objects such as feathers or fragments of straw.

Other substances like metals, charcoal, and wood could not be electrified.

Hence arose a division of all substances into electrics and non-electrics. Robert Boyle (1627-91), who did such useful work in investigating the elastic properties of gases, and whose

name is preserved to us in Boyle's law of gaseous compression, made also many experiments on frictional electricity.

His contemporary Otto von Guericke, burgomaster of Magdeburg, had an unlimited ingenuity, for he not only invented the air-pump and made notable discoveries about the pressure of the atmosphere but he devised the first frictional electrical machine, constructed of a ball of sulphur which could be rotated on an axle and electrified by friction with the human hand. Sir Isaac Newton did the same with a ball of glass, and Francis Hauksbee made a similar appliance and observed some curious luminous phenomena when mercury was shaken in a dry glass bottle.

The first really scientific generalization in electricity was made by Stephen Gray (1696-1736), who, in conjunction with his friend Granville Wheeler, discovered in A.D. 1729 that some substances could transmit electricity through or along them, such as a hemp thread or metal wire, but others such as silk and glass could not.

They established therefore the difference between conductors and non-conductors of electricity.

Desaguliers in France repeated Gray's experiments, and discovered that those substances which can be electrified by friction are non-conductors but those which are non-electrics are conductors.

Then another brilliant French investigator Dufay (1698-1739) made the important discovery that there are two kinds of electricity and that the electricity produced on resin or wax by rubbing it with flannel is different from that produced on glass by rubbing it with silk.

These two kinds were then called resinous and vitreous electricity but in modern language are termed negative and positive electricity respectively. Also he discovered that two bodies electrified with similar kinds of electricity repel each other, but bodies electrified with different kinds of electricity attract each other.

The idea then developed that these two electricities are 'imponderable fluids', weightless and intangible, but they can

move with great speed over the surface of conductors though not on non-conductors.

Both electricities try to get into the earth, which was supposed to be a great reservoir of electricity. In the middle of the eighteenth century, in 1745, the important invention of the leyden jar or phial was made. Musschenbroeck of Leyden was trying to give an electric charge to water contained in a bottle having a cork in the mouth and a long nail through the cork to make contact with the water. Holding the bottle in one hand he touched the nail with the other and received a sharp electric shock. There is reason to believe the same experiment was made about the same time by a monk named Kleist and a person named Cuneus. Anyway, the news of this 'Leyden jar' spread through Europe and excited the greatest interest.

Sir William Watson, in England, an ardent electrician, suggested coating a bottle inside and out with tinfoil and making contact with the inner coating by means of a metal rod passing through a cork in the mouth of the bottle. Thus was produced an instrument destined to be the starting-point for great investigations. A Committee of the Royal Society of London with Sir W. Watson as experimenter undertook a series of experiments to determine the speed with which electricity was transmitted along wires, but all they could do was to prove it to be practically instantaneous. Watson announced a theory of electricity, afterwards elaborated by Benjamin Franklin (1706-90), that a body is positively electrified when it has an excess of electric fluid and negatively when it has a deficit in the quantity it has in its unelectrified state.

Franklin was a very able experimenter, and he proved that the coatings of a Leyden have charges of opposite sign and equal quantity. He noticed the power of sharp points on a charged conductor to discharge it slowly, and he was the first to prove that lightning was an electric discharge, and invented the lightning conductor to prevent buildings being struck.

An ardent worker in this field was John Canton (1718-1772), who discovered that the same kind of electricity was not always created on any given substance; thus, for instance, glass might

be electrified positively if rubbed with oiled silk but negatively if rubbed with new flannel. Canton also discovered electrification by induction, viz. that an electrified body induced a charge of opposite sign on neighbouring bodies.

The theory of electricity was also advanced by Symmer and by Aepinus.

Symmer maintained the two-fluid theory, but thought that in unelectrified bodies the two fluids were present in equal quantity, and electrification consisted in removing, say, some negative fluid which left the body positively electrified. Aepinus made the supposition that the electric fluids consisted of particles mutually repellent for the same electricity but attractive for the opposite kinds. He supposed these particles were located between the atoms of material bodies and could move through conductors but not through non-conductors.

The electrical researches of the eighteenth century were closed by the work of two observers, Cavendish in England and Coulomb in France, who both had a special genius for exact measurement. Cavendish made some remarkable determinations of electrical conductivity, comparing for instance specific resistance of iron and water. Also he discovered that the electrical capacity of a leyden jar depended upon the material of which the insulator or jar was made. In this he anticipated one of Faraday's great discoveries, namely, that of Specific Inductive Capacity. Cavendish also by a very ingenious method found the law according to which the particles of electricity must attract or repel each other, which he proved was the same as the law of gravitation, or inversely as the square of the distance. Coulomb invented the Torsion Balance, by which he made very exact determinations of this law.

The way was thus prepared for a mathematical treatment of the subject, and it began to be given by the great mathematical writers of the period such as Laplace and Poisson.

Hence we can say that in regard to electricity and magnetism these subjects had then approximated to the state of sciences which could be the subject of mathematical analysis just as dynamics did at the end of the seventeenth century.

The views held as to the ultimate nature of electricity, again with some differences as to nomenclature, also approximated to those held at the present day.

At the end of the eighteenth century the true scientific method of induction and deduction from observed facts with the least possible amount of hypotheses was firmly established in the minds of scientific workers.

6. THE SCIENCE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (EARLY PART)

Three great advances in science marked the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The first of these was the enunciation of the atomic theory by John Dalton (1766-1844). Dalton was led by careful reasoning on the results of chemical analysis to the conclusion that the atoms of different substances had different weights, and that in chemical combination atoms of various kinds were united together, being held in contact by some attractive force. Hence it followed that if an atom of weight A combined with an atom of weight B in more than one proportion the weights of one element, say B , must be present in an integer ratio, say B to $2B$ or B to $3B$, &c. It was this idea that distinguished Dalton's atomic theory from the mere unproved speculations of the Greek philosophers.

Dalton's theory was put forward about the year 1805.

He drew up a table of atomic weights from such information as was available at the time. Later on this was improved by other chemists. Dalton also invented a rather clumsy method of denoting the various elements by certain symbols, but these never came into general use. A far better system was suggested by Berzelius in which the element was represented by the initial letter of its Latin name, and the number of the atoms of that kind occurring in the molecule was denoted by a small number placed against the symbol: thus water is represented by the symbol H_2O .

This symbol signifies that two atoms of hydrogen are united to one of oxygen in the molecule of water. Any chemical change can be expressed by a chemical equation. Thus the action of

water on sodium is denoted by the equation $2\text{Na} + 2\text{H}_2\text{O} = 2\text{NaHO} + \text{H}_2$. This system immensely facilitated the progress of chemical knowledge. The symbol Na is an abbreviation of natrium. Each letter in these equations stands for an atom of that element, and a group of letters in contact for a molecule of that substance. Thus NaHO stands for a molecule of sodic hydrate. These symbolic methods effect an economy in intellectual effort. Dalton's atomic theory was soon very generally adopted by chemists.

The next great advance in knowledge was the invention of the voltaic cell or pile by Volta in Italy in 1799. This was the outcome of observations made by Galvani on the sudden motions of a frog's leg when an electrical machine was being worked near it.

Volta had his attention drawn to the subject and began to study the phenomenon, and the result of his work was the invention of an entirely new appliance which gave us the wonder-working electric current. Volta's pile in its first form consisted of a number of disks of zinc, copper, and cloth moistened with acidulated water. These were arranged in the order zinc, cloth, copper, zinc, cloth, copper, &c. When the last zinc and the last copper disk were joined by a wire this wire was found to possess very remarkable powers.

The wire became hot and, if the wire was cut and the ends placed in certain liquids such as water slightly acidulated, gas was found to be evolved at the immersed ends of the wires.

Moreover, if the number of plates in the pile was very large the ends of the pile exhibited electric charges of opposite sign and could give shocks or act upon an electroscope just as could a frictional electrical machine.

In the second form of Volta's pile a number of cups full of dilute sulphuric acid were placed in a row and plates of zinc and copper were put in the cups, the zinc in one cup being joined to the copper of the next cup: the last zinc was called the negative pole and the last copper was called the positive pole. Wires were connected to the poles. Terminal plates of platinum or gold were attached to the ends of these wires. If these plates

were immersed in a solution of a metallic salt such as sulphate of copper it was found that copper was deposited on the end of the negative wire and gas given off from the positive wire. This power of the current to undo chemical combination attracted universal attention and chemists everywhere began to experiment with this new agent.

Sir Humphry Davy, at the Royal Institution in London, had a large voltaic pile set up and almost at once made two important discoveries.

He attached pieces of charcoal to the terminal wires, and on bringing these carbon poles into contact and then slightly separating them a brilliant arch of light sprang across between the carbons, forming what we now call the electric arc.

Davy's next experiment was the decomposition of caustic potash. From this substance when in a molten state Davy obtained globules of a silvery white metal which was found to be the metal afterwards called Potassium. Potash was thus proved to be the hydrate of this metal. In the same way Davy obtained from molten caustic soda the metal Sodium. Other metals were later on extracted from other metallic salts by this process, subsequently called *electrolysis*.

We shall see later on that Faraday fully examined this phenomenon of electrolysis and stated all the laws of it.

These electrochemical researches gave strong support to the view that the atoms of elementary substances not only have definite weights, that of the hydrogen atom at first being taken as unity, but that they all have electric charges and that the forces holding together the atoms in a molecule are electric forces.

Some atoms generally carry a negative charge and some a positive charge and are called electronegative or electropositive elements. All subsequent research has justified this opinion.

No very important advances were made in the next twenty years in electricity or chemistry, but then a discovery was made almost by accident which has had an enormous influence upon human life.

That discovery was that around the wire joining the ends of

the Volta pile there is a magnetic field of force. This was the result of an observation by Oerstedt in 1820. It had long been suspected that there was some connexion between the phenomena of electricity and magnetism. But no one before 1820 had found it. Oerstedt then discovered that magnetic force exists round the circuit closing wire of the Volta pile distributed in circles with their centres on the wire.

This fact formed the basis for the upbuilding of a new branch of science called electromagnetism. The French philosopher Ampère noted Oerstedt's discovery at once, and made it the starting-point for a brilliant series of researches. He found that if the wire was coiled into a spiral, that spiral when traversed by the electric current had all the properties of a linear magnet. Two such spirals, if free to move, act on each other like bar magnets, their opposite poles attracting and similar poles repelling each other. Also, if suspended, such a spiral, called a *Solenoid*, could direct itself north and south like a magnetic compass-needle. Also steel needles placed within the spiral were permanently magnetized.

Oerstedt had shown that if a wire joining the terminals of a voltaic battery is placed parallel to and above a pivoted magnetic compass-needle the needle will deflect and try to stand out transversely to the wire.

If the battery wire is placed below the needle the deflection will be in the opposite direction. By coiling the battery wire many times round the needle so that the current flows in one direction above the needle and in the opposite direction below the needle the effect is greatly increased, and such an appliance is called a *galvanometer* and is of great use to detect feeble electric currents. Later on a small mirror was attached to the needle and a ray of light reflected from it on to a screen. The smallest movement of the needle is then visible. This is called a mirror galvanometer and is one of the most important tools of the electrical investigator.

Ampère well knew that if a magnetized steel wire having therefore a north and south pole is broken in half each part is found to possess two opposite poles, and however much the wire

may be broken in fragments each proves to be a perfect bipolar magnet. Hence Ampère drew the conclusion that in a steel magnet each particle or molecule is a magnet, and he suggested that this magnetism is due to electric currents circulating round the atoms or molecules. Magnetization therefore does not consist in the creation of a new power but simply in the arrangement in one direction of little molecular magnets.

This idea of Ampère is a good instance of the tendency of modern scientific thought to simplicity and unification of explanations. The older physicists of the previous centuries created in imagination a new 'ether' or a fresh 'imponderable fluid' to explain different physical phenomena. Thus combustion required its 'phlogiston', heat its 'caloric', light its 'corpuscles', electricity its two 'fluids', and magnetism the same. But this invention *ad hoc* of hypothetical substances is a mark of imperfect knowledge. We shall refer to this question again in connexion with the work of Joule on the mechanical theory of heat.

Continuing meanwhile the story of the study of electromagnetic effects we must note that in 1825 William Sturgeon, a self-taught genius, invented that powerful implement of research the electromagnet. He wound round an iron bar a coil of wire through which he could pass at pleasure an electric current from a battery, and found that when the current was 'on' the iron was powerfully magnetic but when the current was 'off' the magnetism ceased. Joseph Henry, in America, improved Sturgeon's electromagnet by employing many convolutions of fine silk- or cotton-covered wire in place of a single layer of bare wire and gave us then an electromagnet capable of being actuated at a distance by means of a small electric current. This instrument became one of the most potent appliances in technical science.

The action of a voltaic cell in creating an electric current gave rise to one of the great controversies of science. It was some time before ideas became clarified as to the particular measurable quantities involved. It was soon apparent that there was a marked difference between a single voltaic cell, even

a very large one, and a battery composed of many cells, even though in both cases the current generated might be the same.

G. S. Ohm was the first to place the theory on a solid basis by recognizing that three quantities were involved: first, the current produced; second, the electromotive force of the cell or battery, and third, the resistance of the circuit. Ohm's law is that the current is proportional to the electromotive force (E.M.F.) and inversely as the total resistance. The true source of this electromotive force was the source of the controversy.

Volta maintained it was due to the contact of the different metals in the circuit. Others, such as Faraday, that it arose from the chemical action in the cell. As in many other cases each side had a partial grip of the truth. When two substances are put in contact there is generally a difference in electrical state called a contact potential difference (P.D.) produced between them. Taking the complete circuit of a voltaic cell, including the connecting wire, there is on the whole an unbalanced potential difference in going round the circuit which is the electromotive force. But the production of the current requires expenditure of energy, and that is supplied by the chemical action, viz. the solution of the zinc in the sulphuric acid which takes place in the cell. Both actions are therefore present in the cell.

We pass on next to notice the scientific work of Michael Faraday (1791-1867) and its enormous influences on the scientific thought of Europe for the last century or more. Faraday had a combination of logical thought, inventive and imaginative power, and technical skill that is unexampled, and he was without question one of the greatest, even if not the very greatest, experimental philosopher the world has known. He began life in humble circumstances as a bookbinder's apprentice, but in 1812 was appointed assistant to Sir Humphry Davy at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, and when Davy died in 1829 Faraday was appointed to succeed him as Director of the laboratories. For nearly forty years he went regularly to his laboratory with plans for systematic persevering effort to gain fresh knowledge of the facts of Nature. He left at his

death in 1867 a legacy of knowledge to mankind of unspeakable value and utility.

Faraday's earliest achievements were in the field of chemistry. He liquefied chlorine and some other gases, but his most noteworthy chemical discovery was the first production of benzene. This valuable hydrocarbon (benzene) is the basis of all the dyestuff industry, whilst the study of its chemical compounds has greatly advanced scientific chemistry. In electricity he was the first to find a method of making a magnet rotate round an electric current.

The magnet, however, has two poles, and these tend to rotate round the current in opposite directions. The difficulty was to separate the action of the two poles. Faraday solved the problem in the neatest manner. He tethered one end of a small bar magnet to the bottom of a wine glass by a thread and filled the glass nearly with mercury so that the opposite end of the bar floated just above the mercury.

He placed at the centre of the mercury surface one wire of a voltaic battery, the other being dipped in at the edge of the mercury. The magnet pole above the mercury surface then rotated round the wire, travelling along the circular lines of magnetic force which Oerstedt had visualized. By a similar arrangement he made a flexible conductor carrying a current rotate round a magnetic pole.

Faraday's greatest achievement in the field of electrical discovery was that of the induction of electric currents. He had a profound belief in the unity of nature and that effects in one department are paralleled by similar effects in others.

He knew that when a conductor carries an electric charge it creates by *induction* a charge of opposite sign on all surrounding conductors. Some time before 1828 he appears to have asked himself whether there was not an analogous effect in the case of electric currents, and if one current could create others in wires in proximity to the first. His early experiments gave, however, no result, but on the 29th August 1831 he made the successful experiment by which he will be for ever known.

He wound on an iron ring two wires each covered with cotton

or tape to insulate the turns. These two wires may be denoted by the letters *A* and *B*. He connected the ends of the wire *B* to his galvanometer for detecting any current in it and he connected the ends of the wire *A* to a voltaic battery. He found that at the moment of making connexion between circuit *A* and the battery there was a momentary current in circuit *B* in the opposite direction to that in *A*. When the current in *A* was stopped there was a momentary current in *B* in the same direction as in *A*. These are called the induced secondary currents.

Faraday knew well that when the primary current flowed through the circuit *A* it made the iron a magnet. It therefore occurred to him to vary the experiment and substitute for the iron a permanent magnet. He accordingly wound a coil of insulated wire upon a pasteboard tube and connected this coil to his galvanometer. On thrusting a magnet into this coil he found, as he expected, that an induced current was created in the coil.

In the next place he merely passed the wire connecting the terminals of his galvanometer between the poles of a horseshoe magnet and found that a transitory current was created in the wire.

The key to the interpretation of the facts was now in his hand. He had long been accustomed to think of a permanent magnet as surrounded by a field of magnetic force distributed in curved lines through the space, and he saw that the basic fact was that whenever a wire or conductor cuts across any of these lines of magnetic force an electromotive force was created in it. Hence he tried one more conclusive experiment. He fixed a copper disk on an axle and placed the disk so as to rotate between the poles of his magnet, the plane of the disk being perpendicular to the direction of the lines of force of the magnet. He fixed two elastic pieces of copper to touch the disk, one near the centre and one near the edge, and these 'brushes' he connected by wires to his galvanometer. On rotating the disk he found that the galvanometer indicated a continual electric current as long as the disk rotated.

By this striking series of experiments, made in the autumn

days of 1831, Faraday not only gave us the facts which afforded a starting-point for the invention of all subsequent dynamo machines, alternators, and transformers, making it possible to generate large electric currents by mechanical power, but he welded the facts together by a single illuminating statement or generalization which includes them all. His work here gave us the most perfect example of the true scientific method of research in which facts are so collected by experiment and observation that they of themselves point the way to a broad generalization not based on any *a priori* speculation.

Another example of this method given in Faraday's work was his elucidation of the true function of insulators in electric phenomena.

Faraday shared with Newton a profound objection to the idea that one material substance can act on another at a distance without any intermediate machinery. Hence when he began to consider the powers by which one electrically charged conductor creates an opposite charge on a distant conductor, he saw that he must study the action of the intervening insulator, or dielectric as Faraday called it.

For this purpose he constructed a sort of Leyden jar consisting of a brass sphere supported in the centre of a spherical sheet of metal, the intervening dielectric of which could be made at pleasure of resin, glass, sulphur, shellac, or wax. By ingenious experiments he proved that the quantity of electricity that can be stored up in such jar at a given electric pressure or potential is dependent on the nature of the dielectric, and Faraday measured what are called the dielectric constants for several insulators. In this, unknown to him, he had been anticipated by Henry Cavendish who, however, had not published his researches.

Faraday then proceeded to apply to electrostatics the same idea of *lines of force* he had found to be fruitful in magnetism. Just as he pictured to himself a magnet as surrounded by a field of curved lines of magnetic force, so he pictured to himself the electrified conductor as surrounded by a field of lines of electrostatic force.

Also he saw that these always terminate on charges of electricity of opposite sign, and that what we call charges of electricity are only phenomena occurring at the ends of these lines. In short, the electric charge is not a state produced *on* the conductor, but *in* the dielectric. This explains at once why electric charge appears only on the surface of conductors, and also that we cannot produce a charge of one kind of electricity without an equal charge of the other kind.

Faraday thus revolutionized all previous ideas, and his conceptions formed the starting-point for new advances.

In the same manner he took up the subject of the decomposition of chemical compounds by an electric current which is called electrolysis. Substances in liquid form which can be electrolysed are called electrolytes. It is not every liquid which is an electrolyte. For instance a solution of common salt (chloride of sodium) is an electrolyte but a solution of sugar in water is not.

Faraday suggested a certain nomenclature which has been adopted in reference to these electrolytic effects. He proved by experiment that when an electric current is sent through an electrolyte by means of two metal plates, called the anode and cathode, the electrolyte is separated into two parts, called the ions, which travel in opposite directions. If the same current is passed through two different electrolytes the weight of ions deposited or evolved at each pole is proportional to their chemical equivalents, and Faraday showed how this could be used to measure out a required quantity of electricity. Later on von Helmholtz pointed out that this proved that there is such a thing as an atom of electricity, and that each ion has associated with it the same quantity of electricity or an exact integer multiple of that quantity. Faraday's work on electrolysis cleared up the subject and prepared the way for the modern atomic theory of electricity.

Another of Faraday's great triumphs of research was his establishment of the first connexion between the facts of magnetism and light. He discovered that if a ray of plane polarized light, that is, one in which the vibrations are confined to a single plane, is passed through a bar of heavy glass which is

a borate of lead, and if the bar is placed in a magnetic field so that the ray passes along the lines of force, the plane of polarization is rotated. In the great paper in which Faraday described this epoch-making discovery he mentions that he tried whether electric fields would produce the same result as magnetic fields, but he did not obtain any definite result. It was left to Dr. John Kerr (1824-1907), a Scottish physicist, to discover in 1875 that strong electric fields acting on certain dielectrics such as glass or bisulphide of carbon bestowed on them double-refraction. This property is now practically applied in the so-called Kerr Cell, which has been used in modern television apparatus.

We must now pass on to notice the way in which scientific minds were prepared for the reception of a vast generalization called the Conservation of Energy. As we have seen, many thinkers, like Faraday, had been impressed with the idea that there was an interconnexion between the so-called forces of Nature.

It was not, however, until quantitative measurements began to be made that it was possible to say with any certainty that such interconnexion actually did exist. One or two of the Greek philosophers had caught glimpses of the idea that heat is motion, but with them it was mere speculation.

Francis Bacon (1561-1626) maintained with some confidence the same notion but with no definite proof. The physicists of the eighteenth century held to the idea that Heat was a material substance to which Lavoisier gave the name *Caloric*. It belonged to the class of Imponderable fluids. The first to give a valid argument against this view was Count Rumford, the founder of the Royal Institution of Great Britain; Rumford had noticed that an enormous amount of heat was given out in boring cannon, and he made a special experiment with a cylinder of brass pressed against a borer and was struck with the fact that an almost unlimited amount of heat could be generated in this way. It is needless to say that if heat is a material substance it would be impossible to obtain an infinite amount of it from a finite amount of a material body.

In the eighteenth century a great controversy had raged

concerning the proper measurement of Force. Newton had defined it by the rate at which momentum is changed, and it was therefore taken as proportional to the velocity. But Leibnitz thought it was proportional to the square of the velocity. This controversy went on for about forty years. Then it was closed by D'Alembert, who showed that it was a mere question of words. In short, we must begin with definitions. If a force overcomes a resistance through a certain distance we call the product of force and distance the 'work done'. The term 'work' here used is a technical term.

If then a force is applied to move a body from a state of rest to a state in which it has a velocity V , it is easy to prove that the 'work done' is proportional to the square of the velocity acquired.

The product of the mass of a body and the square of its velocity was called its *vis viva*, or living force, whilst the product of its mass and velocity simply is called its momentum.

We can, however, show that the 'work done' in giving a mass m a velocity v is measured by half the product of the mass and the square of the velocity. This is now called the kinetic energy of the moving mass. Energy may be broadly defined as that which causes physical phenomena and without it nothing would happen.

But Energy is of two kinds: Kinetic, depending on motion, and Potential, which depends on some state of strain or is the result of 'work done' on a body.

Thus a motor-car in motion possesses kinetic energy but a heavy weight lifted to a height and held there possesses potential energy. So also does a coiled or bent spring.

A common unit of Energy is the foot-pound, which is the work done in lifting a weight of 1 lb. a foot high against gravity. It is the equivalent of a mass of 1 lb. moving with a velocity of 8 feet per second. A usual unit of quantity of heat is the heat required to raise 1 lb. of water 1 degree Fahrenheit at about 60° F.

We might then ask the following question: If heat is a form of atomic energy or the effect of the kinetic energy of atoms,

what is the equivalent in foot-pounds of 1 pound-degree of heat? J. P. Joule (1818-89) was the first to give a definite answer to this question.

The older philosophers, who maintained that heat was a substance called caloric, explained the heating of a metal bar when it is squeezed or hammered by saying that the caloric was squeezed out of it just as water may be squeezed out of a wet sponge. But Sir Humphry Davy gave a blow to this idea by showing that ice could be melted by rubbing together two pieces of ice.

Now since it requires addition of heat to melt ice but this heat does not raise its temperature, this experiment cannot be explained on the caloric theory, but it is perfectly intelligible on the theory that heat is due to the kinetic energy of atoms or molecules which are set in motion by the friction.

Joule arranged therefore, in 1845 and 1847, an experiment in which he stirred water by a paddle-wheel driven by a falling weight like a clock. He measured the rise in temperature of a known mass of water and the work done by the weight in falling through a known distance, and, after correction for errors, found that 1 pound degree of heat was equivalent to 772 foot-pounds of mechanical work. Later on this value was found to be more nearly 779 foot-pounds.

Hence to produce a certain amount of heat a definite amount of mechanical work or other form of energy must be expended.

Joule's earliest experiments on this subject were described in 1843, when the numbers he gave for the mechanical equivalent were somewhat in error, and the correct figure given above was the result of later experiments.

Joule also very carefully determined the law according to which electric currents of various strengths produced heat in a conductor and demonstrated what is now called Joule's Law, viz. that the heat produced in a given time is proportional to the product of the resistance of the wire and to the square of the strength of the current.

We have then at the present time the means of determining the 'work' equivalent in mechanical units by any given quantity

of heat, electricity, or light; in short, we can prove that when there is a transformation of these physical agencies it is by definite equivalent in mechanical work.

Hence it became evident that just as in chemical actions there is no reaction or destruction of Matter, so in physical transformations there is no creation or destruction of something called Energy.

We shall see later on that modern researches prove that these two laws are identical because Matter and Energy can also be converted into one another at a certain rate of exchange.

We can find other examples of the true method of scientific inquiry in the investigations which were made in the early part of the nineteenth century on the nature of Light and especially the support given to the undulatory theory. The early advocates of this theory, like Huygens, seem to have assumed that a Light wave was similar to a wave of Sound in air. In this latter case the wave is a wave of condensations and rarefaction and the only quantity which varies is a scalar one, viz. the density of the air at any particular point.

There are certain optical phenomena which indicate that a ray of light may have different properties on its sides and this cannot be the case if the wave is a wave of compression or any form of scalar wave. This want of symmetry in a certain class of light ray is said to be due to the polarization of the ray. The true founder of the undulatory theory of light was Huygens, who in 1690 stated it in definite form, on the assumption of an ether which can vibrate.

The phenomenon of polarization may best be explained in the following way. If we take a slice of a certain crystal called tourmaline cut in a particular manner a ray of light which has passed through it can also pass through a second slice of the crystal which is held with its long axis parallel to that of the first crystal. If, however, the second crystal is turned round so that the long axes of the two are at right angles, then no light will pass the second crystal. This shows that after passing through the first crystal the ray of light has some want of symmetry on its two sides at right angles to each other. In a

wave of sound the vibratory motions of the air particles are to and fro along the direction of propagation of the wave. But in this case there can be no want of symmetry.

Huygens could not explain this fact with regard to Light because he had assumed that the light vibrations were longitudinal like the sound vibrations.

Also, Huygens could not explain by his wave theory the formations of shadows and why a ray of light does not bend round opaque obstacles. These difficulties were not overcome until the matter was considered by Thomas Young and Fresnel. The former was Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Royal Institution of Great Britain and one of the most acute minds of his age. The latter was a French mathematician of immense ability.

It was Fresnel who had the happy thought that the vibrations which constitute light must be at right angles to the direction of propagation of the ray. But this implied that the ether postulated as the medium of the vibrations must have properties like a solid material body because it is only in such body that transverse vibrations of a wave can take place. It was a long time before this idea of an elastic solid ether was generally accepted, and only then when various mathematicians had shown that it was possible on this hypothesis to explain most of the phenomena of optics.

Thomas Young made an experiment of the following kind. Light from one source and of one colour was allowed to fall on a screen pierced with two small holes very near each other. On a white screen placed beyond, a series of black and light bands were seen, called interference bands. These are due to the fact that two rays of light fall on the screen at each point, one from each hole.

If the difference of the distances from that point to the two holes is equal to an odd multiple of half the wave-length for that light the two rays must annihilate each other. If, however, the difference of the distances is a whole wave-length or a multiple of it the two rays enhance each other. This is called the principle of Interference.

By this principle Fresnel explained perfectly the linear propagation of light. Other observers had noticed that light does spread a little round opaque objects, and that although a large object casts a fairly sharp shadow a very fine hair does not cast a shadow.

Huygens originally made the suggestion that when a wave of light advances through the ether at each stage every point on the wave front may be regarded as a fresh centre of disturbance, so that in each successive position the disturbance of the ether is due to the joint action of all these waves proceeding from every point on the main wave front.

Fresnel showed that if we draw a line from the origin of the light to a point on a screen, then right and left of this line the wave front may be divided into little sections the waves from which extinguish themselves by interference of waves from the halves of each section, except for those sections quite near to the place where the said line cuts the wave front.

He thus explained the rectilinear propagation of light, or the fact that it proceeds in straight lines and forms rays; and he also explained the slight bending of the rays round the edges of obstacles which is called diffraction.

When these fundamental ideas had been established, viz. the fact that vibrations of light are at right angles to the direction of propagation, and the principle of Interference and that of Diffraction, mathematical physicists led by Fresnel, Young, and others such as Brewster, Arago, Airy, and Hamilton found that nearly all the then known optical phenomena could be explained by this undulatory theory. Also one great prediction by Hamilton of conical refraction was subsequently experimentally confirmed by Lloyd.

Nevertheless there were certain great difficulties in connexion with the hypothesis of an elastic solid ether which were not overcome.

We shall see later on that Maxwell's theory of electromagnetic waves conquered some of them but still other facts since discovered seem to demand something like a corpuscular theory of light in conjunction with a wave theory as Newton surmised.

Returning then briefly to the general theory of Radiation mention must be made of Joseph Fourier's great work on the conduction and radiation of heat. Fourier (1768-1830) was one of the most accomplished of the French mathematicians of the early part of the nineteenth century, and his work on Heat required the development of new mathematical methods of great novelty and beauty. He gave methods by which the distribution of heat in a conducting solid can be determined for all future time knowing its condition in the present and certain constants of the material.

Another great investigator on the same subject was Sadi Carnot (1837-1894), a French engineer who endeavoured to discover how heat can produce mechanical effects. A theorem of his, called Carnot's Cycle, forms one of the foundation stones of the science of Thermodynamics.

Sir William Thomson, later Lord Kelvin (1824-1907), seized upon this work of Carnot and made it the basis of his earliest suggestion as to an absolute scale of temperature, and in many remarkable and epoch-making papers Thomson assisted in extending and completing the mechanical theory of Heat or the relations of Heat and Work forming the science of Thermodynamics. Thus in the later part of the first half of the nineteenth century the foundations began to be laid secure of a great generalization connected with Energy and the true facts concerning the operation of the steam engine and hot-air engine or any device for obtaining mechanical work out of heat began to be understood. Countless facts show us that mechanical work or kinetic energy of large masses of matter can be completely converted into Heat, as when the motion of a railway train is arrested by the brakes.

There is an exact equivalent of 1 pound of water raised 1 degree Fahrenheit for every 779 foot-pounds of work. This is called the first law of Thermodynamics. In metrical measurement it is equivalent to 1 calorie or 1 gramme of water raised 1 degree centigrade by Work equal to 42 million ergs.

But there is a second law of Thermodynamics of equal importance, viz., that we cannot convert the whole of any quantity

of heat into mechanical work. At every such conversion some of the heat passes to a lower temperature and its utility for work production is diminished. This was called by Lord Kelvin in 1852 the Dissipation of Energy, and it is intimately connected with a similar principle called the Increase of Entropy.

Before 1850 the general principles of the Science of Energetics had therefore been laid down, especially by Lord Kelvin, Rankine, Clausius, Meyer, and Helmholtz, and the last-named had published in 1847 in Berlin his famous essay on the Conservation of Energy, or Conservation of Force as it is sometimes wrongly called. The recognition that Energy has the same claim to reality as Matter and that it can be transformed in various ways by definite ratio but is indestructible and uncreatable by human power had great influence on subsequent scientific thought. It put an end at once and for ever to the search after perpetual motion and gave a simple means of solving many mechanical problems. Another principle of equal importance is that of Least Action.

The term Action here used has a special meaning which came into use in the middle of the eighteenth century. Maupertuis when President of the Berlin Academy under Frederick the Great had some vague notions that operations in Nature were conducted with an economy of force or of time.

It was known that a ray of light, however much it may be reflected or refracted, passes from its source to its terminal point in less time than would be occupied if it went by any other path. This idea was enlarged by the mathematicians Bernoulli and Euler and finally led in the hands of Lagrange (1736-1813) to the Calculus of Variations. The term Action is a name for the time integral of the kinetic energy of a moving body subject to its total energy being constant, and the Principle of Least Action asserts that if we divide up the path of the moving body into small elements and multiply together the kinetic energy during that space by the time taken to describe it and sum up all these products, the sum will be less than it would be if the body described any closely adjacent

paths with the same total energy. Or else the time integral of the difference between the kinetic and potential energies is a minimum subject to the total time of the motion being constant.

This Principle of Least Action is a more fundamental one in Dynamics than the Conservation of Energy, and Sir William Hamilton of Dublin (1805-1865) founded upon it a method of dealing with the problems of mechanics of great power.

It will not be possible to conclude this section without some brief reference to the progress of Biological Science during the period under review.

Though Harvey (1578-1657) had discovered the circulation of the blood in 1628 and some progress was made in determining the functions of the principal internal organs in the mammal body, yet the biological sciences before the invention of the microscope was principally taxonomic, that means the classification of animals and plants on a basis of structural resemblances.

The division of these into species and genera was the chief occupation. There are probably over 600,000 species of animals, and of these more than 400,000 are insects, a large proportion of the latter being extremely small and many not visible without magnification.

Linnaeus (1707-78) and Cuvier (1769-1832) are the two leading taxonomists; but until the invention of the microscope (*circa* A.D. 1600) little progress was made in histology, that is the structure of the tissues of animals and plants.

The fact that living bodies, animal and vegetable, consist of minute bodies or units called cells was the discovery of Schleiden and Schwann about 1838 and it marks the new departure in biology, just as the definite proofs of the atomic structure of matter by Dalton marked an epoch in chemistry. These cells are so to speak the bricks out of which animal and vegetable bodies are built up, the lowest form of living organism consisting of a single cell and larger organisms being produced by the continual multiplication of cells.

Then another important step was the recognition about the middle of the nineteenth century by von Mohl, Max Schultz,

and others that the essential living material in cells, called protoplasm, appears to be the same in all cells both animal and vegetable.

As improvements were made in the microscope it became possible to study more minute cell structure, and this branch of science is now called Cytology.

In most cells we can distinguish three parts: first, a cell wall; second, cell contents in which a most important part is, third, the cell nucleus. Just as the chemical atom of which non-living substances are made was once thought to be a structureless mass but is now known to have a very complicated structure, so the cell of which living organisms are built up has a most elaborate structure which holds in it the secret of Life.

Further mention of the progress of biology will be made in considering the development of scientific ideas in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

7. SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

(a) *Chemistry.*

During the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century chemical research had been very active in discovering new elementary substances, that is, substances which could not be resolved into any simpler bodies, and innumerable compounds of these elements had been prepared.

Chemical analysis had made great progress and chemists then turned their attention to reducing this chaos of facts to order and discerning general laws of chemical combination.

Not only were inorganic compounds known but many substances such as alcohol, turpentine, or urea, which were products either of vegetable or animal life, had been studied. At first these so-called organic substances were supposed to be formed only under the influence of a hypothetical vital force, but in 1828 Wöhler produced synthetically urea, a characteristic constituent of the urine of mammals. It then became clear that there is no sharp division between inorganic and organic

substances. It is now recognized that these latter are particularly the carbon compounds. The element carbon possesses the special power of combining with itself so that carbon atoms can be linked together in rows or loops and these can unite with other elements, particularly oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen, forming these organic substances.

Chemists then began to search diligently for general laws and as a result of the work of Berzelius, Lavoisier, Gmelin, Liebig, Wöhler, Laurent, Gerhardt, Wurtz, Williamson, and Frankland four great principles were brought to light. The first of these was that of *valency* in the elements. It was found for instance that whilst an atom of chlorine, bromine, or iodine could unite with one atom of hydrogen to form compounds, an atom of oxygen or of sulphur could combine with 2 atoms of hydrogen, again an atom of nitrogen required 3 atoms of hydrogen and an atom of carbon 4 atoms of hydrogen to form neutral or saturated compounds. It was then evident that the various elements were equivalent respectively to 1, 2, 3, 4, &c., atoms of hydrogen in forming compounds and this was called their valency. In some cases an element such as nitrogen might have double valencies, being sometimes equal to 3 and sometimes to 5 atoms of hydrogen.

The second great fact detected was that groups of atoms of elements might be bonded together so as to form a *radical* which acts like an atom of some element in compounds, and these radicals could have valencies of 1, 2, 3, &c. Thus, for instance, the union of 1 atom of hydrogen with 1 atom of oxygen makes the radical hydroxyl (HO), and 1 atom of nitrogen combines with 2 atoms of oxygen to form the radical nitryl (NO₂); also in organic compounds groups such as CH₃, C₂H₅ are radicals.

Then the third broad generalization established was the theory of *types*: viz. that an immense number of compounds are formed by substituting either elements or radicals for hydrogen in a few simple typical molecules.

Thus for example the four substances hydrochloric acid (HCl), water (H₂O), ammonia (H₃N), marsh gas (H₄C) are taken as typical.

Now if we substitute for one of the atoms of hydrogen in water 1 atom of the monovalent metals potassium (K) or sodium (Na) we obtain potassic hydrate or caustic potash KHO and similarly for sodium (NaHO).

We can also substitute organic radicals for the hydrogen. Thus if we replace 1 atom of hydrogen in water by the monovalent radical C_2H_5 we obtain ethylic alcohol, and if we substitute the same radical for both the atoms of hydrogen we obtain ethylic ether.

This idea of chemical types and substitution by elements or radicals has been enormously fruitful in provoking new research.

An off-shoot from it is the graphic method of chemical symbolism in which little lines are drawn from the symbol denoting the atom of the element to show its valency.

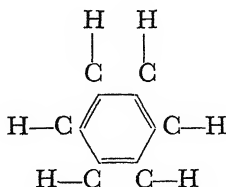
Thus $H-$, $O=$, $-N=$, $=C=$ denote respectively monovalent, divalent, trivalent, and tetravalent elements; also, $=C=O$, $-N=H_2$ denote divalent or monovalent radicals.

The fourth important generalization was the detection of the *periodic law* in the atomic weights of the elements.

If all the known elements from Hydrogen, with smallest atomic weight, to Uranium, with the largest, are written down in order of their atomic weights proportionately along a horizontal line, and if any other property common to all, such as atomic volume, which is the atomic weight divided by the density, is marked off against each one by a line proportional to the atomic volume or other property drawn perpendicularly to the horizontal line along which distances proportional to the atomic weights are laid out on some scale, we find the tops of these vertical lines delineate a wavy curve and it is found that the particular atomic properties repeat themselves periodically along this curve. This is called the periodic law and was first detected by Newlands, Mendeléeff, and Lothar Meyer.

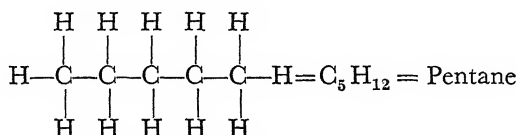
An important suggestion was made in 1865 by August Kekulé concerning the structure of the molecule of benzene, the hydrocarbon discovered by Faraday. The proportions of hydrogen to carbon are 1 atom to 1 atom but the true chemical formula was found to be C_6H_6 . Kekulé suggested that the

carbon atoms formed a hexagonal ring and the hydrogen atoms were each attached to one of the carbons, thus, Benzene



This idea proved to be of the greatest value, and although other arrangements have been suggested the benzene carbon-ring theory has stood the test of time.

On the other hand, in the so-called paraffin hydrocarbons the carbon atoms are joined in series each to each by 1 bond, thus:



In this case the carbon atoms are joined up in a *string* whilst in the benzene derivatives they are in a *ring*. This ring and string theory of the carbon compounds has clarified enormously the mode of regarding these complex carbon compounds. It may be added that benzene rings themselves can join up in series forming compound rings.

The brilliant researches of Sir Edward Frankland on the organo-metallic bodies confirmed this theory of valency and radicals.

Thus Frankland discovered that if we take oxide of zinc, in which 1 atom of divalent zinc is joined to 1 atom of divalent oxygen, we can substitute for the latter two molecules of the monovalent radical C_2H_5 and produce zinc ethide, $\text{Zn}(\text{C}_2\text{H}_5)_2$.

Frankland prepared in this way a large number of the organo-metallic bodies in which metals were combined with organic radicals. In the benzene ring we can number the atoms of hydrogen all the way round the ring 1 to 6. If then we replace 1 atom of hydrogen by 1 atom of chlorine it does not

matter which atom of hydrogen is replaced. Only one compound with the formula C_6H_5Cl is known.

If, on the other hand, we replace two atoms of hydrogen by two of chlorine to form the compound $C_6H_4Cl_2$ it does make a difference whether the two atoms of chlorine occupy the positions 1 and 2, or 1 and 3, or 1 and 4, but 1 and 5 is the same as 1 and 3 and 1 and 6 is the same as 1 and 2. Hence three such chlorides can be formed which are called *isomers*. They have the same chemical formula but different properties. Thus the idea became familiar that a chemical molecule was a structure in space and that the relative position of atoms in a molecule was as important as the kind of atom in it.

This was confirmed by the discovery that various chemical substances when in solution could rotate the plans of polarization of a ray of light some in the direction and some in the opposite like the two tartaric acids or salts, though they might have the same chemical formulae.

Although chemical analysis of solids, liquids, and gases had made great progress, yet in nearly all cases it was necessary to have a sufficient supply of the material to be analysed.

In 1859, however, by the joint work of Bunsen and Kirchhof in Heidelberg a method called spectral analysis was perfected which enabled us to analyse even the atmospheres of distant stars.

Newton had employed a glass prism to resolve a beam of white light into a continuous spectrum. He used a rather large beam of light coming from a round hole. Fraunhofer (1787-1826), a German optician, employed a narrow slit and observed the spectrum of sunlight by a prism with the refracting edge parallel to the slit, in 1814. He noted in the spectrum of sunlight a large number (600) of black lines and denoted the principal lines by letters of the alphabet.

Also, he observed the same thing in the spectra of stars. Wollaston in England had previously noticed the same black lines in the solar spectrum.

The riddle of the meaning of these black lines was solved by Bunsen and Kirchhof.

They found that a non-luminous flame in which some common salt was placed gave a bright yellow light of which the spectrum consisted solely of two yellow lines very near together. On comparing this salt spectrum with that of sunlight they found that the double black line Fraunhofer had denoted by D occupied exactly the same position. If, on the other hand, the light from an electric arc was passed through a flame impregnated with salt or any compound of sodium the resulting spectrum showed a black line in the same position as the yellow line in the spectrum of the salted flame. Hence the important conclusion drawn was that a vapour or a gas absorbs light of the same wave-length as that which it emits when incandescent.

This gave at once an explanation of the black lines in the solar or stellar spectra. An incandescent solid emits light which yields a continuous spectrum, that is, consists of all the rainbow colours without breaks. An incandescent vapour gives light which yields a spectrum of bright lines spaced apart.

The solid body or photosphere of our sun or the stars emits white light but over the photosphere lies an atmosphere of incandescent metallic vapours or of gases. These selectively absorb some rays, and the result is a spectrum crossed with black lines.

By comparing this with the spectra of various metals or gases rendered incandescent by an electric spark we can determine what vapours, gases, or metals exist in the absorbing layers of sun and stars.

This method of spectrum analysis put a new and powerful means of research into the hands of the chemist, physicist, and astronomer. Sir William Huggins was one of the first to reap a great harvest of new knowledge by it in physical astronomy.

(b) *Physics.*

In physical research some of the chief work done in the latter half of the nineteenth century up to 1895 consisted in the refinement of quantitative methods of measurement and the very exact determination of the principal constants of Nature.

In 1862 the British Association had appointed a committee

to deal with this question. Before that time many arbitrary units were in existence not directly related, and in particular the British system of fundamental measurements of mass, length, volume area, and weight were a system of unrelated magnitudes causing great waste of time in calculations. The Committee decided that the metric system based on the Metre must be used, but they decided that the unit of length should be the centimetre or one-hundredth part of the standard metre prototype preserved at Sèvres in France, and that the unit of mass should be the gramme or one-thousandth part of the kilogramme prototype also preserved at Sèvres. This system in which the centimetre, gramme, and mean solar second are the units of length, mass, and time is known as the C.G.S. system and is now universally adopted. Derived units of force (the dyne), work (the erg), and heat (the calorie) were adopted and a complete system of electric and magnetic absolute units set up starting from an absolute electrostatic unit of quantity and an absolute electromagnetic unit of current, and also certain multiples of these of convenient size which received names from eminent men such as the ampere (current), volt (potential), ohm (resistance), farad (capacity), henry (inductance). Also a unit of work (the joule) and power (the watt).

The ratio of these electrostatic to the corresponding electromagnetic units involved a constant equal to the velocity of light, which has again and again been determined as very near to 300,000 kilometres per second.

The very important advance in scientific thought of this period was, however, the enunciation of Maxwell's theory of electricity and his theory of light as an electromagnetic wave propagation. James Clerk Maxwell (1831-79) was one of the greatest philosophers of the nineteenth century. His thoughts were very early turned to Faraday's work, especially to the latter's theory of lines of force. Maxwell shared with Newton and Faraday a profound objection to the idea of action at a distance, or that one body or substance could affect another at a distance without intermediate machinery. He set himself therefore to endeavour to give mathematical form and definiteness

to Faraday's conception of lines of electric and magnetic force and to the function of the insulator or dielectric in electric phenomena. He considered that when an electric charge is given to a conductor it makes a 'displacement' in the surrounding dielectric. Maxwell did not define this displacement in terms of any mechanical ideas, e.g. thrust, twist, rotation, but it was simply a measurable electrical quantity. Maxwell's next idea was that the laws which Ampère and Faraday had found to hold good in conductors held also for insulators.

Six fundamental quantities are defined; they are *electric force* (E) producing *electric displacement* (D), magnetic force (H) producing *magnetic flux* (B), and two specific qualities of the dielectric, dielectric constant (k) and magnetic permeability (μ).

Then Maxwell enunciated two fundamental relations which are called 'Maxwell's equations':

1. The line integral of electric force round any unit of area in the dielectric is equal to the time rate of decrease of the magnetic flux through it.
2. The line integral of the magnetic force round any unit of the area in the dielectric is equal to $12.56 (4\pi)$ times the time rate of change of the displacement through it.

From these equations Maxwell deduced that the electric displacement or force and magnetic flux or force are propagated through the dielectric with a velocity equal to the reciprocal of the square root of the product of the dielectric constant and the magnetic permeability. This velocity is that of Light through the dielectric. Hence it follows that Light is an electromagnetic vibration, the electric and magnetic forces being at right angles to each other and to the direction of propagation of the wave. The velocity of the wave is 300,000 kilometres per second in empty space.

Maxwell sent to the Royal Society of London in October 1864 a remarkable paper containing these new ideas entitled 'A Dynamical Theory of the Electromagnetic Field', which a competent authority after Maxwell's death in 1879 declared to be one of the greatest productions of the human mind.

Maxwell collected all his work on this subject in a great *Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism* published by him in 1873. It was a consequence of Maxwell's views that it should be possible to create electromagnetic radiation with wave-lengths much longer than those which create light by purely electrical methods.

Owing to other occupations and to his early and lamented death Maxwell never attempted to produce practically the electromagnetic waves he had predicted. That achievement was reserved for Hertz eight or nine years after Maxwell's decease.

H. R. Hertz (1857-1894) was a favourite pupil of Helmholtz and was Professor of Physics at Karlsruhe in Germany. He was stimulated by Helmholtz to investigate experimentally the consequences of Maxwell's theory and in 1888 published his most important paper describing the method he had discovered of creating and detecting Maxwell's waves.

Maxwell's theory abolished the necessity for the hypothesis of an elastic solid ether with all its connected difficulties and made it necessary only to assume that space, or some electromagnetic medium filling space, could experience some change called displacement and that this displacement whilst increasing or diminishing created a correlated change called magnetic flux.

This is an example of the progress of scientific thought by the reduction of all hypotheses as to the unseen things in Nature to the lowest possible limit. We know nothing about any ether having elasticity or inertia, but we do know that empty space can have electric displacement made on it under the action of electric force and we have therefore a basis of fact for Maxwell's theory but none for the elastic solid ether theory.

Hertz discovered that Maxwell's waves could be created by furnishing two metal rods each with small balls at one end and metal plates at the other. These were placed in line with the balls very near each other. Then an induction coil had its secondary terminals connected to the balls so that the rods were continually charged and then discharged by a spark across

the gap. This produced electric oscillations in the rods, and electric waves radiated from them.

Hertz also discovered a method by which he could detect these waves. He bent a wire into a circle and provided the ends of the wire with brass balls separated by a very small gap. This circular wire was called a *resonator*. By choosing a proper length of wire the resonator could be tuned to the same periodic time of oscillation as the transmitter. If the resonator was placed at a distance from the transmitter and held in a certain position, then when the transmitter was in action a small spark was seen at the resonator gap. By this apparatus Hertz was able to show that the waves radiated from the transmitter had all the properties of waves of light and could be reflected by metal sheets and refracted like rays of light by a prism made of paraffin wax. These very remarkable experiments excited the greatest interest in every scientific laboratory and were repeated by numerous physicists. Thus it was found that in accordance with Maxwell's theory we could produce waves in space of great wave-length which could not affect the eye yet had all the powers of visible light. The resonator which Hertz employed was, however, not very sensitive. An observation made by Branly in France and some experiments made by Sir Oliver Lodge in England provided a far more sensitive device called by Lodge a *coherer*, which consisted of a tube containing some metallic filings.

In its ordinary condition the tube does not conduct electricity but if an electric oscillation passes through the filings then they become a conductor and hence can pass current of electricity. This can then set in action a telegraph relay or other recording instrument. By this arrangement wireless telegraphy was rendered possible, but it remained for G. Marconi to complete the invention by his important addition of the aerial wire; this he did in 1896.

He put a plate of metal in the earth connected with one spark ball; the other spark ball he joined to a length of wire upheld by a mast 100 or 150 feet high. By this means he made an oscillator capable of creating electric waves about 1,000 feet or more in wave-length.

By placing a key in the primary circuit of the induction coil he was able to make signals on the Morse code and so send messages to a distance without connecting wires. The immense modern achievements in wireless telegraphy and telephony and especially speech and music broadcasting are due to the progressive inventions and improvements in the Thermionic Valve. The first form of this appliance called a two-electrode valve was invented by the writer of this article in 1904 and the subsequent additions to it have given us the three-, four-, and five-electrode valves, commonly called the triode, tetrode, and pentode valves. The word valve also originated with the writer as the general name of the appliance.

We shall return to this subject again later. Meanwhile we must mention another important advance. It was found that the spectrum of stars could furnish means for enabling the speed of the star in the line of sight to be determined. This is based upon a principle called the Doppler principle, from the physicist who first drew attention to it. It may be explained as follows:

If a train is approaching a station with its whistle sounding it will be noticed that on passing the station the pitch of the note drops. This is because as the whistle approaches the sound waves are squeezed together or shortened and as the whistle recedes the waves are lengthened out—which lowers the pitch. The same thing happens with Light. If a star is coming towards us each black line in its spectrum is shifted a little towards the violet end, and if the star is going away from us the lines in its spectrum are shifted a little towards the red end. From these shifts we can calculate the speed of the star in the line of sight.

This method has been of enormous use in astronomy. It has also been used to determine the rotation of celestial bodies by observing the relative shift of the spectrum lines on opposite sides of the disk.

Broadly speaking then, we have as great achievements of the second half of the nineteenth century, up to 1896, the increase in our methods of exact physical measurement and the practical realization of Maxwell's predictions on electromagnetic

radiation compelling us to alter entirely our previous conceptions of the nature of light and of a possible ether, whilst at the same time these advances in theory prepared the way for the great inventions which have given us wireless telegraphy and broadcasting and revolutionized our methods for transmitting intelligence round the world.

(c) *Biology.*

Turning then to the progress of biology we find that at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century new departures took place which had an immense influence on subsequent public thought on fundamental matters.

Great progress had been made in the first half of this century in physiology, anatomy, and histology in understanding the structure and mode of operation of living organisms. Also, the progress in physical science generally had diffused a widespread conviction of the uniformity of events in Nature and disinclination to accept the occurrence of any events out of this observed order.

Naturalists such as Buffon and Erasmus Darwin had begun, however, to ask themselves how the enormous number of animal and vegetable species had come into existence. The idea had already arisen that they were not all separate creations, and Lamarck (1744-1829) had put forward the idea that acquired characters and powers could be inherited and made permanent.

But it was reserved for Charles Darwin (1809-82) and Alfred Russell Wallace (1823-1913) to formulate some novel views in precise form. Darwin published in 1859 the first edition of his book *The Origin of Species*, and it immediately attracted great attention. Very briefly Darwin's theory of Natural Selection, as he called it, is as follows:

There is a very prolific procreation in all animal and vegetable life, but owing to the limitations of food and nourishment there is an immense competition or struggle for existence in organic life.

There are, however, small but very numerous accidental

variations in the ova, seeds, or germs, and those variations which give any advantage in the fight for life enable the possessors to survive against the others, and this process by repetition produces the great variety of animal and vegetable forms.

On this view the keen eyesight of the bird is due to the fact that the birds with best eyesight are able to pick up best the worms or insects and to gain more food and hence survive and their progeny in turn have better sight.

The long neck of the giraffe is due to the survival of those animals who can feed best on the higher and more succulent vegetation which others with short necks cannot reach.

Now this theory by its simplicity and wide application gained at once powerful support, and strong adherents such as T. H. Huxley did battle for it against all objectors.

One other factor which assisted its acceptance was that it seemed to render unnecessary any idea of special creation or any need for an Intelligent Creator.

Many very readily accepted the idea that the source of variety in material things was a self-acting process or agency rather than a Supreme Intelligence.

In the course of time, however, serious and valid scientific objections to this Darwinian theory made their appearance. At first the contest lay chiefly between those who held to the idea of special creation and those who rejected it, but in later years the arguments against the theory of Natural Selection have been based on purely scientific reasons.

For instance the Darwinians have given no reason why these 'accidental' variations in the ova or seeds should occur which have potential value as against mere freaks or useless progenies. Chance is a mere name for our ignorance.

Again, they have not explained the difficulty that the accidental variations are of little use until they become large, and they cannot become large until they are useful.

What advantage does it give to a young giraffe to have a neck 2 inches longer than his brother giraffe or any other tree feeder?

These and other objections have been pointed out, so that

many competent naturalists now reject the Darwinian theory as a sufficient explanation of the origin of species.

Then again other facts have been found such as those discovered by Gregor Mendel, to which attention was drawn by H. de Vries and by W. Bateson, which show that transmission of characters proceeds by definite laws and not by chance variation. For example, if a certain kind of black fowl is mated with a certain kind of white one, the progeny are all a greyish colour called an 'Andalusian blue'. If these latter are intermated the progeny are of three kinds: (1) one quarter are pure black, which breed true; (2) one quarter are pure white, which breed true, and (3) half are 'blue'; and when intermated yield again the above said proportion of black, white, and blue fowls. This is called Mendel's law and applies to many kinds of characters and many animals. It is the most universal law of generation which has yet been found.

Darwin felt compelled by logical necessity to apply his theory of natural selection to the human race, and in his book *The Descent of Man* he gives various arguments in support of the view that the human race has been produced by natural selection from the mammalian stock which in other branches gave rise to genera and species of apes and monkeys.

This naturally provoked very violent opposition from those who believed that the human race was a special creation. Wallace himself dissented from Darwin's views at least as regards the mental and spiritual qualities of the human race.

Diligent search has therefore been made for intermediate forms between man and the ape and a certain number of fragments of skeletons, often very small, have been found which have been christened from the place of their origin Neanderthal 'man', Piltdown 'man', Pekin 'man', Java 'man'.

Except for the first, the remains are very fragmentary: a portion of a skull, jaw bones, &c. The heavy eyebrow ridges on the skull, low forehead, and projecting jaw were certainly ape-like. But the brain capacity of Neanderthal man was quite human and there is evidence that he used tools, lit fires, and buried his dead.

The use of the term 'man' in this connexion of course begs the very question at issue, viz. how far the original individuals had any trace of true human qualities.

The oldest of these fragments is said to be about the Pleistocene Age geologically speaking. Statements regarding the age of man on the earth are frequently made carrying back his first appearance to hundreds of thousands or millions of years ago but, as Professor Graham Kerr remarks in his book on *Evolution*, such statements 'are not to be regarded as of scientific value'. The exact age of certain late geological formations of the earth is still a matter of great dispute. Moreover, it is a large assumption to make that small fragments of bones or of a skull buried in the earth are precisely of the same age as the ground in which they are now found.

Then again there is the very important question whether these few fragments may not be cases of deterioration rather than advance.

A curious instance of this was reported in *The Morning Post* in 1930. Sir Colin Mackenzie, Director of the Australian Institute of Anatomy, examined the remains of some criminals executed and buried in Melbourne Gaol.

Amongst these was the skeleton of one Frederick Deeming, hung in May 1892 for the murder of his wife.

This last skeleton was of a remarkably simian type. The opening at the base of the skull where the spinal chord enters was not at the centre of the base as in human skulls but farther back as in anthropoid apes.

The occipital protuberance and the mastoid processes were distinctly simian. The cubical contents of the skull were below the normal. The brows had heavy ridges. The arms were abnormally long, the fingers reaching to the knees, and the setting of the thigh bones in the hip sockets was distinctly ape-like. The cast of the skull of the 'Java man' fitted Deeming's skull like a cap.

If this skeleton instead of being removed from a jail cemetery had been found under 10 feet of clay in a distant cave Darwinian anthropologists would in all probability have declared

it to be the remains of a cave man at least 50,000 years old and giving strong evidence of the derivation of man from the same mammalian stock which gave rise also to lower forms of anthropoid.

As a matter of fact it was the skeleton of a criminal born and executed in the late nineteenth century.

The evolution of modern humanity from the same stock as the Simian genera is unlikely for the following reasons: The differences in bodily structure from the anthropoid ape were such that in their early stages they were rather a disadvantage than an advantage in defence from enemies or obtaining food. The loss of hair from the body, the shortening arms, the more feeble jaws, the flat foot, and loss of prehensile great toe were changes which rendered the subject of them more liable to disease, more easily captured or destroyed by the large carnivora, less able to climb trees and secure nuts or fruit, and in general more likely to succumb in attacks by other large animals.

On the other hand, the very earliest known specimens of true humanity made weapons, chipped flints for cutting tools, lit fires, and later on hollowed out tree-trunks to make boats, planted cereals or fruit for food, invented rude wheels for carts and discovered the powers of the lever, the wedge, and the rope.

Furthermore, he buried his dead in such fashion as to indicate that he thought the death of the body was not the end of personal existence but that a resurrection was possible. He had also progressive powers of speech and evidence of religious ideas or feelings. Not the smallest trace or beginning of these qualities is found in the animal races. The animal instincts are static. They are wonderful and perfect up to a certain point but the animals make no progress, and although it is possible to teach them certain things by reward or punishment they would not in their natural state continue to do them, far less improve upon them.

Then we note also the remarkable scarcity in the geological strata of the intermediate types which the evolutionary theory demands.

The fundamental assumption of the Darwinian theory is that there must be a copious procreation combined with scarcity of

food, and hence a struggle for existence. Where then are the remains of this vast host of intermediate stages between man and the ape? The few remains that have been found could be, as some one has said, carried by a child in a basket. The Darwinians take refuge in the excuse that so little of the terrestrial strata have been explored.

They represent the evolutionary development of the human race by the figure of a tree. The trunk represents the mammalian stock and the branches the various families, genera, or species of animals. One of these branches marked *Homo sapiens* or rational man represents the present human race, but the Darwinians have given no valid reason why this particular branch has developed so enormously beyond all the others and so vastly beyond the most man-like simian. The earliest distinct type of man had immense constructive powers.

No animal fights with other than its natural weapons: claws, teeth, horns, or limbs. The earliest man made artificial weapons. No animal has any artistic ability. Early man decorated his cave dwelling with excellent drawings of animals, even of the *Dinosaur*, and made clay pots with some degree of ornament on them, and discovered how to prepare metals from the ores.

No animal has the smallest trace of God-consciousness or of a life beyond the grave. Early man buried his dead in such fashion as to indicate belief in a sure and certain resurrection. Moreover, as Dr. Leo S. Berg has pointed out in his valuable book *Nomogenesis*, in which he has dealt some hard blows at Darwinism, there is in the animal kingdom a law of convergence, by which he means a tendency in certain animal forms to resemble each other, but that does not prove a common origin.

It is true that there is a certain similarity of structure in the bodies of man and the higher apes and even in psychic nature, as for instance in the exhibition of parental care of offspring and sociability, but that only proves a common creator and not necessarily that the two are derived from one common stem.

The lowest true human beings have brains about double the weight of the highest of the apes.

The Darwinian theory gives no valid explanation of the immense and highly progressive mental, psychic, or spiritual faculties of *Homo sapiens*.

Those qualities which we value most in the human race such as the intelligence and nobility of character, truthfulness, honesty, and self-sacrifice, so far from assisting the individual in the struggle for life are often antagonistic to it. T. H. Huxley realized this fact towards the end of his life.

The Darwinian theory of the animal origin of man is not established as a scientific truth well ascertained, nor is it the outcome of the true method of scientific research. We shall return later on to consider more fully its results in the general theory of Evolution.

No mention of biological progress in the nineteenth century would be complete without some brief reference to the epoch-making discoveries of Louis Pasteur (1822-95) which have been directly and indirectly, by their application to surgery, of unspeakable value to mankind.

Pasteur's first achievements were in the region of pure chemistry, but having settled in Strasbourg in 1854 his attention was drawn to the causes of frequent defects in beer and wine manufacture.

This led him to study the phenomena of fermentation, with the result that he proved it to be the result of certain micro-organisms, the proper actions of which he showed were often hindered by other micro-organisms or germs of living matter in the air and that, by destroying these deleterious organisms in the air by heat, putrefaction and interference with fermentation could be prevented.

This discovery started Lord Lister on his noble work. Before his time surgical operations were frequently fatal by subsequent inflammation and putrefaction set up by the atmospheric germs which had access to the wound. By the use of carbolic acid spray this was prevented, and surgical operations can now be safely and successfully undertaken with anti-septic precautions which before were impossible.

Pasteur next had his attention drawn to a disease of the silk-

worm which was destroying the silk industry of France. He proved it was due to a micro-organism and discovered how the infected insects could be detected and isolated.

Following on this triumph he attacked the problem of anthrax in sheep and cattle and discovered that it also was a germ disease but that animals could be rendered immune by being inoculated with a feeble or dilute preparation from the tissues of diseased animals, in short by a kind of vaccination.

He applied this method also to a disease of fowls called chicken cholera.

Finally came his great and crowning achievement in the conquest of the dread disease hydrophobia in man, due to rabies in dogs. After vast researches he proved it was possible to prepare from infected animals a serum which, when injected into the circulatory system of a human being bitten by a mad dog, would destroy or render innocuous the fatal germs of hydrophobia.

In 1885 he made the first successful experiment on a child, and forthwith the Pasteur Institute was established for the treatment and cure of hydrophobic persons. The mortality has now been reduced to about 1 per cent. and one of the greatest benefits conferred on humanity next to anaesthetics established on a firm basis. Pasteur's name is therefore cherished as one of the greatest benefactors of the human race. All Pasteur's work gave us the very highest examples of the true method of scientific research by induction based on experiment and observation.

8. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT

FROM 1895 TO 1932

We have started this section from the year 1895 rather than from the beginning of the twentieth century because about that year very remarkable scientific discoveries were made which had the effect of totally altering our outlook on the physical universe.

Up to 1895 physicists and chemists had been accustomed to

think of the atom as a small indivisible mass the exact shape and structure of which it was impossible to determine.

But in that year discoveries were made which showed that the atom had a structure. The phenomena attending the passage of electricity through rarefied gases had before that date attracted the attention of many electricians.

Faraday had made a special study of it, and observed certain important facts. If a glass tube an inch or two in diameter and a foot or two long has platinum leading-in wires sealed into the closed ends, and if a side tube is attached to the main tube by means of which the air in it can be gradually exhausted, we observe the following effects. We shall suppose the wires or electrodes as they are called to be connected to an electrical machine or induction coil capable of giving sparks several inches long.

When the tube contains air at ordinary pressure no discharge will pass unless the voltage of the machine is high enough to give a spark as long as the tube. When the tube is exhausted down to a pressure of a few millimetres a long struggling spark of reddish colour fills the tube, and as the pressure is lowered the tube fills with a uniform glow but there is a certain dark space near the negative electrode called the Faraday dark space.

As the pressure is further reduced the glow in the tube becomes cut up into sections or striae of light and dark and the Faraday dark space extends. Then a stage is reached at which the negative terminal is covered with a velvety glow of light called the cathode glow; next to this is another black space called the Crookes' dark space, then another glow called the negative glow, followed again by the Faraday dark space, and then the striated glow extends right up to the positive electrode or anode.

It is called the positive column and has different colours with various gases.

Sir William Crookes had about 1872-4 devoted much attention to the production of high vacua—and he found that when the pressure of the air in the tube was very low the Crookes'

dark space extended right along it and the walls of the tube, if of soda glass, glowed with a green phosphorescence and faint lines of blue light extended from the cathode.

He found that solid objects placed in this dark space cast a shadow on the walls of the tube and little wheels with mica blades like paddle-wheels of ships placed there were set in rotation, and crystals and other objects glowed with a brilliant light.

These complicated phenomena indicated that something was being thrown off from the cathode in straight lines and Crookes named it 'radiant matter'. Some physicists assumed they were a form of wave motion and called them 'Cathode rays'.

In 1895 Röntgen in Germany observed a very remarkable fact with such a high vacuum or Crookes' tube. He had some rod of wood or other material covered with platinocyanide of barium, and he noticed that this material became phosphorescent even when outside of and not very near the tube, and also that certain objects outside the tube cast a shadow on the phosphorescent surface. Pursuing the investigation he made the astonishing discovery that if the living human hand was placed between the tube and a screen covered with the above-mentioned phosphorescent substance, the bones of the hand could be seen inside the flesh which also cast a fainter shadow.

This discovery caused great excitement and an army of investigators pursued the subject. It was found that the best form of tube was a bulb with a concave metal cathode so placed that the radiant matter was converged on to another piece of metal called the anticathode. The positive anode was a wire sealed into another part of the tube. This was called a Röntgen bulb and the radiation coming from the tube was called X-rays.

It was soon found that certain substances such as metals, especially dense metals, were opaque to X-rays but light materials—cloth, wood, leather, paper, flesh—were more or less transparent. The radiation could impress photographic plates enclosed in black envelopes and hence permanent photographs could be taken of the skeleton in the human body or objects like bullets embedded in the flesh.

A peculiar power of the X-rays was that they could make gases through which they passed conductors of electricity.

The X-rays were at first supposed to be isolated pulses, but it is now known that they are merely very short wave electromagnetic radiation exactly like light but having a frequency of oscillation from 400 to 10,000 times greater, or wave-lengths the reciprocal of these numbers, as compared with light.

Meanwhile Sir J. J. Thomson had been directing his attention to the nature of these 'cathode rays'. By experiments of extraordinary ingenuity he measured both the mass and the electric charge of the corpuscles or particles which form these cathode rays and he found their mass to be $1/1840$ of that of a hydrogen atom and their electric charge to be 4.774×10^{-10} of an electrostatic unit or 1.59×10^{-20} of an electromagnetic unit of quantity. (These are the recent best values: those first found by Thomson were smaller.)

Whatever the nature of the metal of which the cathode in the high vacuum tube was made the corpuscles thrown off from it had the same mass and charge. Moreover, the same kind of particle was thrown off from incandescent carbon in a vacuum and from metals like potassium or zinc when they were illuminated by ultra-violet light.

It was proved that these electrified particles were constituents of all chemical atoms and they became called *electrons*.

Thomson at first supposed that the rest of the atom was a sphere of positive electricity and that the electrons were immersed in it like goldfish in a globe of water. Lord Rutherford, however, proved by certain experiments that the chief part of the mass of the chemical atom rests in a nucleus which is very small compared with the overall dimensions of the atom. This nucleus is now assumed to be built up of small units of positive electricity called *protons* held together by a certain number of electrons, the rest of the electrons revolving round the nucleus like planets round the sun. This astronomical theory of the chemical atom has enjoyed enormous popularity because it is easily visualized and accounts very well for certain effects. But it had and has its limitations. The first difficulty was that electrons rotating

round a nucleus were dissipating their energy by radiation and would therefore before long fall into the nucleus. This was met by Niels Bohr, the Danish physicist, by the bold assumption that such electrons do not radiate when rotating in certain prescribed orbits. There was no *a priori* reason for this in classical physics, but the assumption seemed justified by its consequences. Bohr was able to deduce mathematically from it a formula given long before by Balmer for the wavelengths of the bright lines forming the spectrum of Hydrogen. Bohr assumed that the hydrogen atom consisted of a single proton round which revolved a single electron in one of certain permitted orbits, and that radiation only took place when the electron jumped from an outer orbit to an inner one.

The total number of orbital electrons in an atom is called its atomic number and the total number of protons in the nucleus determines the atomic weight.

Prout had suggested long before this date that all atomic weights should be exact multiples of unity—or be multiples of that of hydrogen. But measurement showed that this was not the case. Many atomic weights like that of chlorine (35.46 when oxygen=16) are not exact integers.

It has been proved by Aston by the use of an instrument called the mass spectrograph that many so-called elements like chlorine, lithium, neon, argon, potassium, and bromine are mixtures of two or more varieties of those elements, the constituents having similar properties and equal atomic numbers but rather different atomic weights. These are called *isotopes*.

Thus chlorine gas is a mixture of two isotopes such that 1,000 atoms of one of atomic weight 35 mixed with 300 of another of atomic weight 37 give 1,300 with a mean atomic weight 35.46. In some cases it has been possible to separate out the two isotopes. Isotopes are then defined as atoms which have the same properties but different atomic weights. This is explained by the fact that simultaneous removal of protons and electrons in equal numbers from the nucleus of an atom leaves the atomic number and nucleus charge unaltered, but it changes the atomic weight without altering the basic properties.

It appears that the total number of the planetary electrons is divided between different rings or orbits. The number in the inmost orbit is always 2. Then in the next orbit the number of electrons increases from 1 (lithium) to 8 (neon), and then a third orbit begins with electrons $10+1$ (sodium) to $10+8$ (argon) and then a fourth orbit with electrons $18+1$ (potassium) to $18+8$ (iron) and so on.

The elements can be arranged in order of their atomic numbers in a table comprising 8 columns. The first to the seventh column contain elements with valency 1 to 7 and the eighth column elements with valency zero to 8. The heaviest known atom is uranium and its orbits comprise respectively groups of electrons 2, 8, $(10+8)$, 4×8 , 18, 8, and 6. As long as the outer orbit does not contain 8 electrons the atom has a valency, but if it contains 8, as in the case of the rare atmospheric gases, neon, argon, krypton, xenon, there the atom has zero valency and does not chemically combine. The valency is determined either by the number of electrons in the outer orbit or by their defect from 8.

Thus sodium has 1 electron in its outer orbit and is therefore monovalent; again chlorine has 7 and is therefore monovalent, since $7 = 8-1$. Now two atoms can, so to speak, have their respective outer layers of electrons in common. Thus sodium with 1 and chlorine with 7 combine to form sodic chloride, making the sum of their outer electrons a lot in common, viz. $1 + 7 = 8$.

This astronomical theory of the chemical atom up to a certain point affords a means of explaining a large number of facts in chemistry and physics.

Röntgen's discovery stimulated research everywhere for new kinds of rays. The French chemist Becquerel (1852-1908) discovered in 1895 that if compounds of uranium were placed on the outside of a black paper envelope within which was a photographic sensitive plate, and if the arrangement was kept in a dark room and the plate developed after a time it was found that the plate was fogged in places against which the uranium crystals had been placed.

It was also found that uranium compounds could make the air conductive like X-rays and discharge an electroscope.

The matter was then taken up by M. and Mme Curie, and they operated on about a ton of uranium residues and by chemical and physical means separated from it about 0.2 of a gramme of a new element about 2 million times more active uranium which they called radium.

It proved to have an atomic weight 228 and was closely allied to barium in chemical properties. Nevertheless, it could make the air conductive and discharge a charged electroscope, was luminous in the dark, continually evolved heat, could produce phosphorescence in various substances, and created serious wounds on the human body if kept near to the skin. Since then it has proved to be of great use as a medical agency.

A theory to account for these facts was put forward by Lord Rutherford and Professor Soddy in 1902-3 which is supported by many facts.

They assumed that the nucleus of atoms of high atomic weight with a complicated structure now and then break up by a sort of explosion and throw out two kinds of particles and certain electromagnetic waves. One set are called *alpha* particles and have been shown to be the nuclei of helium atoms consisting of 4 protons held together by 2 electrons.

This alpha particle is one of the toughest objects in Nature. The other kind of particle shot out is an electron and is called a *beta* particle and the very short waves are called *gamma* waves. Now this is not merely a theory: we can, so to speak, see these particles by a beautiful method due to C. T. R. Wilson in 1899. Just as a rocket shooting up through the air marks its path by the sparks it leaves behind it, so if an alpha particle is shot off from a bit of radium through air saturated with water vapour its path is rendered visible because the alpha particle smashes up atoms of the air gases in its way and these condense the water vapour on them in minute drops. Hence the path of the alpha particle can be seen and photographed. The beta particle does the same thing only less energetically.

When an alpha particle is projected out of a nucleus the atomic weight falls off by 4 units, but when a beta particle is projected the character of the atom alters but not its atomic weight by any sensible amount.

Now it appears that the history of any radio-active atom such as uranium or thorium is that it gradually undergoes a series of changes by which it is altered and each stage has a certain 'life' which may be only a few minutes or may be hundreds or thousands of years. It is believed that the final state is to be converted into the metal lead. Thus all radium has been produced from uranium and will end by being lead.

Thus the dreams of the alchemists as to the transmutations of the metals have been realized but not in the way they expected; we cannot change lead into gold, but certain heavy metals change spontaneously into lead.

Matter is therefore far less permanent than formerly supposed. The atom has a complicated structure and is more like a living organism than a dead mass. One of the interesting results of recent physical research has been the discovery of the *Neutron* by Dr. James Chadwick of Cambridge. The neutron is a particle of the same mass as an atom of hydrogen, but it carries no electric charge. It might perhaps be regarded as a condensed atom of hydrogen, which atom is regarded as being built up of a proton with an electron revolving round it. But another discovery of importance is the *Positron* which has a mass equal to that of the electron, but it carries a positive charge. Its existence was predicted by Professor P. A. M. Dirac of Cambridge and was experimentally verified by Professor P. M. S. Blackett, Dr. G. P. S. Occhialini, and Dr. C. D. Anderson. The curious fact is that it does not seem to have a permanent existence but appears suddenly, endures for a little time, and then vanishes. For details books on recent physics must be consulted.

But there is a further change which matter or atoms can undergo, viz. it can change into Radiation.

We have seen according to Maxwell's theory that light is a propagation through space of an electric displacement periodic or fluctuating in place and time; that is, at any instant there is

a disposition of displacement which alternates periodically at any one place, and is also periodic or fluctuating with time. This fluctuating displacement creates also a magnetic flux or force at right angles to it and in step with it.

The electric displacement and magnetic flux in a ray of light are at right angles to the direction of propagation, but in an ordinary ray of light these vectors are continually changing their direction.

All the work in the last fifty years has shown us that there is a vast range of wave-lengths of this electromagnetic radiation besides the visible radiation.

By a wave-length is meant the shortest distance between two points where the electric displacement is a maximum at the same instant. We are acquainted with about 80 octaves of this radiation, using the word octave to mean a range of increasing wave-length in which that at one end is double that at the other.

In wireless telegraphy and broadcasting we use radiation the wave-length of which may vary from a few metres to 10 to 20 miles in wave-length, as used in long-distance world radio-telegraphy, down to a few metres for broadcasting.

Then we have the Herzian and ultra-red radiation, and next the eye-affecting light lying between about 40 to 80 microcentimetres in wave-length.

Beyond that lie the ultra violet, then the X-rays, gamma rays, and lastly the extremely short cosmic rays. All these waves travel in space with the same velocity of 3,000,000 kilometres per second.

The peculiar fact about this electromagnetic radiation is that the velocity is the same to every observer no matter how he may be moving or placed with regard to the source of light.

This is not the same with sound-waves in air or waves in or on water. If we imagine a very long airship to have a man at each end and one in the centre who fires a pistol, the men at each end would see the flash and hear the explosion simultaneously if the ship was at rest. If the ship was in rapid forward motion the man at the stern would hear the explosion slightly

before the man at the bow: because the former is moving towards the place where the sound-wave originated and the latter is moving away from that point.

Or to give another illustration. It would take a swimmer longer to swim 100 yards up a river and back than to swim 100 yards across a river and back.

Now the same kind of experiment can be performed with a ray of light. The earth is an airship flying through the ether, or we may regard the ether as flowing past the earth and the ray of light as the swimmer.

It was proved by an experiment made by Michelson and Morley in 1887, and repeated many times since, that the velocity of light is independent of its direction. In this experiment a ray of light is divided into two parts. One part is made to move there and back in the direction in which the apparatus is moving through the ether, and the other part to go there and back on equal distance at right angles to the former.

To the surprise of every one the rays took exactly the same time to complete their journey.

In other words, the velocity of a ray of light is independent of the frame of reference in which it is measured and not affected by the motion of the observer or of the source of light. This peculiarity of radiation cannot be explained in any simpler terms. It must be accepted as a fact of Nature demonstrated by experiment. Starting, however, from this Einstein has created a new theory of space and time called Relativity. There are two divisions of it—Special and General.

The special theory states that in a closed room or region it is impossible to tell by any physical experiments whether that room is in uniform straight line motion or not with reference to objects outside of it. Everything goes on just the same whether the room is at rest or in uniform motion with respect to external objects. It follows from the constant velocity of light that all measurements of length, mass, time, velocity, energy, momentum are relative to a certain frame of reference, and the number denoting their value is different for observers at rest with regard to the object or in uniform motion relative to it. Also, events

that are simultaneous to one observer are not necessarily simultaneous to another observer.

Einstein has enunciated a principle which must govern every statement of a law of Nature as follows: Every law must be stated in a form to be equally true for every observer in any frame of reference.

For instance Newton's law of gravitation is that the attraction between two masses of matter is proportional to the product of the masses and inversely as the square of their distance. The question then arises, what observer is to make these measurements of mass and distance? Because they are different for different observers. Hence the law as stated by Newton cannot be the correct law.

Einstein has, however, found a way of stating the law of gravitation so that it is true for every observer which differs very little from Newton's law. Also, Einstein's law has enabled us to give an explanation of a fact which could not be explained by the former law. The planet Mercury moves in an orbit more elliptical than other planets, and the major axis of its orbit rotates in the plane of the orbit, at a rate of 43 seconds of an arc per century. Now Einstein's law gives a perfectly satisfactory reason for this motion whereas Newton's law cannot account for it.

Again, Einstein has shown that all energy has mass, and the relation between them is given by the rule $e = mc^2$, where e is the energy in ergs, m is the mass in grammes, and c is the velocity of light in centimetres per second.

Now light has energy and therefore it has mass and can be affected by gravitation. Accordingly Einstein predicted that a ray of light should be deflected or bent when passing near the sun by an amount double that predicted by Newton's corpuscular theory. This was verified at the total Solar eclipse of the 29th May 1919 observed in Brazil and West Africa.

Then in the third place Einstein's theory predicts that the light emitted by atoms in very heavy masses should be slowed down a little as compared with the same rays from less heavy masses of matter.

This again has been verified by observation on the spectrum of a very dense star called the Companion of Sirius. Hence Einstein's theory of Relativity has now been advanced from the stage of a mere hypothesis to that of a generally accepted explanation or undoubted theory of facts.

The transformation of matter into energy is the only explanation yet given which is valid to account for the enormous radiation from our Sun and the stars throughout vast ages.

Then in the next place there are another set of observed facts regarding light which cannot be accounted for on the simple undulatory hypothesis but have demanded large modifications in our ideas of molecular processes.

If we measure the energy of each ray or small slice of a spectrum of the light from the Sun or other radiator, observation shows that the energy increases up to a certain wave-length and then falls off again or has a maximum for a certain wave-length. Also, as the temperature of the radiator increases this maximum point shifts towards the shorter wave-length end of the spectrum. None of the classical theories of light can explain this fact.

About the beginning of this century the problem began to be discussed by Max Planck, Professor of Physics in Berlin, and he succeeded in finding a mathematical expression which exactly predicts the variation of radiation energy with wave-length and temperature at least within the limits of temperature attainable in the laboratory.

This Planck formula was only obtained by a very abnormal assumption, namely, that radiant energy can only enter and leave atoms in certain finite *Quanta* or packets. It cannot go in or leave in any amount but only in multiples of a certain unit.

This Quantum theory, as it is now called, has modified in large degree our physical ideas.

In former days it was supposed that atoms vibrated like small tuning-forks and sent out into the ether waves of identical frequency. Now we know that is not the case. An atom only radiates when an electron enters it or falls from one orbit to a lower one. The difference in the electron energy before and

after entering or between the two states is sent out as radiation with a frequency equal to the above energy difference divided by a certain constant called Planck's Constant.

When radiation falls on an atom it is not absorbed at all unless it has at least a frequency equal to the energy required to liberate an electron from the atom divided by the Planck Constant, or to raise an electron from one orbit to a higher one.

Hence both this phenomenon and the distribution of energy in the spectrum require that radiant energy should be atomic like matter and the quantity called Planck's Constant is an absolute unit of Action.

These researches show that a ray of light must be regarded as partly comprising waves and partly what are called Light Quanta or Photons; in other words, it is partly undulatory and partly corpuscular, as Newton thought.

Also the strange thing is that experiments have undoubtedly shown that an electron acts partly as a particle of electricity and partly as a group of waves.

The experiments of Professor G. P. Thomson and others such as Messrs. Davisson and Germer have shown that when an electron passes through a very thin sheet of metal and falls on a photographic plate there is depicted on the plate a series of dark and light bands or rings called a diffraction pattern which is exactly what would happen if the electron were a group of waves in the ether.

These conceptions and experiments opened up an entirely new branch of study, called Wave Mechanics, which has been developed by de Broglie, Schroedinger, and others. The leading idea is that all motion is wave motion and that what we call the motion of a particle stands to this wave in the same relation as a ray of light to a wave of light. It is well known that we can regard such a simple effect as the bending of light by a prism in two ways. We may think of the wave front as, say, a surface and that this wave surface advances more slowly through a transparent medium such as glass or water at one side than at the other. Or we may think of the ray as a line of light which is bent on passing from one medium to another or curved on passing

through a medium of varying refractive index. It appears, then, possible to think also of a wave of energy or a ray of energy. The so-called path of a particle is the line of the energy ray.

It will be seen that the modern scientific thought about Matter, or say electrons, is not that the electron is something localized in space but is a singularity or maximum point of something existing everywhere in space.

If we attempt to think of the electron as a little ball or lump of something which can change its position in space we inevitably are led to ask what is its structure inside and how does it differ in nature from space outside of it. On the other hand, if the electron is a localization of some effect in a universal space-filling medium existing everywhere we are guided to think of both energy and matter as one single entity existing in all space which has singularities or unique manifestations at defined positions, and what we call motion of matter is merely change of position of these singularities in the universal medium.

It is evident that these new ideas in modern physics tend to prevent any clear visualization. In the older physics we could think of atoms and electrons as merely ultra-microscopic balls or charged spheres dancing about, but the first commandment of modern physics seems to be that we are forbidden to form in our minds any 'graven image' of any physical ideas.

We make mathematics a substitute for visualization. Hertz once suggested with regard to Maxwell's theory of light that Maxwell's theory was simply Maxwell's equations. In the same way, the wave theory of mechanics as merely de Broglie's or Schroedinger's equations.

In short, clear visualization of physical effects is now inhibited. We cannot form any clear idea of space of four or more dimensions as required on the theory of Relativity. We cannot form any clear idea of the nature of an atom of Action as required in the Quantum theory nor of the Probability of Energy being found in a particular locality as required in the Wave Mechanics.

But all these ideas can be the subject of mathematical analysis and discussion.

9. SOME CONCLUSIONS REACHED BY SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

There are, then, certain broad conclusions as to the Physical Universe which have been reached by scientific thought in this twentieth century as the outcome of three centuries of research.

These conclusions are not all shared equally by scientific workers, and it will be of advantage therefore to indicate first what these conclusions are and the general arguments for or against them.

It may be well to point out first that the knowledge called scientific may be broadly divided into:

- (a) facts or observations concerning which there is no dispute or very little difference of opinion amongst experts in that branch;
- (b) generalizations obtained from these facts which for the most part are accepted widely or universally;
- (c) hypotheses or theories concerning the hidden causes of things seen or ascertained and on which there may be differences of opinion between investigators at any one date or those at different dates.

The main object of all scientific work is to detect and determine general laws from observed facts. The mere collection of isolated observations is only a step towards that goal, and we do not feel satisfied in any region of scientific work unless we have secured some general principles. This arises from a deep-seated feeling in our minds that there is a unity in Nature, that in short it is a cosmos and not a chaos, and that even amongst apparent disorder there must be order of some kind to be discovered.

Nevertheless, we are also anxious to picture to ourselves the mechanism, if we can, by which this uniformity or order is brought about.

Plato in his *Republic* (Book VII) has a very striking parable showing the relation of the human intellect to the facts of Nature.

He imagines certain persons sitting in the mouth of a cave

with a flat back wall. Behind these persons a fire is burning, and between the fire and the observers (who are not allowed to look behind them) certain objects are passing, men, horses, animals of various kinds.

The observers are trying to guess from the shadows of these objects thrown by the fire on the cave wall their true nature.

So we try to guess from certain observed effects the nature of the mechanism by which they are produced, but it is necessary always to remember that even if we can imagine a mechanism which can produce some effect we see in Nature it does not in the least follow that it is done in that way.

We are generally tempted to accept simplicity of operation or explanation as a mark of truth, but it does not seem to be any special characteristic of natural phenomena that their *modus operandi* should be easily intelligible to the human mind. Rather the reverse.

Amongst the generalizations which are universally accepted we may include first that of the Conservation of Mass within certain limits. This means that in any chemical combinations and changes there is, within certain limits, no loss or gain of mass. We say within certain limits for a reason presently to be mentioned.

It is out of our power to create or destroy Matter. Then the next broad generalization which has been reached is that of the Conservation of Energy, which means that in all physical changes there is no destruction or creation of Energy.

But now as mentioned already the theory of Relativity leads to the conclusion that Matter can be converted into Radiant Energy.

Under some conditions, then, Mass may seem to disappear, but it is only because it has been transformed into its equivalent radiation.

If then we take both Mass and Energy together we find that there is a strict law of Conservation of Mass+Energy in all changes.

For instance, on the scale on which the atomic weight of oxygen is 16 that of helium is 4 and hydrogen 1.008. This

means that if we could form 4 grammes of helium by the compression of Hydrogen there would be a loss of mass of $4 \times 0.008 = 0.032$ gramme of Matter.

But this by Einstein's law would be equivalent to $0.032 \times 9 \times 10^{20}$ —ergs or to nearly a million horse-power hours. This is equal to about 4,000 horse-power working for 240 hours or 10 days. All that energy would have to be put back into 4 grammes of helium to break it up into hydrogen.

On the other hand, if the protons and the electron which exist in equal numbers in 1 gramme of hydrogen were to come together and annihilate each other as mass, the resulting radiation energy would be about 35 million horse-power hours or a million horse-power working for 35 hours and have a wavelength of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ billionths of a centimetre.

By a similar calculation it can be shown that to maintain the radiation of heat and light from our Sun if it results from the annihilation of Matter it is necessary that about 240 million tons of the Sun's mass should be converted into radiation each minute.

The next broad generalization that is agreed is the Principle of Least Action which has already been explained.

Finally in the realm of Biology there is a very wide agreement that living matter cannot be made by us from non-living matter and that it only proceeds from previously existing living matter.

Omne vivum ex vivo is the maxim of modern biology, and we have no proof that it is ever disobeyed. Some biologists have asserted that if we could look back beyond the abysses of geological time we might witness the transformation of non-living matter into living matter under special conditions.

But this is pure speculation. As far as well-ascertained facts can guide us, transformation is not taking place spontaneously now nor have we any real warrant for believing it has taken place in past time.

But now when these points of agreement are disposed of we come to certain other questions on which there are great differences of opinion.

There is no term which is more often or more loosely used in

reference to natural phenomena in the present day than the word *Evolution*.

It is sometimes used as a name for an effect or process and sometimes for an active causative agency.

The general idea which underlies the word is that it signifies a gradual change from the simple to the complex, from the imperfect to the perfect, or from an initial to a final stage or state. In this sense, as a name for a process, the word is entirely unobjectionable and indeed useful and appropriate, provided it implies merely a phenomenon and not an underlying cause. We can in this sense speak of the evolution of wireless telegraphy or the aeroplane or steam or petrol engine.

Many modern writers, however, go much beyond this and use the words as a name for an effective cause, as when the production of the human brain or eye or body is ascribed purely and simply to Evolution.

There is no evidence of any self-acting spontaneous tendency in natural phenomena to produce order and adaptation, or means to an end. We cannot ascribe purposiveness or teleological causation to a mere name for gradual improvement.

It is hardly possible to deny that there have been and are now gradual changes and increasing complexity in various parts of the Universe. Our large telescopes show us the spiral nebulae as masses of incandescent gas in rotation condensing in places into stars, although owing to their vast distance the process we are witnessing here now took place millions of years ago. Nevertheless, we have abundant evidence that in general the spontaneous action of unguided natural forces or energies produces not order but disorder.

We are bound then to account for that order by the postulate of a Directing Power which may, however, act without invalidating the law of Conservation of Energy.

The popularization of this misleading conception of spontaneous Evolution as a Causative Agent was the outcome of Darwin's theory of Natural Selection in the production of animal and vegetable species, and these theories stand or fall together.

If there has been no spontaneous production of true animal species by natural selection and the struggle for existence, then there has been no biological evolution. In any case very competent thinkers, such as Dr. W. M'Dougall, have denied that there is or has been any true Evolution in the purely physical realm and that the use of the word there is essentially misleading.¹

Even in the biological department there are many very eminent workers and writers now, such for instance as Dr. Leo S. Berg who in his book *Nomogenesis* (Constable & Co., London) has supplied arguments to show that the scientific basis of Darwin's theory of natural selection is not strong enough to bear the weight of the structure erected upon the assumptions which underlie it, if indeed they are not entirely fallacious.

There seem to be three or four assumptions made by many scientific minds at present in approaching the study of natural phenomena which are destitute of sufficient foundation in unquestionable fact.

These are briefly:

(i) The postulate of Simplicity or Intelligibility in Nature as a test of truth.

The assumption is that we cannot accept anything as true unless it is intelligible in detail to the human mind. Hence Creation is rejected because it is said to be inconceivable.

As a consequence of this all perplexing dualisms are also dismissed and replaced by a comforting monism. If, for instance, that hitherto irresolved dualism of Matter and Mind presents itself, we are to cut the knot by the assumption that Mind is only a phenomenal appendage or irradiation of Matter and does not exist by itself.

(ii) Then the second assumption or error is the unwarrantable extension of the idea of Continuity in Nature. We say 'unwarrantable extension' because it is unquestionable that there is a great uniformity in natural phenomena. If there were not, there could be no scientific knowledge if events were

¹ See William M'Dougall, *Modern Materialism and Emergent Evolution* (Methuen & Co., London), p. 128.

uncertain or capricious. Nevertheless, the period of time during which we have been able to study this uniformity is relatively very small and we have no warrant for prolonging the curve of experience indefinitely backwards or forwards.

If a mathematician were permitted to examine only a small portion of a given curve he might conclude it to be a part of a circle or ellipse.

If, however, the whole length of the curve were displayed he might find it to be something very different. Accordingly we are not warranted in assuming that there have been no discontinuities in the order of Nature in the past judging solely by our experience in the present. The doctrine of Uniformity in Geology which assumes that the geological agencies which have operated in the long past time were of the same kind and degree or intensity as those acting at present is an hypothesis but not a demonstrated truth.

(iii) Then the third error of some modern scientific thought is the extension into all regions of phenomena of mechanistic explanations of events. The temptation to do this is the result of the fact that the only events we can picture to ourselves very clearly accompanied by exact quantitative measurement are the changes in form, size, and relative motion of space-filling matter. Hence there is a tendency to look for explanations in terms of atomic or electronic spatial operations. Now mechanistic explanations are valid in certain regions of phenomena, but the enunciation of Heisenburg's Principle of Indeterminacy has shown that we cannot precisely define both the position and motion of an electron. Hence we cannot say that the state of the Universe at any instant is the necessary result of its previous states because we cannot precisely specify what those previous states were.

Moreover, the action of all mechanism is that it is *praeterist* in action; that means that something happens because something else has already happened. The clock strikes because the wheels have come round into a certain position. The gun goes off because the trigger has been pulled, &c.

But the actions of living organic structures are largely *futurist*

or teleological. That is they are determined mostly by events which have not yet happened and have an end in view or are purposive. Animals of all kinds make provision for their young when yet unborn or unhatched and perform countless acts which exhibit purpose or resource. No mechanism, atomic or otherwise, can exhibit these qualities and we cannot define such phenomena as Memory; Purpose, Resource, 'Intelligent Anticipation' (which appear even in animals) as the result of atomic mechanism in the brain or of the disposition of atoms or electrons relatively to each other. More and more the most thoughtful philosophers are feeling that no description or specification of natural events is sufficient, at least in the region of life, which does not take into account a certain Directivity or Working according to plan.

In some departments of science there is a tendency now to allow hypothesis to outrun the bounds of fact or experience. The Greek philosophy failed because speculation and imagination were allowed too much predominance against the patient collection of indubitable fact and there is a tendency to return to that condition of mind.

Every theory or hypothesis we can frame to account for the facts of Nature has its limits, and sooner or later has to be discarded because the volume of the observed facts has grown too large to be accommodated within the boundary of the theory.

It may indeed be questioned whether it is within the powers of the human mind to arrive at any absolute or final explanation of the phenomena of Nature. All such explanations are relative to our present mental boundaries, powers, and perceptions, just as all specifications of Space and Time in reference to physical events are relative to a certain frame of reference.

The exploration of phenomena by the scientific method has brought in its train immense benefits to mankind by practical application. Nevertheless there have been some pernicious applications in war, crime, and frivolity.

In the same way the endeavour to frame reasons for observed things has brought us to generalizations of unquestionable value

and importance leading to uplifting ideas of the visible universe. But we have to beware of being led astray by following surmises or hypotheses which have no sufficient foundation in fact or truth.

The true fundamental idea with regard to the Universe accessible to us is not that it is a self-acting and spontaneously developing machine but is the manifestation of a Supreme Intelligence.

MODERN PHILOSOPHY

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MODERN PHILOSOPHY

THE tendencies we have remarked in Ockham and his followers¹ are found to have borne a fruitful harvest when we meet once more with original philosophical thought towards the end of the sixteenth century. The influences making for the laicization of thought have meanwhile been intensified by the revival of learning, the social and political upheaval of the Reformation, and the rise of the 'new monarchy', above all by the extension of geographical horizons due to the discoveries of the New World and the sea-route to India. The Copernican revival of the heliocentric astronomy, once appreciated, leads to a similar widening of the whole cosmic horizon. The intellectual heirs of this stirring period are profoundly convinced that if little can be known of God, apart from a revelation, there is abundant compensation in the infinite wealth and novelty of the visible secular world, whose most fascinating secrets had been hidden from the ancients and their medieval disciples. In the zest with which they throw themselves upon the new and bewildering facts and their confidence in the power of the mind to reduce the chaos to rational system, the creators of modern science display the same spirit of adventure and buoyant hope which had been characteristic of the seamen and *conquistadores* of the age before their own, and it is this temper which gives the seventeenth century its perennial fascination for the historian of thought.

THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have their interest for the history of the science of nature. They witnessed a steady progress in the consolidation of the principles of Statics, in connexion with which we may just mention the great names of Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), who is said to have been the first thinker to conceive clearly the notion of statical 'moments', and Stevinus (1548-1620), who first explained the mechanical

¹ See *European Civilization*, vol. iii, 838 ff.

properties of the inclined plane. Copernicus (1473-1543), in the very year of his death, announced the necessity of returning to the heliocentric astronomy, but it is not until the opening of the seventeenth century that the 'paradox' attracts the attention of the learned world and the ecclesiastical officials seriously enough to become the matter of acrimonious controversy. The immediate results of the revival of learning were not favourable to original philosophical speculation, except in so far as they contributed to shake blind confidence in the magisterial authority of Aristotle. Our space will not allow us to deal with such matters as the revival of the Neoplatonism of Plotinus and Proclus in the Florentine Academy, the embittered recriminations of Aristotelians incensed by the attempt to substitute the authority of Plato, as understood by the Florentine Neoplatonists, for that of Aristotle, or the attempts of various second-rate thinkers of the sixteenth century to find a basis for a philosophy of nature in imperfectly understood notices of the doctrines of Presocratic 'physicists'.

Giordano Bruno. Something more may be said, in view of his original personality, literary power, and tragic fate, of the most characteristic speculator of the end of the sixteenth century, Giordano Bruno (1548-1600). Bruno's death at the hands of the Inquisition has caused him to be popularly regarded as a founder of modern science and a martyr to its principles, but this is doubtfully correct as an historical estimate. His writings show him primarily as a highly imaginative poetic genius rather than as a systematic thinker. Like Scotus Erigena, he is more notable for throwing out brilliant suggestions than for sustained constructive power. His general vision of the world, avowedly taken from Neoplatonism, is that of a vast hierarchy of beings of different levels of organization, but all expressions of one fundamental living principle. How far this indwelling principle of nature is to be identified with God or distinguished from God is a point on which Bruno's language, like that of poets such as Wordsworth and Shelley, is not wholly clear. The thought which appeals to him more than any other is that of the boundless infinity of the system. He is in violent revolt

against the established Aristotelian conception of a spatially finite world. In his polemic on this point he attaches great weight to the Copernican astronomy, extending it in an imaginative fashion of his own. Copernicus had retained the Aristotelian finite spherical world, merely substituting the sun for the earth as its fixed centre. Bruno denies the finitude of the world, insisting that it contains an actually infinite number of suns, each with its planets inhabited by sentient and intelligent beings of the most diverse endowments—an extension which is, of course, made independently of scientific grounds. His emphatic eulogies of Copernicus must have done much to attract general attention to the new astronomical doctrines, but he is himself neither an astronomer nor a competent mathematician. The expositions he gives of Copernicanism and his attempts to improve upon it by inventing further proper motions for the earth are the proof that he only imperfectly grasped the grounds for the doctrine which captivated his vivid imagination.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Kepler. The actual constructive work of building up the new science and philosophy begins in the seventeenth century with Kepler (1571–1630) and Galileo (1564–1642), a German and an Italian. Both start with a clear consciousness of the method which has to be followed in fruitful investigation of nature as a combination of observation and experiment with speculation. Science has to ascertain the facts which are its starting-point with accuracy, to devise a theory, or hypothesis, which will exhibit their inter-connexion, and finally to verify the theory by further confrontation with fresh facts. In substance, as Galileo knew, this is the Platonic conception of the function of ‘hypothesis’ reasserted, with a new and significant emphasis on the special importance of *verification* by the application of the hypothesis to fresh observational data. Both again, once more in the Platonic spirit, insist upon mathematics, and particularly geometry, as the key to all successful interpretation of nature. ‘Where there is matter, there is geometry’ (Kepler); ‘the book of nature’, says Galileo, ‘is written in a script of which circles,

cones, cylinders are the alphabet.' These declarations definitely inaugurate the coming mathematical physics.

To the body of modern science Kepler contributes the three famous laws ultimately to be explained and justified by Newton's gravitational astronomy: (1) the orbits of the planets are ellipses with the sun in one of the *foci*; (2) as a planet revolves in its orbit, the *radius vector* drawn from the planet to the sun describes equal areas in equal times; (3) the second power of the time of a planet's period is proportional to the third power of its mean distance from the sun. These results were obtained by Kepler from a vast number of careful empirical observations; what Newton did was to show that they are deducible from the identification of the attraction between the sun and the planet with gravitation.

Galileo. Galileo is popularly remembered chiefly for his *Dialogue* (1632) on the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems of astronomy, the work which led to his appearance before the Inquisition. But the book is much more than a lucid and eloquent exposition of Copernicus and a refutation of the sometimes puerile difficulties currently raised about the earth's motion. It is a powerful attack on the whole Aristotelian cosmology with its distinction between 'celestial' and 'elementary' bodies and their respective dynamics. It is demonstrated, for example, that if the heavenly bodies were, as the Aristotelians maintained, perfectly spherical crystals, the disk of the moon would be invisible to us; Galileo's own observations of the phases of Venus through his telescope are described as evidence for the revolution of the planets about the sun; the supposed 'incorruptibility of the heavens' is disproved by the recorded facts about variable stars. Even more important, perhaps, than any of these particular results is the prolonged and successful illustration of the behaviour of the heavenly bodies by familiar analogies from our experience of motions in our terrestrial neighbourhood—in itself a complete refutation of the belief in a special 'celestial matter' with a dynamics of its own. Dynamics itself may be said to be first constituted definitely as a science by Galileo's later *Discourses on the New*

Sciences (1638), in which, among a host of other important propositions which have found their way into all the elementary text-books, the path of a projectile is determined as a parabola. As Galileo was not only a scientific thinker of the first order, but a great stylist with an exceptional gift of simple exposition, the work became from the first a classic. Hobbes could say of its author that 'he was the first that opened to us the gate of Natural Philosophy Universal, which is the knowledge of the Nature of Motion'. A more dubious doctrine introduced by Galileo, which was to play a very prominent part in the subsequent philosophy of nature, was that of the 'subjectivity' of the sensible qualities of bodies. As the only properties which he needed to take into account in his mathematical physics are figure, magnitude, and motion, he declared these to be the 'real and primary' qualities of bodies, the so-called 'secondary qualities', colour, taste, warmth, and the rest being regarded as merely effects produced by the external body in the peripient.

Francis Bacon. While Galileo was working at the foundation of the new science of nature, his contemporary Francis Bacon was theorizing on the subject in England in the spirit of an amateur of genius. Bacon was not himself a man of science, but a busy lawyer and politician. He had no understanding of mathematics, and it has been abundantly shown that he was not too well informed as to the actual progress made by the sciences in his own manhood. There is no real evidence that he had much direct influence on the development of either science or philosophy between 1600 and 1700. But he was a man of genius and exalted station, and a master of eloquence in both Latin and English. The example he set of interest in science and zeal for the prosecution of experimental investigation is of more permanent value than any of his particular theories.

In Bacon's view there is as little distinction between philosophy and the sciences as in that of the earliest Greek thinkers. He conceived of all knowledge as a unity and imagined it possible to take the whole of it 'for his province'. The one

important distinction he recognizes is that of divinity from the body of the sciences. Though he holds that natural knowledge can at least extend to the proof of God's existence, he denies that it can tell us anything of God's will or purpose; for them we must go 'to the law and the testimony'. But the knowledge of external nature and that of manners, morals, and politics form a single whole, and Bacon regards the new method of investigation which he advocates as applicable in morals no less than in physics, though his own special interest is in the latter. It is characteristic of him that he takes an emphatically practical view of the functions of natural science. Its interest does not lie in the satisfaction it provides for our curiosity, but in the possibility of making knowledge of the laws of nature instrumental to inventions which will enrich human life with comforts and conveniences, and thus restore that dominion of man over the creation which Adam lost by his sin. We are to study nature that we may learn to master her. From this point of view the whole scholastic philosophy, which is concerned with mere theoretical speculation, was a waste of time. Bacon accounts for the barrenness of the past in fruitful discoveries on several grounds. Such science as we have has been derived from the Greeks, whose knowledge of nature was limited spatially to the Mediterranean lands, and temporally to a period of not more than some three centuries. They and their successors, moreover, took no pains to secure the accurate and careful recording of such data as they had available. And independent research into facts has been checked by superstitious regard for the imaginary authority of Aristotle. The received method of scholasticism, again, is vicious. It consists simply in drawing out, in syllogistic form, the consequences of general principles which have themselves been laid down hastily on the strength of an insufficient and ill-understood experience. The true laws of nature can only be ascertained in a very different way, by a thorough Induction from an elaborate survey of the whole of the available facts.

Thus the task of the refounding of the sciences on their true basis is twofold. What is needed is (1) a comprehensive *Natural*

History, or full and accurate register of all the ascertainable observational and experimental data, and (2) a new *Organon*, or logic, laying down the rules for the proper performance of the *Induction* by which the laws of nature are to be elicited from this record of facts. It is one of Bacon's worst mistakes that he supposes the two tasks separable, so that one body of men might be employed on making endless observations and experiments, without any clue to their purpose, and another on the 'inductive' interpretation of the facts. It does not dawn upon him that it is only the man who has already framed a tentative theory and proposes to test it who is in a position to say what are the relevant observations, or experiments. In the absence of guiding hypothesis, most of the time given to minute observation and experiment would be wasted.

Bacon's own attention was chiefly given to the second part of the task, the formulation of the rules of a sound induction, undertaken in his most famous book, the *Novum Organum*. His chief service to the theory of scientific method is his insistence on the importance for generalization of 'negative instances'. He recognized more clearly than any writer before him that a generalization which seems to be borne out by thousands of instances is overthrown by a single instance in which it can be shown to fail, and therefore rightly said that our positive results can only be reached after a sufficient number of 'exclusions'. In other respects his attempt at an inductive logic fails through underrating the complexity of the problem. He even supposed it possible to reduce the framing of explanatory theories to a purely mechanical procedure, and boasts that careful following of his rules will make all intellects equally competent for scientific discovery, as the use of a compass makes all hands equally competent to describe a circle. The boast is absurd, because he forgets, first, that the mechanical collection of relevant data without any initial guiding hypothesis is impossible, and next that, supposing them collected, their interpretation also demands a combination of mathematical ingenuity and original imagination which is given to few. His procedure, in fact, amounts to applying to a mass of data the method called by

Mill the Joint Method of Agreement and Difference, and the establishment of a 'law of nature' by such a procedure depends on a singular assumption which Bacon, unlike Mill, states explicitly. To every quality found in nature there corresponds a 'form' and it seems to be assumed that the 'form' is always some type of motion in the particles of body. Bacon asserts that the number of such independent ultimate types of motion is very few, so that they form an A B C of nature. If then we are seeking for a complex 'form'—such as the type of motion which answers to white colour—we need only compare the letters of this alphabet and their combinations with our tables of observed facts; if we strike out any which are found present where white colour is absent, or absent where it is present, after a finite number of such 'exclusions' we shall find only one 'form' left on our hands, and this will be the required explanation of white colour. (The discovery of the 'forms' of qualities is, in Bacon's view, the supreme business of science, because it would give us an all but unlimited power of transforming the properties of bodies experimentally by the superinduction of one new 'form' after another.) Mill's methods of direct induction (only a more cautious version of Bacon's rules), if regarded as competent to establish a scientific theory, presuppose an equivalent assumption. But Mill in the end has to admit that the process by which theories are really established is a different one, which he calls the 'deductive' method; this is, in fact, precisely that of Kepler and Galileo, and is not recognized by Bacon.

Hobbes. Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), though primarily important in the history of thought about morals and politics, is also interesting for his position in general philosophy. He is as scornful of the authority of Aristotle as Bacon; in many ways we see in him the direct inheritor of the tradition of Ockham, whose nominalism he accepts without reserve. Only individual things really exist; universals are simply names, and a name is merely an arbitrary sign for the indefinitely numerous things of which it is the name. Yet philosophy, or science, is declared to consist wholly in the proper manipulation of these signs.

For knowledge is either experimental knowledge of particular facts, or is inferential knowledge of the 'consequences of names' (i.e. of the formal implications between propositions). It is only this second kind of knowledge which is knowledge of general truths, and therefore science. (Induction, then, is not a method of science.)

There are only two problems which science can answer: (1) what are the effects of a known cause? (2) what is the cause of a known effect? It follows that we have no knowledge of anything eternal, or uncaused, since such an object does not belong to the series of successive causes and effects. So Hobbes denies that we can have any *knowledge* of God which goes beyond the one statement that the world of events has some unknown source. A good citizen is, indeed, bound to accept the official theology of his State, but his acceptance only means that he does not intend to break the peace by controversy. 'Religion is not philosophy, but law.'

Further, science must be certain, and certainty is only attainable when we are rigidly deducing the effects of a cause whose law of operation is known; inference from effect to cause never succeeds in doing more than indicating one possible cause out of several to which the effect may be due. Hence Hobbes held that all the experiments of the Royal Society could at most only confirm conclusions which ought to have been reached without them by rigid deduction. The true method in science is to start from some universal cause with a known law of operation, and to work out all the consequences of the known law deductively, in the fashion of geometry.

Now the one universal fact, and therefore the cause of all effects, is motion in the parts of body. Nothing really exists but body and its parts, and all the behaviour of these parts can be resolved into more or less complex motions. Hobbes thus provides the most striking example of conscious rigid materialism. The whole of science, in his view, consists in deducing the various complex motions of things from elementary laws of motion, and this is as true of mental and moral as of physical science. For Hobbes holds that not only are all the sensible

properties of bodies mere secondary effects produced upon our sensibility by matter in motion, but that these subjective effects (our sensations, feelings, mental states generally) are themselves really only movements taking place within the organism. Philosophy, or science, has thus to treat of three subjects: (1) bodies in general and the laws of their motions; (2) the living human body and the motions within it which appear to us as our mental life; (3) the commonwealth, or body politic, an *artificial* body constructed by the voluntary combination of individuals into a society. Thus on Hobbes's principles not only all biology, but the whole of human psychology, individual and national, should be deduced from the elementary laws of rational mechanics. It need hardly be said that he makes no serious attempt to provide the deduction.

We cannot here discuss Hobbes's moral and political theory, but certain of its most general characters may be noticed. His view of human nature is strictly determinist and individualist. In every act the agent's motive is always to obtain 'some good for himself', personal satisfaction of some craving. Men are led to combine in societies, with a known sovereign and a common rule of life, by the enlightened self-interest which recognizes that a stable social order gives the individual the best chance of securing the only thing he cares for, his personal gratification. It is a capital point with Hobbes to deny the possibility of a moral law other than the body of commands by the sovereign which form the law of the land. Where there is no sovereign, there is no law for any man other than his own passions; the moral law is actually created by the appointment of a sovereign whose will the subjects agree to take henceforth as the common rule of their actions. Society once constituted, 'wrong' means simply what the political sovereign forbids, and 'right' what it permits. Down to the end of the next century, British moral philosophy is one long discussion of two issues raised by Hobbes: (1) whether all human action is purely self-regarding in motive; (2) whether the distinction between right and wrong is created by the *arbitrary* command of a superior, human or divine.

THE GREAT CONSTRUCTIVE SYSTEMS

Descartes. The most characteristic thinker of the whole century, whose influence on its whole philosophy and science is more pronounced than that of any other, is the Frenchman René Descartes (1596–1650), a great original metaphysician, a mathematician of the first order, and an untiring experimenter to whom the world owes not only the discovery of analytical geometry but the foundation of empirical psychology. Descartes has much in common with Bacon, disregard for the authority of the ancients, particularly Aristotle, the fixed conviction that the whole of science demands a new foundation and that the initial step towards this reconstruction is the discovery of a sound *method*, keen interest in the prosecution of experimental research. Where he differs from Bacon is in his possession of mathematical genius and the consequence of that fact for his theory of method. That the key to the physical sciences is to be found in mathematics was the most important lesson the seventeenth century had to transmit to the future; among the teachers of the lesson the two most prominent and influential are Galileo and Descartes.

Method. On a review of the existing sciences we observe that there is one group, and only one, in which there is not endless dispute about the soundness of assumed principles and the truth of the consequences inferred from them, the mathematical sciences. It is only in them that there is steady continuous advance from undisputed truth to undisputed truth. This certainty of mathematics is not due to any specific peculiarity of the objects they study, figure and magnitude, but only to the exceptional simplicity of the relations between magnitudes and figures, which makes it particularly easy in the mathematics to pursue a right *method* of investigation. The same method applied to the more complex relations studied in other sciences should lead to the same certainty about results. Now the peculiarity of the mathematical method is not that it follows the elaborate rules of syllogistic logic, but simply that it pursues its inquiries in a proper *order*. It starts with the simplest relations of figure

and magnitude, advances step by step from the simple to the more complex, and at each step in its reasoning observes only one rule, that the necessity of taking that particular step shall be self-evident. We may expect, then, that if we reconstruct the whole fabric of knowledge in this way, starting from the simplest possible beginning, and insisting on the self-evidence of every successive step, the sciences as a whole will acquire mathematical certainty. The assumption underlying the whole procedure is thus that of a thorough-going rationalism: 'what I clearly and evidently perceive to be true, that is true'.

Universal doubt. The cogito. To get at our starting-point, we make a mental experiment. We provisionally imagine that the whole of all we have supposed ourselves to know or believe is false or questionable. The object of the experiment is to discover, if we can, some truth so evident that the very attempt to call it in question itself establishes its truth. Such a truth we find in the assertion of our own existence as thinking beings. For to doubt, to deny, is itself to think; thus, as Augustine had said long before, even the attempt to doubt my own existence is evidence of the fact that I exist. What is new in Descartes's application of Augustine's thought is the use to be made of it. The proposition, 'I think, therefore I am', is an immediately evident truth about 'real existence', and it is to be used as the basis for asserting that 'connexion between our ideas', correctly perceived, gives us certainty about the world of real existence. For when I reflect, I see that the only reason why I am so certain that since I think I must really exist is that I perceive the connexion in thought between thinking and existing with such special clearness and distinctness. I may therefore assert a second proposition, 'whatever else I perceive with the same clearness and distinctness as that of the connexion between thinking and existing is also certainly true'.

The existence of God. Our principle, so far, however, has merely guaranteed my real existence as a thinking being. I believe myself not only to be a thinker, but to have a body and to be surrounded by a world of other bodies, but it is still conceivable that these 'thoughts' may be illusions, like the

imaginations of a dream, which prove the real existence of the dreaming mind, but not that of the things dreamed of. Similarly science requires some guarantee of the trustworthiness of memory, on which we depend for knowledge of the past, which, being past, is not now being clearly and evidently perceived. Descartes finds the guarantee in the existence of God, a being of infinite perfection who is the source of all other existence, and being perfect, cannot be a deceiver, as He would be if rational creatures were so constructed that their thinking inevitably led them into systematic illusion. His proof of the existence of God is twofold. There is, first, an argument from effect to cause, which is itself stated in two forms. I undoubtedly possess an 'idea' of God, that of an infinite being, and this 'idea' is an effect of which there must be a cause, and an *adequate* cause. For every cause must contain at least as much reality as its effect—a Neoplatonic proposition which Descartes holds to be self-evident. Since the idea of the infinite is itself the primary and positive notion from which the idea of the finite is logically derived by negation, the adequate cause of my idea of God cannot be previously entertained ideas of finite things; it can only be a real infinite being of which my 'idea' is a reflection. Similarly, I myself, who have this idea, am a finite being, and depend for my existence on a cause. This cause is not myself, as the very fact of my limitations shows, and if I try to find the cause in my progenitors, they also are finite beings, and therefore their existence is not self-explanatory. In the end, we must find the explanation of all dependent existence in an infinite independent existent. The type of the argument is Neoplatonic, and presupposes the general Neoplatonic conception of the hierarchized world. Descartes shows still more strikingly how much of the Platonic-Augustinian metaphysic he has unconsciously retained by reviving Anselm's 'ontological argument' in a version of his own. By God we mean an infinitely and absolutely perfect being. Now existence itself is a perfection, and therefore it is as immediately evident that existence is an attribute of such a being as it is that to have the sum of its interior angles equal to two right angles is an

attribute of a plane triangle. (It is this version of the 'proof', with its assumption that 'real existence' is one attribute or predicate among others, which Kant is attacking when he argues that, so far as their predicates are concerned, there is no difference between a hundred dollars actually in my purse and a hundred dollars which I only imagine.) In this conception of God, Descartes is following very much in the lines of Duns Scotus. Like him, he lays the principal stress on the divine *infinity*, and he even goes beyond Scotus in his exaltation of will in God at the expense of understanding. According to Descartes, even the first principles of mathematics are only true because God has arbitrarily willed that they should be so; God might have willed that two sides of a plane triangle should not be greater than the third.

Error. If the source of all existence is a God who, being perfect, cannot be a 'deceiver', and so the cause of illusion, how are we to explain the fact of human error? Why does our thinking ever lead us to anything but truth? Descartes finds the answer in the freedom of the human will. God has endowed us with a limited understanding but with an absolute freedom of will, equal to His own. It is always in my power to give my assent to a proposition or to withhold it at my pleasure. Hence I can, if I please, assent to suggestions which I have not yet 'clearly and evidently' discerned to be true. When I do so, I fall into error, and it is wholly my own fault. But equally I can, if I choose, refuse to assent to any proposition until I have seen its truths to be evident; thus it is also in my power, if I please, to secure a sort of secondary infallibility for myself by only asserting as true what I see to be evidently so, and suspending my judgement in all other cases. The difficulty which Descartes does not fairly face is that we are unfortunately too liable to suppose an 'idea' 'clear and evident' when it is not so.

Mind and matter. What, then, does clear and distinct thought teach us about the world? In the first place, it teaches us that there are thinking things, minds, and we know this even more immediately than we know that there are bodies. Also, now that we are satisfied that God has not given us inherently

illusory faculties, clear and distinct thought teaches us that there are bodies. Now we can understand clearly and distinctly what a mind is without introducing any reference to body, and what a body is without any reference to mind. Descartes therefore argues, on the strength of his principle that 'what I clearly and evidently perceive, *is*', that mind and body are existents which are wholly independent of one another. Both are *substances*, that is, things which can exist independently of anything else, other than the infinite being, God, on whom all finite existence depends. And none of the attributes of mental substances are attributes of bodily substances, or vice versa.

Ideas and sensations. Innate ideas. Soul and body. The primary character of a mind is that it is conscious and indivisible, of a body that it is unconscious and extended, and therefore indefinitely divisible. Descartes is thus the author of the radical 'bifurcation' of nature into the two mutually exclusive sections, immaterial mind, mindless matter. In virtue also of this 'bifurcation', Descartes starts the whole intricate problem of the relation of mind to body in man. From this point of view, in the living man there is a temporary combination of two really distinct substances, with an important consequence for the theory of knowledge. It is a consequence of this conjunction that we not only have clear and distinct ideas, but also sensations, which Descartes regards as confused and indistinct awarenesses, produced in the mind as an effect of the action of external bodies on the nervous system. These confused awarenesses serve only the purpose of prompting the organism to respond to external changes in its environment in ways conducive to its preservation; not being clear and evident, they convey no information about the real constitution of the physical environment. In this way Descartes reaches the same conclusion as Galileo or Hobbes, that sensible qualities are secondary effects in the mind, not real qualities of body. Our clear and distinct ideas, on the other hand, which are the exclusive material of science, belong entirely to the mind, independently of the body, as its own property, and Descartes therefore maintains that they are all 'innate', not in the sense that we possess

them as an actual fact from the first, but in the sense that they spontaneously emerge in the course of the mind's development, so that the adult mind has only to consult its own thinking carefully to discover them there. This conception of sensation as 'confused thinking', with its corollary that sense-perception tells us nothing about the real structure of things, is the most characteristic feature of the Cartesian theory of knowledge. Descartes conceives the relation between my mind and my body as one of interaction, taking place at a particular centre in the brain, the pineal gland. Thinking is a wholly spiritual process, with no bodily organ. The stimulation of a sense-organ, and the propagation of the effects of stimulation inwards to this cerebral centre, is a purely physical process, and so is the discharge from this centre of the movements by which we react to stimulation. It is between the modification of the cerebral centre by the incoming stimulation and the discharge of the motor response from the centre that the soul comes into play with a sensation and a conscious impulse, or volition, to react by movement. (The representation that Descartes thinks of the immaterial soul as *pushing* the pineal gland is a mere caricature of his thought.) In the case of the lower animals Descartes finds himself in a difficulty. As he will not allow them a mind, he tries to regard the whole process of stimulation followed by motor reaction in them as purely physical, but he does not himself explicitly draw the conclusion drawn by some of his followers, that animals are mere self-regulating pieces of machinery utterly devoid of even elementary consciousness.

Matter. Our only clear and evident ideas of body are geometrical. This may be illustrated from the process of melting a lump of beeswax. As we melt it, all its apparent sensible qualities change; the one property which remains unaffected is that of being extended in three dimensions and, since we clearly and distinctly apprehend the persistence of this property under the variation in all other respects, it follows on Cartesian principles that extension is the only inseparable and real character of bodies. This is why Descartes maintains that there is no *vacuum* in nature. Extension and matter are the same thing,

and what we call an empty space is only one which contains nothing perceptible to sight or touch. It follows that equal volumes always contain an equal 'quantity of matter', i.e. that there is no concept in Descartes's physics answering to what we mean to-day by 'mass' and also that he cannot regard the structure of matter as atomic. The indefinite divisibility of body follows from that of geometrical volume. The science to which we must always go in the last resort for an explanation of all physical processes is consequently rational kinematics, the geometry of massless motions. (It is characteristic of Descartes that he illustrates the point by an elaborate mechanical account of the circulation of the blood in which he has got the experimental facts wrong, by inverting the parts actually played by the *systole* and *diastole* of the heart.) Consequently Descartes gives great prominence in his physics to an attempt to work out the laws of the effect of collision on the motion of moving particles. Unfortunately the assumptions on which he bases his reasoning are false. In the absence of the conception of mass and energy, he tries to work with a really meaningless principle of the 'conservation of motion'. (Had he possessed the notion of mass, this principle might have been transformed into 'conservation of *momentum*', but would still have been meaningless from neglect of the fact that momentum, like motion, is a *directed* quantity.) Hence the laws laid down are either actually false, or such as would only hold good in special limiting conditions. This is perhaps the most striking example of the mischief done in science by the Cartesian neglect of sensible brute fact and over-devotion to 'clear and distinct ideas'.

In his detailed cosmology, since he cannot recognize action across an empty space, Descartes has to account for the planetary motions as due to 'vortices', or eddies, of invisible matter which surrounds a planet and carries it round with itself, a notion which has analogies in the 'ethers' so freely invented by the scientific imagination of the nineteenth century. The expulsion of these vortices from astronomy was one result of Newton's work. In spite of ecclesiastical opposition, which

was more pronounced on the Protestant than on the Roman side, Cartesianism rapidly won adherents in Great Britain as well as on the Continent; on its physical side it may be said to have been the reigning philosophy until its overthrow at the end of the century by Newton. On the more metaphysical side, difficulties inherent in the rigid dualism of mind and matter taught by Descartes led to an important modification.

Occasionalism. If only that can be true of which we have a clear and distinct idea, it was hard to see how Descartes's own doctrine of the intervention of the soul between the reception of a stimulation in the cerebral centre and the initiation of a motor response can be accepted, for we certainly have no clear and distinct idea of the nature of the transaction involved. Indeed, if mental substance and bodily substance have really nothing whatever in common, it was felt hard to understand how either can affect the other in any way. Hence the development among Descartes's followers of the doctrine called Occasionalism. On this view no bodily process ever causes a mental effect, and no mental act ever causes a physical result. What happens in my body is not the cause of anything that happens in my mind, what happens in my mind not the cause of anything that happens in my body. In both cases it is God who really causes the adjustment of the event in the one series to that in the other. A pin pricks my finger; in itself this causes only a series of purely physical consequences in my organism, but it also serves God as an *occasion* to produce in my mind the consciousness of pain. I will to move my hand; the mental act causes no bodily movement, but God makes it the *occasion* for producing in my body a change which leads to the movement. The doctrine, as Leibniz said, reduces life to a string of miracles, and is not removed very far from the kind of Monism which would make God the sole agent in everything. We shall see that each of the two chief constructive philosophers of the immediately succeeding era, Spinoza and Leibniz, has his own way of escaping it.

On a general view we may say that Descartes in a sense revives the essential spirit of Platonism in its insistence that the

real is an intrinsically intelligible whole, and its exaltation of mathematical thinking as the typical method of intelligence. His exclusive devotion to the 'clear and evident' perhaps goes beyond Plato, and justifies the neo-scholastic criticism that he treats the human mind too much as though it were an 'angelic intellect', independent of acquaintance with brute fact. His influence in stimulating the creation of a mathematical science of nature is none the less beneficent that his own results are mostly unsatisfactory. The rigid dualism of matter and mind and the dogma of the 'subjectivity' of sensible qualities are among the more dubious features of his philosophical legacy to the future.

Spinoza. The great difficulty in Descartes's scheme is that it recognizes finite substances by the side of the infinite. This is a difficulty for him, as it had not been for the schoolmen, because, whereas they, like Aristotle, had meant by *substance* simply a concrete individual thing, 'that which cannot be *predicated* of anything else', Descartes understands by the term 'that which can *exist* independently of everything else'. In this sense of the word, God, if God exists, must be the only substance—and since the Cartesians do not distinguish clearly between the traditional Aristotelian sense of *substance* and their own, it becomes very hard for them to regard finite individuality as more than an illusion. It is an easy step to the conclusion that there is really only one mind and only one body, and that this mind and body must somehow be really one and the same thing, the only real individual thing there is. This conclusion was almost reached by Descartes's follower, the Belgian Protestant, Arnold Geulincx (1623–69). It is explicitly asserted by the solitary Jewish thinker Baruch (or Benedict) Spinoza (1632–77). This is the sense of Leibniz's saying that Spinoza was the harvest of which Descartes sowed the seed.

Spinoza was never, indeed, merely a disciple of Descartes. He began his life as a philosopher with a strong bias to a general view of the world derived from medieval Jewish Neoplatonism. But he shares the Cartesian enthusiasm for natural science, and accepts unreservedly Descartes's ideal of exclusive

reliance on 'clear and distinct ideas' and the 'geometrical method'. His detached position as a Spanish Jew in the midst of a society of Dutch Protestants, early excommunicated by his own people and never connected with any Christian Church, made it possible for him to pursue the implications of this ultra-rationalism to their consequences with a thoroughness which won him the popular reputation of 'atheism', and caused his work to be misunderstood and neglected for a century after his death. Now that his admirable personal character is more justly appreciated and his thought better understood, he stands out as one of the greatest metaphysical thinkers of all time.

Adequate ideas. Intuitive science. Like Descartes, Spinoza holds that the distinction between what is real and what is not answers exactly to the distinction between our clear and distinct or, as he calls them, *adequate* ideas, and those which are inadequate. My thought is sometimes internally thoroughly self-consistent; when this is so, I have adequate ideas, and I am *knowing*; sometimes my thinking is incoherent, my ideas inadequate, and then I am not knowing, but merely *imagining*. We cannot assign any external mark by which an adequate idea can be distinguished from an inadequate, but neither do we need any such mark. When our thinking is adequate we are always aware that it is so; the true thought carries the evidence of its truth in itself. And reality, that which really is, is simply that which I think or know to be, when my thinking is adequate. (Thus Spinoza does not need, like Descartes, to satisfy himself that all our thinking is not illusion by the roundabout method of proving that God is not a deceiver. I always know that I am thinking adequately when I am so thinking, and therefore know that I am thinking of things as they really are.) The typical example of a way of thinking which is perfectly adequate, and in which we are always thinking of objects as they really are, is geometry, in which, as Spinoza holds, we start from simple truths which we directly see to be truths and reason to a body of conclusions by a process in which every step of the argument is immediately seen to be valid. There is, indeed, a still higher level of knowledge at which we do not, like the

geometer, infer abstract universal conclusions by a chain of reasoning, but directly see that some concrete particular fact is such and such, and must be so, in virtue of the structure of the whole system of fact. This is what Spinoza calls 'intuitive science', but he admits that it is only in very few cases that we can obtain this kind of insight. For practical purposes we may treat the geometer's procedure as the type of knowledge.

Order of ideas. From this account of knowledge it followed that the order and connexion of things and of true ideas is the same. When I think scientifically the order of sequence and dependence in my thoughts must answer to the real order of structural dependence in the system of things about which I think. So we must not, like Descartes, begin with an object, the thinker, admittedly dependent on something else, and then try to reason to the existence of something independent. We must start, as the schoolmen do, with a true conception of that on which everything else depends and set ourselves in its light to understand what depends on it. Hence Spinoza's exposition of his philosophy begins with the doctrine of the independent being, the infinite substance which he calls indifferently God or Nature.

God (Nature). Substance and modes. *Substance* is to mean that which exists independently, in its own right, that of which it is the very nature to exist, and *God* to mean absolutely, unrestrictedly, infinite substance. Whatever else may exist will be dependent on substance for its existence, and Spinoza will call it a *mode* (or phase) of substance. It has to be made out that *God* and *substance* are synonyms, that is, that what exists in its own right must be absolutely infinite, and consequently that there is only one independent being. That *substance* exists is sufficiently guaranteed by an 'ontological' proof. (We have defined it to be that of which it is the very nature to exist.) It must be absolutely infinite, since there is nothing independent of it to set limits to it, and must be one because it is infinite. (A second infinite would limit the first.) Whatever is not this one infinite substance must be one of its dependent 'modes'.

Attributes. Reality consists of substance and its modes. The

modes fall into a plurality of infinitely extended chains, or series, which Spinoza calls the *attributes* of God. Two such chains are known to us, the series of configurations of matter in motion which make up the external world, and the series of conscious states which make up our mental life. We can always account for a configuration of matter in motion, as we do in physical science, by tracing its connexion in a system with other such configurations, and we can in the same way, in mental science, account for conscious states by tracing their systematic interconnexions with others. But we can find no intelligible connexion between a configuration and a conscious state. On the principle that where there is connexion in reality there must also be a connexion in our 'clear and distinct' thinking, there can be neither causal nor logical connexion between a physical fact and a mental fact. The only connexion is that the system of modes of the one kind and that of the other are expressions of the nature of the same one substance. So accepting Descartes's identification of matter and volume, Spinoza says that God has two irreducible *attributes* known to us, extension and thought. But from the absolute infinity of God he infers that there must be an infinity of other irreducible attributes unknown to us. The modes of each attribute form a chain in which every member is explicable by its relations with the rest, but no mode of one attribute has intelligible relations with any mode of any other. Yet since all the modes are expressions of the nature of the same substance, there must be a formal *correspondence*, such that there is just one mode of each attribute answering to a given mode of any other. Indeed, in some inexplicable way Spinoza holds that the mode of thought and the modes of all the infinite unknown attributes which answer to a given mode of extension not only answer to it, but are identical with it, though apparently utterly disparate from it. It is as though the 'nature of substance' were, so to say, a text existing in an infinite number of transcripts in totally unlike languages, no one version being more or less full and precise than any other, and no two of the languages even having anything in common between their alphabets. It is perhaps the greatest difficulty in

understanding Spinoza to hold together the two thoughts that corresponding modes of different attributes are at once utterly disparate and yet, in some sense, the same.

Infinite and finite modes. The apparent multiplicity of finite individual bodies and minds is thus resolved into two disparate but corresponding systems of temporary modes, or phases, of the one eternal substance. What we call one body is only an arbitrarily isolated fragment of one infinite configuration of 'motion and rest' embracing the whole of physical nature. What we call an individual mind is, in the same way, an isolated sub-system in a world-wide total system of mental states, called by Spinoza the 'infinite intellect of God'. It is these two 'infinite modes' of which Spinoza speaks as the things '*directly* produced by God', in distinction from the sub-systems we know as particular bodies or particular minds, the 'finite modes'. Since all finitude implies limitation, and therefore negation, the gradation down from the 'infinite modes' to the most narrowly limited 'finite modes' corresponds, so far, pretty closely to the Neoplatonic and scholastic conception of the hierarchized world. But there are characteristic and important differences between the scholastic conception of creation, 'the way in which things proceed from God', and Spinoza's.

Universal necessity. The whole system of all the modes expresses the *nature* of substance; hence Spinoza will not admit any element of 'free will' in the process of 'creation'. What the system of modes must be is determined once and for all by the nature of substance, and the nature of substance is an ultimate fact. Hence God (or substance) is only free in the sense that there is no ulterior reality outside it of which its nature is a consequence; God's nature being what it is, it *necessarily* expresses itself in the way in which it does, and it follows that nothing but what is actual is really possible; no event whatever could ever be anything but what it actually is. In fact freedom, in the sense of free choice, is an illusion; men only imagine themselves free because they know what they do, but are usually ignorant of the causes of their acts. A falling stone, if it were aware of falling, would in the same way falsely imagine that

it was falling of its free will. God, in fact, is the universal cause of everything, but an 'immanent', not a 'transitive' cause. That is, He does not fashion things from outside as He pleases. He is the reality within them which can only express itself in the way which answers to its nature. It follows that we must not attribute anything like purpose to God. Understanding and will, if ascribed to God, can have nothing but the name in common with understanding and will in man.

Moral distinctions not ultimate. This, in fact, would follow at once from the consideration that Spinoza regards the temporal distinction of past and future, without which we cannot explain what we mean by 'purpose', as an illusion of imagination. The absence of all reference to time from geometrical truth leads him to hold that it is characteristic of knowledge, as contrasted with imagination, to contemplate its objects 'under a form of eternity', that is in a way from which all reference to past or future has been eliminated. He also has to accept the extreme nominalist view of 'universals', as a mere convenience for human thinking. There are really only substance and its individual modes; thus there really is such a mode as Peter, or as Paul, but not as 'man'. 'Man' is a mere fiction due to our inability to envisage each of an indefinite multitude of resembling 'modes' in its full particularity. This doctrine has the awkward consequence for Spinoza's ethics that he has to deny, as a matter of theory, the absolute reality of moral distinctions. We call Nero, for example, a bad man, but the truth is that Nero is not a bad *man*, but a perfect *Nero*. The crimes of Nero, like all other events of history, are a way in which the nature of substance expresses itself; they have their necessary place in the system of things as much as the virtues of Socrates. Our reprobation of them only means that they are at variance with the particular nature of ourselves, which is not Nero's nature.

Mind and body. The relation between mind and body is explained by the more general doctrine of the attributes. A living body is simply a complex mode belonging to the attribute of extension, a highly complex configuration of matter in motion. There must be a precisely corresponding complex

mode of the attribute of thought, and this is the 'mind' of the body in question. It follows that *every* body has a corresponding mind, with a degree of complexity of structure answering to that of the body itself. But since the attributes of extension and of thought are disparate, we must never try to account for a mode of one by reference to a mode of the other. No mental state may be regarded as the cause of a bodily state, and no bodily state as the cause of a mental. We must, for example, aim at accounting for all that happens in the human body by the principles of mechanics, without any reference to a mind; there must be no reciprocal action of mind on body, or body on mind. Spinoza is thus the source of the doctrine of so-called 'psychophysical parallelism', but we must remember that in his view the ultimate explanation of the 'parallelism' is that the complex mode of extension we call the body and the complex mode of thought we call the mind are really *identical*. He really teaches not 'parallelism' but 'neutral monism', with all its difficulties.

Ethics. Our space will not permit us to follow Spinoza through the ethical developments of his thought. In morals he starts from the position that *all* action is prompted by the fundamental impulse to maintenance of one's existence, which is, in fact, God's self-assertion revealing itself in each of the modes in which He expresses Himself. Under the influence of rational reflection, and especially of philosophical meditation on the fundamental unity of all things, this impulse, which begins as narrowly individualistic, may give rise to a morality of benevolent social co-operation, which has for its aim the maintenance of the moralized and civilized community. The paradox is that Spinoza attempts thus to found a morality of self-forgetful public spirit upon a psychological basis of sheer egoism. So far as men thus escape from the egoism of blind passion into the sociality of rational co-operation they become 'free', not in the sense that they cease to be completely 'causally determined' in all they do, but in the sense that their life becomes the expression of steady and coherent rational purpose.

Eternity of the mind. Spinoza goes still farther. He holds that

philosophic insight into the systematic unity of things and the inevitability of all that befalls us will produce a serene acquiescence in our destiny, an acceptance of the universal order, which may be called a 'love' of God. Also—though it is hard to see how this final development is consistent with the rest of the system—philosophic insight into the nature of the mind leads us to see that the individual mind is, in some sense, an 'eternal' mode of God's being, and so has a reality which is not existence in time at all, and is consequently not affected by the fate of the body. In the man who realizes this, love of God takes on a new quality; it becomes an 'intellectual love of God' which may be actually identified with the intellectual love with which God loves Himself.

Throughout Spinoza's thought we seem to detect a conflict between two tendencies. His devotion to the 'geometrical method' as the one clue to the nature of the real inevitably leads to the confusion of reality with clear-cut abstractions, and to the denial that finite reality is more than an illusion of imagination. The natural consequence would be, and is, that an abstract kinematical scheme is mistaken for the real physical world, and the unreality of the distinction between past and future is part of this confusion. On the other hand there is a side to his thinking which gets its fullest expression in his language about the 'eternity' of individual minds. If this is no illusion, the finite individual must be real in a way of which the 'geometrical method' takes no account, and Time and History must be more than imaginary. It is significant that at the end of his life Spinoza is found confessing to a correspondent that, after all, Descartes was wrong in identifying the 'essence' of bodies with extension. Further development of the thought might have led to the discovery that his own metaphysical construction rests all through on the dangerous assumption that what is *substance* in Aristotle's sense, a real individual, must be *substance* in Descartes's sense, too. If this assumption is denied, the way is open from Spinoza's position to one more like that of Leibniz.

Malebranche. The inherent difficulty of the Cartesian dualism

is strikingly illustrated by the turn given to Descartes's theory of knowledge by N. Malebranche (1638–1715), an eminent theologian and metaphysician who combines devotion to Augustine with zeal for Cartesian science. With the Occasionalists Malebranche denies the possibility of interaction between substances so diverse in their nature as body and mind, but he does not stop here. Since mind and matter are absolutely disparate, he urges, it is clearly impossible for a physical fact to be *represented* by a mental fact. Descartes had identified 'ideas' with states of mind, and had assumed that to know a thing means to have in our minds an 'idea' which represents the thing. Malebranche draws the conclusion that we cannot directly know the physical world at all, since extension cannot be represented by a state of our unextended mind. Our minds, then, have no contact with physical reality. The 'confused ideas' of colours and other sensible qualities are only sensations, strictly *mental* events, to which no physical reality corresponds. The 'clear and distinct ideas' of the physical world which we get from geometry and kinematics are knowledge and so represent the world as it is, but we cannot have derived them from contemplation of the physical facts. They must be derived from direct contact with a mind, the divine Mind. Geometrical science 'sees all its objects in God'; that is, the geometer apprehends not physical extension but the archetypal idea of it in the Mind of the Creator. Thus Malebranche returns to St. Augustine's conception of knowledge as direct illumination of the mind by God, and goes beyond it by asserting expressly, as Augustine did not, that the human mind thus illuminated contemplates the archetypal ideas themselves. The actual existence of a physical world thus becomes a superfluous hypothesis. Malebranche has no reason to regard our belief in it as more than a gigantic hallucination, except that he regards the creation narrative of Genesis as authoritatively asserting the fact. If we regard such a view as incredible, we shall have to ask ourselves whether the doctrine of 'representative perception', to which Descartes committed subsequent philosophers, is not false in principle.

Leibniz. The last great constructive metaphysician of the century, and its most universal genius, is Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1715), publicist, historian, theologian, mathematician, and man of science. The very multiplicity of his gifts and interests left him no leisure to work out his view of the world systematically. Apart from the *Theodicy*, a semi-popular discussion of the problem of Providence, Predestination, and the moral government of the world, Leibniz himself published only a few communications to learned journals; his deepest thought is recorded in the mass of correspondence and memoranda left behind him, and the great bulk of this is still unprinted, though much has been given to the world by a succession of editors. His influence on the whole literature of the eighteenth century was wide and profound, but he was only very imperfectly understood.

Biological and mathematical influences. In one important respect Leibniz returns to the thought of Plato, Aristotle, and the great schoolmen. The world is, indeed, a complicated structure of interlocking parts; there is a ‘mechanism’ of wheels within wheels concerned in the production of every event, and we must always try to discover it. But there is also a unity of plan and purpose running through the whole system; ‘final causes’ must not be ignored with Descartes, still less be declared with Spinoza to be illusions. Often enough the mechanism of a process only discloses itself when the end subserved by the process has been grasped. Less happy is the effect of a biological theory upon Leibniz’s conception of development. He adopts the false *preformationist* view that biological development is merely the unfolding on a large scale of a structure already pre-existent in miniature; the acorn contains a microscopic oak, the spermatozoon is the future animal in little. *Epigenesis*, the production of the really novel, is thus excluded from nature. Two thoughts of first-rate importance come from his mathematical studies. The discovery of the significance of *vis viva* in dynamics shows that the physicist’s world does not consist simply of moving volumes; *activity* (as we should now say, *energy*) is a fundamental fact for him. Descartes, then, was wrong

in principle in holding that mere extension is the one essential character of bodies. And, as is natural in one who was with Newton the joint-discoverer of the Calculus, Leibniz is constantly preoccupied with the notion of *continuity*. However often we subdivide a volume, we are still left with lesser volumes which are again divisible; division, repeated indefinitely often, never yields unextended points, and this consideration, Leibniz holds, is fatal to the notion of corporeal substance.

Monads. Approaching the philosophical problem in the light of these ideas, we see that Spinoza was wrong in teaching the unity of substance. The physical and the social worlds, as we know them, are *complex* systems of many individual members, and, in the physical world, these members themselves are also divisible complexes. Now a complex cannot be more real than its component units, and the universe must thus, in the end, be a system composed of an infinity of units which are really individual. Such units, being simple and individual, cannot be produced or destroyed by any gradual process. They can only begin, if at all, by a sudden *creation*, and only cease by total *annihilation*. They must be regarded as the substances of which the world is composed and, because of their indivisible simplicity, they are called by Leibniz *monads* (units). Since extension is definitely divisible, these units cannot be extended, and so bodies must in fact be complexes of real constituents which are incorporeal. At the same time the activity which dynamics shows to be a fundamental fact of the natural world must be derived from an activity, or propensity to change, inherent in the monads themselves. A monad, then, is a simple indivisible substance with an internal principle of self-initiated change.

The hierarchy of bare monads, souls, spirits. Matter a 'well-grounded appearance'. *Petites perceptions.* There is just one thing with which we are acquainted which is at once such an indivisible unity and incessantly active from within, our own mind, and the mind must therefore be typical of the monads which constitute the universe. But the universe contains inanimate bodies and beasts as well as rational minds. We can form some

notion of the simple units which constitute inanimate bodies if we try to imagine the mind when its thoughts are most dim and confused in a death-like swoon, while the state of a mind in an incoherent dream will suggest what must be the permanent condition of an animal's mind. We can thus conceive of a hierarchy of monads falling into three ascending levels, 'bare' monads, *souls* capable of conscious perception and rudimentary memory, rational *spirits* capable of self-consciousness and perception of universal truths. If we further conceive of the gradation of the whole system of monads as continuous, each differing from the next to it in the hierarchy by an infinitesimal variation in the clearness of its consciousness, the whole universe, from the 'rapt seraph that adores and burns' down to the humblest speck of dust, will be seen as an infinite and continuous hierarchy of individual substances, all of the same spiritual type, but graded by the variation in the clarity and distinctness of their perceptions. What we call the material world will thus be no more than an *appearance* or *phenomenon*, though a 'well-grounded' appearance, a confused apprehension of an infinitely complex system of *bare* monads which are not individually recognizable to us. In this way we get rid of the Cartesian dualism of material and mental substance. The conception is made easier to us by consideration of our own 'subconscious sensations', to which Leibniz was the first to direct attention. There are many sensations which we have without being aware at the time that we are having them, sensations which are not *attended* to, and Leibniz, who accepts the Cartesian view of sensation as 'confused' thinking, further argues that a sensation aroused by a complex stimulus, like the roar of the sea, must itself be a complex of more elementary undiscriminated sensations corresponding to each component of the stimulus (in this case the separate waves). A bare monad is like a mind with none but undiscriminated sensations.

No interaction of monads. Activity is the fundamental fact in the world, and all activity is, in the end, that of the individual monads. Their activity is wholly internal; it is a tendency to change their own internal states. It follows at once that no

monad ever acts upon another or is acted upon by another. There is no interaction of mind and body, nor even any real interaction of one body with another. We *talk* of one body setting another in motion, but motion is not a stuff which can be decanted from one container into another. A monad, as Leibniz puts it, 'has no windows' through which anything can get into or out of it. We must think of each monad, then, as strictly initiating for itself the whole endless series of its changes. It follows its own line of development, or self-unfolding, from within, exactly as though it were alone in the universe. In fact, the whole activity of a monad consists in *perception*, the initiation of a series of internal states of which the initiator is more or less dimly aware. (We shall see directly what important consequences this doctrine has for Leibniz's psychology and theory of knowledge.) And yet it is a presupposition of science that the whole universe forms a connected system, and it has all the appearance of a system in which there is intimate and all-pervading causal interconnexion. How is this appearance to be accounted for? Leibniz's answer is best understood by reproducing some of his own illustrations. Two clocks may keep time neither because there is a mechanical connexion between their pendulums (the Interactionist view), nor because the maker is perpetually regulating one of them by the other (the Occasionalist view), but because both have been made by the same artist, and each therefore independently tells the time correctly. A band of musicians, each invisible and even inaudible to the rest, might keep perfect time and tune if each performer were merely rendering the score of his own part perfectly. So it is with the monads of the universe. Each goes its own way, as if it were alone in the universe, initiating its own states and aware only of them (and, if it is a *spirit*, of itself as their owner); yet all keep time and tune, because the plan of the whole universe is such that the development of every monad fits in with the developments of all the rest; each in attending only to its own states is also adapting itself to those of all the rest. The series of internal states in every monad is thus a *representation* of the states of all the rest; and thus the life-

histories of all the monads are like so many perspective drawings of the same city, each taken from a different point of view. No one drawing is a replica of any other, and each is independently taken; yet, if the drawings are accurate, there is a precise correspondence between them all, just because they are perspectives of one original. This is the famous doctrine of the *Pre-established Harmony* of all monads.

God and His choice of the best. In Leibniz's scheme, then, the real causal interconnexion of finite substances, which he denies, is replaced by an *ideal* interrelation in the plan of the universe; hence a divine eternal author of that plan is indispensable. God is, so to say, the musician who composes the symphony, and Leibniz is a stout defender of the 'ontological' and other theistic proofs. He is also convinced that Spinoza is wrong in saying that what is not actual is impossible. Much which is genuinely possible never actually happens; we have to explain why the actual course of history realizes some of the possibilities and not others. Leibniz finds the reason in God's goodness. As perfectly wise, God knows the whole range of possibilities; as perfectly good, He gives actuality by creation to the scheme which involves most good and least evil. No *possible* world could be flawless, because complete perfection belongs only to the infinite Creator. But the world God creates is less imperfect than any alternative world. This, not the superficial exaggerated optimism satirized in Voltaire's *Candide*, is the real meaning of Leibniz's statement that we live in 'the best of all *possible* worlds'. The world is as good as it can be consistently with being a world of finite creatures.

Soul and body. Psychology of knowledge. The relation of a soul, or mind, to its body, is a particular case of the Pre-established Harmony. An organized living body is a minor system of monads containing as one member a *dominant* monad which is a soul, or, in the case of rational beings, a spirit. This dominant monad, like all monads, reflects, or represents, the whole system of monads in the universe, but it reflects the members of the group constituting its body with special clearness; it is a closer perspective of them, and this is what we mean by calling

it the mind *of* that body. The consequence is that study of the soul will often enable us to see the interconnexion between states of its body where we could not detect it by study of the bodily organism itself, since the soul, being more than a *bare* monad, represents the other monads of the system in a clearer perspective. This explains why there *seems* to be interaction between mind and body. And Leibniz adds that every soul or spirit has some group of associated monads to which it stands in this relation, and so has a body. The special prerogative of rational spirits is not that they have no body, but that they are able to reach knowledge of themselves and God, and so reflect not merely the universe, as all monads do, but God, its author. A consequence of the conception is that Leibniz holds the doctrine of 'innate' ideas in its extreme form. Since a monad apprehends directly only its own states (and itself, if it is a spirit), not only 'universals', but all our sensations themselves must be 'innate'. The mind, unfolding its internal contents, which are all along preformed within it, develops its whole experiences from within. This is what Leibniz means by adding to the dictum 'there is nothing in the understanding which has not first been in the senses', the clause 'except the understanding itself'.

Truths of reason and truths of fact. Sufficient reason. All truths analytical. Leibniz attempts in his theory of knowledge to get over the disparity, recognized since Ockham, between the universal and abstract truths of science and the particular concrete truths of historical fact, for which it is commonly held we depend on sensible experience. Often enough he distinguishes the two, and says that 'truths of reason' depend on the Law of Contradiction as their supreme principle. (That is, we can show that to deny them would involve us in asserting and denying the same proposition at once.) 'Truths of fact' can be denied without involving the denier in this absurdity, and depend on a different principle, that 'nothing happens without a sufficient reason'. But his real conviction was that the distinction between the two kinds of truth is not ultimate. Since all that happens to every monad is part of the expression of its own

nature, every true proposition is a 'truth of reason'. If we knew enough about a monad, we should discover that to deny any true statement about it is to commit the contradiction of denying that the monad has the character which it has. But to see that the denial of a 'truth of fact' involves this contradiction would require the perception of an *infinite* series of logical implications. This perception is only possible to God, who for that reason needs no *experience* of facts. God can see from eternity that it is logically implied in the very structure of Peter that he will repent of his denial and be saved, and of Judas that he will persist in his treason and be lost. *We* can no more perform such an infinite logical analysis than we can write down all the digits of an irrational square root. Hence we have to depend on experience for information about particular matters of fact, and are only independent of it where we are dealing with the universal and abstract propositions of science, the denial of which can be shown to be self-contradictory by an analysis involving only a finite number of steps. This view that all truths are really 'analytical' is the fundamental point on which we shall find Kant in revolt against Leibniz.

Determinism of Leibniz. It follows, of course, from these principles that Leibniz's conception of the whole course of events is at bottom deterministic. All the behaviour of a monad is spontaneous, initiated from within, but when once the actual system of monads has been called into being by creation, everything that will happen in the universe is settled once for all, down to the smallest detail, and there is a cast-iron and inflexible predestined history marked out for every individual. The apparent contingency of events only means that *we* commonly do not know enough about a monad to be aware of the 'world-line' laid down for it by its own structure. Man is, in this respect, no exception. A rational being has spontaneity, and moreover has intelligence, and so can act with conscious purpose. But what my purposes all through my life will be is settled once for all by the fact that I am just the monad I am, with just the degree of perception I possess. Leibniz, like St. Augustine, believes at once in 'freedom of will', in the sense

that what I will to do is the expression of my own nature, and in complete Predestination.

Ultimate difficulties. We are naturally impressed by the sweep and depth of such a theory of the universe, but there are at least two positions fundamental to it which must cause us grave misgivings. Leibniz's unqualified insistence upon the doctrine of 'representative perception' at once raises the question how, if each monad is eternally restricted to acquaintance with itself and its own states, any monad can ever come to suspect that it is not itself the whole reality. How come we ever to ask whether our perceptions are *representative* of anything? Must the truth not rather be that every real individual embraces in some way in its own being not merely 'representations' of all the rest, but the very being of them all? (This is, in fact, the point where at the present moment the cosmology of Dr. Whitehead parts company with that of Leibniz.) Similarly we cannot but feel misgivings about the doctrine that all true propositions are analytic. If the whole behaviour of each monad is determined *solely* by *its* nature, should not reality be simply a vast plurality of units which form no whole of any kind? If the monads are 'windowless', is there any ground left for believing in a universe with a structural plan, and in a divine author of the plan? Leibniz does well, as against Spinoza, to insist on the reality of the finite individual, but has he really escaped altogether from the influence of the confusion between *substance* in the Platonic-Aristotelian and *substance* in the Cartesian sense?

Newton. The one man of the seventeenth century who, more than any other, set a permanent stamp on the thought of Europe at large for two centuries is Leibniz's great contemporary, Isaac Newton (1642-1727). It was the resounding success of his *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* (1687) and *Opticks* (1704) which definitely established exact physical science as the accepted type of what knowledge should be, and proved the soundness of the view of Kepler and Galileo that the true method of physics is verification of conclusions deduced from mathematical theory by confrontation with facts, as

ascertained by observation and experiment. The *Principia* forms one long exemplification of the method. Newton's procedure is to start from the assumption of three simple laws of motion, sufficiently attested by a wide range of familiar facts, and the law of terrestrial gravitation, as already ascertained by Galileo. The theory to be tested is that the law of gravitation holds good for all material particles, at least throughout the region of the universe to which our observation extends. If this is so, it is shown that the orbit of a planet will result from a combination of a constant velocity with a gravitational acceleration towards the central body round which the planet revolves. The further consequences of this supposition are developed in detail in the first two books of the work, and in the third it is shown that they agree throughout, within the limits which must be allowed for imperfections in observation and measurement, with ascertained empirical results. Newton's central achievement is his proof that the three laws of Kepler, originally won by observation of the actual paths of the planets, are directly deducible from the theoretical identification of the 'attraction' of a planet to the central body of the system with the 'attraction' of heavy bodies to the earth which we call gravity. Gravitation itself, no doubt, has some more ultimate cause, but we are not in a position to test any speculation as to this cause by confrontation with facts which might confirm or refute it. Gravitation has therefore to be accepted simply as a fact; this is what Newton means by dismissing the topic of a cause for it with the words *hypotheses non fingo*. Unlike Descartes, he sets no value on speculation which cannot be brought to the test of possible confutation. This cautious distrust of unverifiable speculation strikes a note which will be characteristic of the whole eighteenth century. Into the more ultimate questions of metaphysics and the theory of knowledge Newton does not venture. He is content to take it for granted that there is a real world of bodies, that these bodies are atomic in their composition, that they move about in a space and time which have a reality independent of their contents, and that the mind, by following proper methods of investigation, can know the structure both of space

and time and of the bodies they contain. Nor does he feel any doubt that the constitution of nature is sufficient proof of an infinite and eternal Creator. It must not be forgotten that we owe to him the clear conception of *Mass*, or as he calls it 'quantity of matter', as a fundamental physical constant. It is the existence of bodies of equal volume but unequal mass which finally disposes of the Cartesian identification of matter with extension.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

General characteristics. The eighteenth century is one of steady progress in the development of the physical sciences, mainly guided by the hope of extending the Newtonian method of explaining the appearances presented by nature by 'attractive forces' operating at a distance into fresh regions of fact. With the history of this progress we are not here specially concerned. In its general philosophy the century shows a marked reaction from the confident speculation of its precursor. The example of Newton has bred a general distrust of far-reaching theories which cannot be brought to the test of sufficient confirmation or refutation by well-established records of fact. Construction is replaced by critical examination of our faculties and resources. The primary question comes to be not 'what is the universe?', but 'within what limits can we reasonably expect to arrive at knowledge?'; and these limits are drawn with increasing strictness until we reach in Hume a position of complete, or all but complete, scepticism. Two notable consequences are that from this period begins the inevitable but unfortunate isolation of the philosophers, who are inquiring into the problem of the limits and certainty of knowledge, from the scientific men, who concern themselves more and more exclusively with enriching our acquaintance with specific facts, and that the problem of the validity of knowledge itself is increasingly confused with the different problem of tracing the history of its growth. Psychology steadily tends to become the central interest of the philosophers and, as the consequences of their psychological assumptions are steadily worked out, they become more and

more doubtful whether we really know anything worth speaking about with certainty; the scientific specialists meanwhile proceed, in a kind of blind faith, to add one piece of fresh information to another without concerning themselves about the soundness of the whole structure. This is the situation from which philosophy was rescued towards the close of the century by Kant. How that situation arose will be seen from a brief summary of the positions of the more immediate precursors of Kant, all men of our own speech, Locke, Berkeley, Hume.

Locke. Critical purpose. Empiricism. Ideas of sensation and of reflection. John Locke (1632-1704) makes it the ostensible purpose of his famous *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) not to add to the existing store of human knowledge, like his friend Newton, but to remove some of the 'rubbish' of knowledge falsely so called which has accumulated in the course of ages. This is to be done by an impartial survey of our cognitive faculties and resources, which will make it possible to ascertain the limits within which certain knowledge is attainable. Locke's point of departure is thus not very different from that of Descartes, by whose example he was deeply influenced. But he differs entirely from Descartes in holding emphatically that there is no 'innate' or *a priori* element in our knowledge. Agreeing with Descartes that the 'object of a man's mind when he thinks' is always an *idea*, Locke insists that the mind at birth is wholly devoid of such objects; it is a 'blank sheet of paper', or an 'empty cabinet', upon which experience inscribes characters, or into which it allows contents to make their way. The contents are 'ideas', and 'ideas' are of two kinds: ideas of *sensation*, furnished by perception through the sense-organs, and ideas of *reflection*, derived from the mind's own immediate awareness of its own 'activities about its objects'. Knowledge arises as these ideas are combined, compared, distinguished in various ways. Locke supposes himself to have refuted Descartes's teaching about innate ideas by merely demonstrating that young children and rude savages have no notions of substance or cause, and no understanding of the most general and abstract principles of mathematics, ethics, or theology: a point

on which Descartes would have been in complete agreement with him. This is illustrative of a confusion which besets his whole *Essay*: the confusion between an epistemological inquiry into the validity of a thinker's thought, and a psychological inquiry into the history of its development. Kant is thinking of this confusion when he calls the *Essay* a 'physiology of the human mind'.

Locke's psychologism. Ambiguity of the word idea. There is a further unhappy ambiguity in Locke's use of the word 'idea' which involves him in grave difficulties. According to his own definition an idea is whatever is the immediate object of a man's mind when he thinks. Strictly this should mean that God, the minds of our fellow men, the bodies around us, are all 'our ideas', since they are all, at one time or another, objects of our minds when we think. But Locke has also taken over from Descartes the very different view that an idea is also a *mental* fact, a state of my mind, and he is wedded to the belief in representative perception. He is never alive to the impossibility of holding both that my ideas *are* the objects about which I think and that they are 'resemblances', or mental copies, of these objects.

Primary and secondary qualities. This attempt to hold two inconsistent theories at once compels him to give a very unsatisfactory explanation of the difference between the primary and the secondary qualities of bodies. He cannot, like Descartes, find the explanation in the superior clearness and distinctness which belong to ideas native to the mind, since his empiricism leads him to deny that the mind possesses any such native ideas. Accordingly, he falls back on the view that the 'ideas of primary qualities' (those of which arithmetic, geometry, and dynamics take account) exactly *resemble* their originals, those of secondary qualities do not: they are merely effects produced in us by unknown geometrical and dynamical properties in the 'originals'. My 'idea' of the shape of a seen body is an exact copy of its unseen real shape; my 'idea' of its colour is not a copy of anything real, but a mere effect on my mind of some unknown arrangement of parts in the body. How, if the objects

of the mind whenever it thinks are all 'ideas', I can ever come to think of some of these objects as copies of things which are not 'ideas', and to know that the copies are exact, Locke never explains.

Knowledge of universal connexion. When we come at last to the solution of Locke's original problem, *What and how much can I know?* we find him following the tradition of Ockhamism in distinguishing sharply between knowledge of universal connexions between our ideas and knowledge of real existence. We can have demonstrated truth about universal connexions in two spheres, mathematics and ethics. But the universality of ethical truths is explained to be due simply to the fact that our 'ideas of moral relations' have no 'archetypes' in the real world. We have put these ideas together for ourselves, and therefore know just what we have put into them, and what we have not—an explanation which really makes ethical propositions arbitrary. In the case of mathematical universal propositions, we can be sure of their truth because we know that our mathematical ideas *exactly* resemble their archetypes. When I see that my 'idea of a triangle' is incompatible with the idea of an angle-sum greater or less than two right angles, I can be sure, on this ground, that a 'real' triangle must always have the sum of its angles equal to two right angles. The explanation assumes, as Locke is aware, that we can somehow 'by abstraction' derive from the images of particular three-sided figures, 'let into the empty cabinet' by the senses, a 'general idea of a triangle' which is just triangular without any further specification. This is the weak place in Locke's armour against which Berkeley will direct his attack.

Knowledge of real existence. Inconsistently enough Locke has all along kept it in mind that our knowledge aims at being more than a perception of the 'agreement and disagreement between our ideas'. We aim at getting behind 'our ideas' to an independent reality to which our ideas have reference. His conclusions as to the extent of certain knowledge of this 'real existence' are modestly cautious. We have an immediate *intuitive* certainty of our own existence, though not of our existence *as substances*.

Locke is not sure that 'matter' may not have been endowed by God with the power of thinking, and more than suspects that *substance*, the unknown *X* imagined to 'underlie' the perceived characters of things, may be a word without meaning. We have *demonstrative* certainty of the existence of God, an eternal, all-powerful, and 'most knowing' Creator, though Locke regards God's existence as proved rather by the need for an eternal 'first cause' of the world than by Descartes's 'ontological argument', on the soundness of which he abstains from pronouncing. Of the real existence of everything else we have only a *sensitive* knowledge. I am certainly informed of the existence of the paper on which I am now writing while I am actually seeing and touching it; that it existed before I sat down to write, and will exist when I have left my desk, is more than I can say with certainty.

Berkeley. Criticism of the Calculus. George Berkeley (1685-1753) is the most brilliant, as Hume is the most acute, of pre-Kantian thinkers of the century. The works by which he has left a permanent mark on the history of thought are devoted to the exposition of a single principle, and were all written in early manhood. His ultimate purpose in them is a practical one: to attack the contemporary Deistic movement, with its indifference to a spiritual morality and religion. He sees in it the outcome of the tendency, fostered by the triumphs of mathematical physics, to deny the reality of everything which cannot be reduced to a system of moving mass-particles, and so becomes an acute critic both of Newton and of Locke. The attack on Newton takes the form of an exposure of the absurdity of the notion of a 'vanishing ratio', a sort of bridge between something and nothing, which was currently supposed to be fundamental in the Calculus. Berkeley's justified strictures have, in fact, only been met by the development of a more accurate logic which has banished the notion of 'infinitesimals' from the Infinitesimal Calculus. The attack against Locke is directed against his view of the status of 'primary qualities', and the conception of abstraction which the view presupposes.

Attack on abstract ideas. Berkeley, in effect, turns Locke's

empiricism against Locke himself. The ideas 'let into the empty cabinet' by experience are all completely determinate. I see many three-sided figures, some of them equilateral, some isosceles, some scalene; I never see anything like Locke's 'general idea of a triangle', which is neither equilateral, isosceles, nor scalene, and on the assumption, accepted by Berkeley, that my 'ideas' of visible shapes are simply passively received in sensation, it is impossible that I should have any such idea. Berkeley therefore denies altogether the existence of 'abstract general ideas'. When I think about a triangle, I have always before my mind a perfectly definite image of an individual and fully determinate triangular figure. Generalization only means that I take this definite and particular 'idea' to stand for an indefinite plurality of others more or less like it. (The conclusion is psychologically false and, if it were true, would be fatal to the possibility of mathematical thinking, but follows directly from Locke's identification of an 'idea' with a 'sense-datum'. Berkeley is continuing the nominalist tradition more faithfully than Locke.)

Non-existence of matter. It follows that Locke's distinction between the status of primary and of secondary qualities is baseless. Colour is actually never perceived apart from shape and size, nor shape and size apart from colour. Experience, the sole source of our ideas, presents the geometrical and mechanical properties of bodies in inseparable conjunction with colours, temperatures, and the like. Locke's supposed extra-mental world of bodies with primary qualities and no others is a fiction of the same kind as his 'general idea of a triangle'. If an idea is, as Berkeley and Locke agree, a state *of* a mind or *in* a mind, it can 'resemble' nothing but another 'state of mind', another idea. There can be no resemblance of any idea to an extra-mental reality which is *ex hypothesi* not 'in the mind'. Since the whole of the perceived natural world is a complex of 'ideas in our minds', it is senseless to talk of another unperceived nature as its cause and archetype. This is the precise meaning of Berkeley's famous denial of the existence of matter. In part, as he says, he is taking the side of

'common sense' against the 'minute philosophers'. The plain man, like Berkeley, believes that what he sees and touches is no copy of an unperceived physical world, but the actual things themselves, that e.g. the sun he sees is the very sun of which the astronomer talks, and not a copy of it. Where Berkeley differs from the plain man is not in holding that we directly perceive the natural world, but in adding, as his belief that 'ideas exist only in a mind' compels him to believe, that the '*esse* of the perceived world is *percipi*', that is, that the fact of its existence and the fact that it is being perceived are the same fact. The plain man believes that he sees the actual sun, but he also believes that the actual sun exists when he is not perceiving it, and would still exist if none of us perceived it. What has Berkeley to put in the place of this second conviction of the plain man?

Spirits and their activity. God. The problem is to explain the difference between the perceived world of bodies and the world of my dreams or my imagination. Both are complexes of ideas in my mind, and we have rejected the suggestion that the former is a copy of anything 'outside the mind'. The true point of difference is that the system of ideas which makes up the world of my fancy is private to myself and depends very largely upon my own will, since I can imagine this or that as I like; the perceived world is a system of ideas which are the same for us all and obtrude themselves on us independently of our own will. The cause of this order, therefore, is outside ourselves, and it must be an active cause. Now ideas, or, as a more modern psychology would say, presentations, are purely passive contents, and so have no causal activity. The only active cause with which we are acquainted is mind, or *spirit*; we have no *idea*, no presentation, of a spirit, but we can form a *notion* of it—we know what we mean by using the word—from our own experience of voluntary activity. By analogy we may infer that the cause of that system of ideas which we call the perceived natural world is a supreme and universal *spirit*, God, who excites corresponding perceptions in us all in a coherent order. Nature thus becomes a vast system of divinely originated

symbols, like the words of a language, in which our actual perceptions are interconnected by definite rules with those which will succeed them, and are thus warnings, or indications of what is to come, and it is this interconnexion which the plain man misinterprets as the continued and uninterrupted existence of the unperceived. Sense-perception is thus a sort of direct conversation with God, by means of a 'divine natural language', and the principle of causality enables us to reason immediately and certainly, from the very fact that we have sense-perceptions, to the existence of the supreme Spirit of spirits. We have only to be consistent enough and empiricism itself will lead us to God.

Hume. Empiricism itself, we said, has led Berkeley to God and to an intelligible order of nature established by God. But this is because Berkeley, like Locke, has assumed that the mind is immediately conscious not only of its ideas, but of its own 'operations about its ideas', while correcting Locke by pointing out that the 'notion' of such an activity is not itself an 'idea', or presented content. But would a really consistent empiricism admit the assumption? If it would not, empiricism will lead to a complete scepticism about both nature and spirit. This is the critical issue forced upon philosophers by the acute and detached analyses of David Hume (1711-76).

Impressions and ideas. Belief. Hume's avowed purpose is to 'introduce the experimental method of reasoning into moral subjects'. He means that in our study of mind we are to start by simply inventorying the facts disclosed by self-observation; no explanatory theory is to be admitted except in so far as it is forced upon us by an analysis of these given data. When we thus look into our mind and attempt an impartial description of the observed facts, we discover nothing but momentary states, or processes, of awareness, which we may call 'perceptions', and observation discloses only one difference between one kind of perception and another. Some, which Hume calls *impressions*, are more vivid than others, which he calls *ideas*; or, as he alternatively puts it, they 'strike the mind with a greater force and liveliness'. Further, we note that the ideas, or fainter

perceptions, are regularly preceded by impressions, or more vivid perceptions, of the same kind, and, as Hume holds, are, except for this difference in vivacity, exact *facsimiles* of them. When we have an impression, we commonly believe ourselves to be apprehending a real thing; when we have only an idea, to be imagining something which is not really present. But the only difference discoverable as an ascertainable fact between the 'real' thing and the 'imaginary' is the difference in the vivacity of the perception. What we perceive with irresistible vividness we believe in as real; belief is simply 'a lively idea conjoined with a present impression', which impression infects the idea with something of its own vivacity. Thus, when I am in present pain and weakness, I think of death with unusual vividness, that is, I *believe* I am going to die; when I am in health, the thought of death has no such liveliness; I have only a faint idea of my own decease, and so only imagine it, without real belief. The whole problem of a theory of knowledge is to discover whether there is any further and rational justification for any of our beliefs. Hume's conclusion is that there is none which we can point out.

Presuppositions of science. The possibility of certain knowledge, whether in the exact or in the positive sciences, depends on our ability to discover necessary connexions, mathematical connexions in the one case, connexions of cause with effect in the other. And, further, it is assumed by those who profess scientific knowledge of the physical world that bodies have a continued existence in the intervals when we are not perceiving them, and an identical substance which remains the same under all the variations of its modes, or states. Philosophers and divines similarly ascribe a continuous existence to the mind; they credit it with a permanent personal identity and distinguish it as a substance from its various affections. Hume denies that there is any discoverable foundation in observed fact for any of these assumptions.

Criticism of notions of substance and permanent identity. Personal identity a fiction. On the empiricist assumption that every impression and every idea is a particular concrete fact, *substance* has at

once to be dismissed as a fiction. If there were such a thing as a substance, it must be either an impression or an idea, persisting unchanged throughout all our experience. But neither in our observation of what we call the external world, nor in our experience of ourselves, do we find any such thing as a steadily persisting impression or idea; we find nothing but what is fleeting. *Identity* is equally a fiction. The visual and tactual impressions of each moment are numerically distinct from those of any other. But as there is a close resemblance between groups of impressions belonging to nearly adjacent moments, we tend to overlook their numerical distinctness, and to *feign* the existence of a persisting thing, which we suppose ourselves to be perceiving twice over. So *personal identity* is also a fiction; the simple fact is merely that there is no great unlikeness between the 'contents of consciousness' at nearly adjacent moments. (The explanation tacitly presupposes what it denies, the personal identity of the experient thus imposed on. But Hume seems to overlook this.)

Geometry not strictly true. *Necessary connexion* is also a 'fiction of the mind'. The supposed universal connexions of geometry have no real existence. There is no exact triangle, such as that defined in geometry, and asserted to have an angle-sum of two right angles. There are only the particular three-sided patches seen at particular moments, and these are never strictly triangular. The actual angle-sum of such figures is variable, and is conveniently taken to be two right angles, because it is always approximately that. Thus geometry is merely empirical knowledge, and its propositions are only loosely true.

Cause and effect. *Necessary connexion* a fiction due to association of ideas. The claim of our physical knowledge to be strictly science stands or falls with the possibility of establishing causal laws. Since 'each of our perceptions is a distinct existence', there is no inherent reason why a given impression should be followed by one successor rather than by another. There is no reason why the lifting of my finger should not be followed by the extinction of the sun. Experience of the fact shows us that certain impressions are as a rule followed by certain specific subsequent experi-

ences. There is a 'customary routine' in our experiences. When we talk of *A* as cause and *B* as effect, indeed, we commonly mean to assert not only that *A* has regularly been followed by *B* but that there is a 'necessary connexion' between them. But experience does not warrant this second assertion. For we have no impression of 'necessary connexion', and therefore, on Hume's principles, no idea of it either. Even in the case of our voluntary movements, all we experience is that the volition to move a limb is commonly *followed* by perception of the limb as moving; we experience this sequence, but nothing more.

The supposed necessity is only a name for the psychological fact that when *A* has very frequently been followed by *B* an 'association of ideas' is established in our own minds between *A* and *B*; we now regularly *expect* that an impression of *A* will be followed by an impression of *B*. Thus we are not really entitled to assert that there are necessary causal *connexions* in nature; we may only say that there are frequently repeated *conjunctions*, and that these conjunctions give rise to confident expectations on our part. But there is no discoverable reason in the nature of things why the course of events should conform to the expectations thus bred in us by past experiences. The 'causal laws' of science are thus statements of what past experience, in virtue of the psychological laws of association, has led us to expect, and they are nothing more. Thus the substitution of psychology for the critical study of knowledge in its product, the sciences, ends with Hume by reducing body and mind alike to one and the same thing, a mere flux of 'ideas' or 'perceptions', succeeding one another with an 'incredible rapidity', and having no discoverable connexion with one another. Both the things which these fleeting perceptions are commonly believed to reveal and the minds to which the disclosure is supposed to be made have been apparently explained away as fictions.

Hume's scepticism and modern positivism. Hume is thus left with a dilemma. 'All our perceptions are distinct existences, and the mind never perceives any real connexion among distinct existences.' Thus Descartes's rationalism, which offers a

vindication of the claims of science, is untenable since it credits the mind with perception of such connexion among distinct existences. Sensationalistic empiricism proceeds on the assumption that our distinct perceptions are distinct existences, and to be self-consistent must reject the pretensions of science to detect connexions between them. Since he knows of no third alternative in metaphysics, Hume has to adopt a strictly 'academic', or sceptical, position, a position of complete suspense of judgement on all ultimate issues. This is where he shows his superiority in acumen to most of his professed followers. Many nineteenth-century writers, like J. S. Mill and Huxley, try to construct a scientific philosophy out of an incoherent combination of Hume's sensationalism and substitution of psychology for philosophical analysis with a blind faith in the procedure of experimental science. This may be creditable to their instinctive passion for knowledge, but is not creditable to their intelligence.

Hume and theology. Hume's philosophy of course, has no place for any real knowledge of God, as we see from his posthumously published dialogues on *Natural Religion*, where he proposes to end all dispute between theists and atheists by reducing divinity to the one proposition that the cause of the universe not improbably bears some 'remote analogy' to the human mind. The clergy were deeply incensed by the tone of this dialogue and of Hume's attack on the rationality of belief in miracles. They seem to have forgotten that by Hume's own avowal *all* beliefs alike are opinions for which there is no rational justification.

The 'Scottish School'. Reid. Contemporary criticism of Hume was largely of a commonplace order, but he found a more equal opponent in Thomas Reid (1710-96), who attacks the foundations of the system with real insight. It is not true that 'the mind never perceives any real connexion between distinct existences'. As the unit of thinking is the proposition, which asserts a connexion, so the unit in perception is not an 'impression', but the apprehension of a thing possessing a quality. Hume's impressions and ideas, again, are not primary facts,

but results of an artificial analysis of percepts and propositions. And if we mean by 'idea', as Hume did, a 'mental modification', the idea is an *operation* of the mind, not an *object*. (Here Reid is exposing a confusion which had vitiated philosophical thought ever since Descartes.) When, for example, I see or smell a rose, I have a *sensation* (as Hume would say, an *impression*), but the sensation *suggests*, or discloses to me, a quality of a non-mental thing, the rose, and what I assert, when I say that the rose is red, or fragrant, is the non-mental fact that the rose possesses this quality. Sensations are mental occasions, or processes, through which we apprehend a non-mental object. Reid is not quite clear about the precise relation between the non-mental qualities and the sensations which 'suggest' belief in them, but he has the great merit of recognizing even more clearly than Hume's still greater antagonist, Kant, that in some way perception must involve direct apprehension of the non-mental. The 'suggestive' character of sensation he regards as an ultimate fact of our mental constitution. With him begins the characteristic Scottish 'common-sense' philosophy—so called from its vindication of the plain man's belief that he is directly aware of a world of real things—which came to an end in the next century with Sir William Hamilton's attempt to create a synthesis of Reid with an imperfectly understood Kant.

Kant. The critical movement inaugurated by Locke reaches its final culmination in the work of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), the direct source, for good or evil, of nearly all that is most characteristic of the philosophy of the nineteenth century. Kant is probably the most strikingly original of modern philosophers since Descartes, and, like Plato, he is an influence which can neither be ignored nor escaped; one cannot to-day think about the great issues without being forced to define one's attitude to him. Partly his unique position may be owing to the fact that he is the last very great metaphysician who has also been thoroughly at home in exact physical science; it is due even more to the union in his thought of the rationalist's aspiration for intelligible system with the experimentalist's reverence for fact. He aims at a systematic understanding of

the world in which the rationalism of Leibniz and the empiricism of Hume, the thinker who had 'aroused him', in mid-life, 'from his dogmatic slumbers', may find their reconciliation.

The critical problem. Philosophy, as a whole, Kant says, is concerned with finding the ultimate answers to three great questions: *What can I know?*; *What ought I to do?*; *What may I hope for?* The first question is answered by a true theory of the nature and extent of scientific knowledge; the second, and as Kant holds the third also, by a true theory of moral obligation and its necessary presuppositions. Science is the creation of reason in its *speculative*, or theoretical capacity, as interpretative of the world of given objects; morality, and according to Kant religion also, the creation of reason in its *practical* capacity, as prescribing a law for the conduct of rational beings. If we are ever to make steady progress in the philosophy either of nature or of morals, we must begin by laying the foundations aright, and to do this we must make a careful critical investigation into the competence of our rational faculty to understand the universe and to lay down laws for our conduct. This is why Kant calls his doctrine the 'critical' philosophy, and gives to his two chief works the name of *Critiques of Pure Reason* and of *Practical Reason*. (The inquiry is not, like Locke's, a psychological one. It is from the actual achievements of the rational faculty, the body of the sciences, and the moral law, that Kant proposes to learn what its capacity and its inherent limitations are.)

Synthetic 'a priori' truths. The fundamental fact from which we have to start in such a criticism of speculative reason is that there is such a thing as scientific knowledge, and that scientific truths are *universal* and *necessary*. When I have once counted the sum of 7 and 5, or followed the proof of the Pythagorean theorem, I *know* that $7+5=12$, and that the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle *must* be equal to the sum of the squares on the sides, and that no possible future experience will ever conflict with these truths. Similarly I know that any natural event will always be connected with *some* preceding events by the law of causality. We do not, in physics, regard this principle as standing in need of confirmation by the results

of future experience; if it were doubtful, no confirmation would be possible. All science thus presupposes the possibility of knowing universal and necessary truths which are *a priori*, in the sense of not depending upon experience of particular facts. So far the 'dogmatists' have been right, and sceptics like Hume are proved to be wrong by the fact that science exists. But the 'dogmatists' have been quite wrong in their explanation of the possibility of such knowledge. They have supposed, as Leibniz did, that these *a priori* truths are *analytical*, mere statements of information which is already conveyed when you know the meaning of their subject-terms. And here Hume was quite right. The all-important point about such propositions as those just mentioned is that they are *synthetic*, that they convey fresh information. However long I reflect on the meaning of the word 'event', for example, I shall never discover from it that an event *must* have a cause among earlier events. The problem which had baffled Hume and led him to doubt the possibility of genuine science is precisely to understand whence such information can be derived in advance of and independently of experience of particular facts.

The 'Copernican revolution'. Sense and thought. Kant speaks of his own solution of this problem as making a 'Copernican revolution' in philosophy. Copernicus made the planetary system intelligible by transferring to the earth, and so to the observer who is located on the earth, motions previously supposed to belong to the bodies observed. Similarly, Kant explains our certain knowledge of 'synthetic *a priori*' truths, which is unintelligible so long as its source is looked for in the objects known, by finding that source in the knowing mind itself. He is free to offer such an explanation because he neither, with the rationalists, treats sense as a kind of confused thinking, nor regards thought, with the empiricists, as a sort of fading sense. Sense and thought are radically disparate, and it takes the combination of both to constitute experience. This is why, though 'all our knowledge begins *with* experience', it is not all 'drawn *from* experience'.

The manifold of sense and the forms of intuition: space and time.

The raw material of experience is furnished by sense in the form of a vast mass, or manifold, of qualitatively diverse data (colours, tones, &c.). Kant, ignoring Reid's important distinction between the sensation as an event and the sense-quality as a perceived object, regards this 'manifold of sense' as made up of 'mental modifications' due to the agency of an extra-mental reality—'things in themselves'—to the character of which the mental modifications which are their effects 'in us' provide no clue. It is because the 'manifold' discloses nothing as to the nature of its source that science would be impossible if the experience with which all our knowledge begins were no more than a register of the occurrence of our sensations. No mere record of 'impressions' already received could guarantee any assertion about 'impressions' yet to be received. The reason why mathematical science is possible is that the 'impressions' which are the raw material of our experience fall into series with definite structure; they form a three-dimensional continuous series in space and a one-dimensional continuous series with an irreversible sense in time; what we study in mathematics is the formal structure of these types of order. Now, Kant holds that consideration of the nature of mathematical proof shows that this formal structure does not inhere in the 'manifold' itself, but is *put* into it by the apprehending mind in the very act of apprehension. To prove a geometrical truth, he argues, I need, in fact or in imagination, to *draw* a diagram; to prove an arithmetical proposition, I need to *count*. The counting or the drawing of the diagram are acts of *construction*, and it is from the construction that the demonstration follows. This explains why the geometer needs no empirical confirmation of his demonstration, and can be certain that no possible 'experience of fact' will conflict with it. He has himself put into his visible or imagined diagram, in the act of constructing it, the formal type of order upon which the 'necessary connexion' asserted in his conclusion ensues. Since his mind in this way *makes* its object for itself, it is quite certain that no experience can be at variance with conditions involved in that very process of apprehension by which an object of experience

is constituted. Spatial and temporal order, with all they involve, are formal universal characters of the perceived, *because* they are characters *put* into it by the percipient in the act of perceiving, 'pure forms of intuition'. (Intuition, on this view, is a precondition of thinking. To think *about* an object one must first apprehend it and, in doing so, the mind has put spatial and temporal order into the 'manifold' by its own constructive act. The 'experiences' about which we think are actually throughout of the mind's own making, though it does not make them out of nothing.)

Thinking: the categories. Similarly when we go on to think about the relations in which apprehended objects stand to one another, we can only think of them as connected in one or another of the ways in which judgements and their terms are connected, for the simple reason that all our thinking is itself the making of judgements. Now Kant holds that formal logic supplies us with an exhaustive scheme of the possible ways in which terms can be connected in a judgement, or one judgement connected with another. To each of these types of judgement, then, there will correspond a special *category*, or type of relation between the objects thought of, and we may be sure *a priori* that intelligence, seeking to understand the world of objects as a system, must organize the system in correspondence with these categories and not otherwise. For example, to understand a system is, from the nature of the case, to see the various truths which describe it as connected by the relation of ground and consequence (the relation *because—therefore*). If the terms of the system are events succeeding one another in time, this relation of *because—therefore* must take the form of *causality* (uniform connexion of a later event with earlier according to a rule). The event is understood when, and only when, we can formulate a rule or law connecting it with specific earlier events. Hence, though we have to depend on specific experiences to know what in particular are the earlier events with which a particular event is thus connected, we do not depend on them for our conviction that any event whatever must be connected in this way with some antecedent

events. That every event has *a* cause is not a truth which we learn from experience; it is an *a priori* presupposition of experience. Kant's view is thus that it is certain that under scientific scrutiny the world of experience will exhibit a strictly rational structure, but the reason why this is certain is that experience itself from the first has been *constructed* from the raw material of the 'manifold of sense' by intelligence. In elaborating the sciences, the mind is recovering a pattern which it has itself put into the material.

Kant's phenomenalism. The limits of science. It follows then that science gives us certain knowledge of 'necessary connexion', and so far the dogmatist is right as against the sceptic. But the certainty of science depends throughout on the condition that its sphere is the world into which the mind has thus projected its own forms, the *phenomenal* world, the system of appearances constructed out of the 'manifold of sense' by the imposition of the forms of intuition and the categories. 'Things-in-themselves', the assumed source of the manifold, have not contributed even the immediate raw material for this construction, and remain strictly unknown. Kant does not seriously doubt that they form a connected system, or that the categories are applicable to them. His point is that *we* do not know how to make the application, or, in his own phraseology, how to 'schematize' the categories, with reference to 'things-in-themselves'. In the application of rational principles of interconnexion in the sciences the categories, which are primarily logical principles, all take on a special form due to the fact that the material they are employed to connect consists of events in time. Causal connexion thus comes to mean in science uniform sequence, substantiality to mean persistence through a temporal period. Now space and time are primarily forms of intuition put into the 'manifold' by a human mind in the act of apprehending it. We have no means of knowing that 'things-in-themselves' are subject to spatial and temporal conditions, and hence we cannot say that persistence through time, or uniform temporal sequence, has any meaning if asserted of 'things-in-themselves'. We cannot escape *thinking* of the 'appearances' which make up

our experienced world as having their source in a world of intelligible realities which are not given to us in experience, but we have no *knowledge* of these realities.

Kant's agnosticism. This is precisely where the dogmatists have gone wrong. They have fallen into the error of attempting to extract from logical principles, which are really only applicable as rules for the interconnexion of facts of experience, information about supra-sensible realities, God, the rational soul, material substance, which are never presented to us as objects of experience at all. The sceptics have no difficulty in showing that all this supposed information about supra-sensible realities is illusory, but they go wrong in their turn when they assume that their exposure of the dogmatist's argumentative fallacies in any way discredits the reality of the supra-sensible. The truth is that rational science is concerned exclusively with the systematic interconnexions of objects of possible experience, objects which are constituted by the imposition of the forms of intuition (spatio-temporal pattern) on sense-presentations. Not only can science neither prove nor disprove the reality of such supra-sensible entities as God and the soul; it can provide nothing in the way even of a presumption for or against them.

Ethics and the supra-sensible. Our one basis for conviction of the reality of the supra-sensible is afforded not by science but by morality. To be genuinely moral is to recognize that I have absolutely unconditional obligations, that there are things I absolutely must do because they ought to be done and for no other reason, and that what I ought to do I can do, if I only will to do it. Now this is the same thing as to recognize that I am a *free* agent, no mere link in an interconnected series of sensible events, but a rational person whose own rationality is the sufficient law of his actions. Again, the unconditional demand of the moral law upon me is for complete *holiness* of will, the complete conformity of all desire and purpose with the moral law itself, and this complete subjugation of impulse and desire is only attainable in an existence unbounded by temporal duration. And finally, morality itself requires from me devotion to the ideal of the *supreme good*, and the supreme good towards

which I am required to aspire is the final coincidence of happiness with virtue, that is, a state of things in which every rational creature's will gets fulfilment just in the degree to which it is in conformity with the righteous moral law, and as a consequence of that conformity. Since the fulfilment of my will is not a direct consequence of its virtuousness, but depends also on the 'course of nature', the realization of this supreme good is only possible if the course of nature itself is governed by an author of nature who is also a being of perfect holiness, so that in obeying the moral law I am also conforming to the supreme will of which the course of nature is the expression. Morality, and morality only, thus gives us assurance of the supra-sensible realities, God and the soul. But this confidence is rational faith, not scientific knowledge. A good man will refuse to be robbed of his assurance of God, freedom, immortality, by scientific doubts, but his only and sufficient ground for refusal is his certainty that he has absolutely binding duties, and he is certain of this not because he can prove it, but because to doubt it would be already to be vicious at heart.

Primacy of practical reason. Reason in its practical capacity, as the foundation of the law of duty, thus offers a definite solution of the ultimate problems which, in its speculative capacity, as constructive of natural science, it had left unsolved. And 'practical reason' has the *right* to the last word; it has a native primacy over 'speculative reason', since all our interests, even those which lead to the construction of science, are in the end practical. (The pursuit of science itself is in the end a *moral* duty.) But we must not forget that the certainty thus won is 'merely practical'. We can be sure that God and the soul are what they must be if the moral life is to be rational; beyond this we have no knowledge of either. Kant thus, like Plato, finds the clue to reality in the moral life; but, unlike Plato, he will not call the interpretation knowledge.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

Influence of natural science and historical research. The philosophical literature of nineteenth-century Europe is at once too

vast and too near to ourselves to be seen as yet in a certain historical perspective; we must be content with a briefer indication of the directions of the main currents of thought. Since Kant's time, chemistry, electro-magnetics, stellar physics, geology, palaeontology have been created as sciences, and all have left their mark on philosophical constructions. Philosophy has been still more profoundly affected by the two capital scientific generalizations of the century, the physical theory of energy and the biological theory of evolution. The doctrines of the conservation of energy, as the one universal physical constant, and its irreversible degradation, and of the origination by evolution of the qualitatively novel have transformed cosmology almost out of recognition since the year 1800. A second potent, in some ways compensating, influence has been the quickening of the historical sense. The eighteenth century seemed at times almost to have lost comprehension of a past which it was content to regard as sunk in barbarian darkness. With the revival of nationality in the struggle against Napoleon came a deepened interest in the whole history of human politics, law, morals, art, religion, thought, which was reinforced by the tendencies of the two most ambitious philosophies of the first half of the century, those of Hegel in Germany and Comte in France. After a century of strenuous historical labours the life and thought of antiquity and the Middle Ages has once more become real to us; we know our human ancestors in a way in which the eighteenth century did not, and can see them wrestling in their own way with the same standing ultimate problems, speculative and practical, which confront ourselves. In this way the advance of historical knowledge has actually deepened that sense of human continuity which the transformation of natural science might have threatened to destroy. In philosophy, in particular, the great thinkers of the past have regained for us an interest which is no longer, as it might have been a hundred years ago, 'merely historical', just because we have a really historical understanding of their work which our grandfathers and great-grandfathers had not.

Successors of Kant. Fichte. The immediate effect of Kant's

philosophical 'revolution' was to provoke in the original minds of a younger generation a rapid development of constructive thought which took its point of departure from him but made it its chief task to overcome his Phenomenalism. The one limit Kant had set to human knowledge was that, though capable of indefinite extension, it always remains knowledge of mere appearances, 'effects in us' of an unknown reality. It was inevitable that the supposed reality, once declared to be inaccessible to knowledge, should be pronounced to be only an imaginary projection of the knowing mind itself. This step was promptly taken by Kant's successor J. G. Fichte (1762-1814), who further goes beyond Kant in another way, directly suggested by Kant's express inclusion of the individual human mind, into which Locke and Hume had supposed themselves to be able to look by introspection, among 'appearances'. Men who think truly or will virtuously are, so far, thinking and willing the same thing. Whenever my thinking is infected by 'personal bias', or my will by 'personal motives', I am thinking or willing wrongly. Fichte therefore identifies the reality, thought unknowable by Kant, which gives rise to all appearances with a universal mind which is not the private self of any of us, but thinks and wills in all of us, so far as we think what is true and will what is right, and this universal mind he identifies with God. But if the universal mind is the only reality, how comes it to masquerade in ordinary experience in the disguise of a multitude of persons with an impersonal environment, the natural world? Fichte, temperamentally a headstrong man of action who played a prominent part in promoting the national resistance of Germany to Napoleon, holds that the reason is an ethical one. Moral obligation demands a plurality of 'empirical selves' to do their duty by one another, and an apparently foreign environment of things to serve as an instrument of discipline in moral effort. Such a doctrine dissatisfies the religious mind by its reduction of God to a mere personified moral law; there was some ground for the charge brought against Fichte that he was inculcating 'atheism' on his pupils at Jena. Theology apart, it is a fatal

criticism that a philosophy of this type can give no intelligible account of erroneous thinking or immoral volition. But historically Fichte is important as a precursor of Voluntarism, the one-sided exaggeration of what Kant had taught about the primacy of the practical interest of reason.

Schelling. F. W. J. Schelling (1775-1854), as one-sidedly aesthetic in temperament as Fichte was ethical, was mainly concerned, throughout the varied intellectual adventures of a long life, with an attempt to give nature some more adequate status than that of a device for making morality practicable. In his most important works, those of his earlier manhood, his point of view closely recalls Spinoza. Nature and mind are taken to be twin self-expressions of a single reality or 'Absolute' equally manifested in both, and the 'indifference' of both, that is, no more the one than the other. So far as the mind can apprehend this mysterious reality at all, Schelling supposes it to do so not by the processes of prolonged and coherent thinking, so much as by an 'intellectual intuition', or divination of genius. Indeed, since the 'Absolute' is taken to have neither the character of nature nor that of mind, it would seem to have no particular character apprehensible by the intellect at all. Hence the sarcasms of Hegel that Schelling's 'Absolute' is shot at us 'out of a pistol', and that it is like a night in which all cows have one colour, a uniform grey. The matter was not much mended by Schelling's attempts in later life to fill in the missing colours by a fantastic theosophy drawn from a medley of misunderstood mythologies.

Hegel. The Logic and the dialectical movement. Very different was the view of Schelling's friend and contemporary G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831), to whom we owe the most ambitious, systematic, and influential of nineteenth-century philosophies. His temperament was that neither of the man of action nor of the artist, but that of the thinker. There is no way to truth but the arduous process of 'thinking things out' relentlessly; it is to logic, not to ethics or art, that we must look for the clue to the inmost character of the 'Absolute' manifested alike in nature and mind. From prolonged meditation on the history of

Christian theology and of European philosophy Hegel drew the conviction that truth is regularly established by a process in which there are three stages. A *thesis* is first laid down as the whole of the truth, and recklessly developed; since the original affirmation has been only one side of a complex truth, the development leads to contradictions, and the next stage is the counter-assertion and development of the *antithesis*, the express denial of the initial affirmation; this, in its turn, leads to new contradictions, and the further truth, which does justice to both thesis and antithesis, is found in a *synthesis*, a new conception which unites the half-truths. The same process then breaks out again with the result just reached for its starting-point, and we are thus driven from one imperfect synthesis to another until we reach a final and complete synthesis of all partial truths, in which all are completely reconciled. This procedure, in which the advance to completer truth is systematically made through successive assertions and denials of incomplete truths, Hegel calls *dialectic* and regards as the characteristic method of the intellect. His *Logic* is an attempt to arrange the various notions by which we try to understand the object of our knowledge, from the poorest and emptiest, that of a mere 'being' or 'something', to the fullest, that of self-conscious mind, or spirit, as a series in which, when we have affirmed the initial term, the dialectic of the mind inevitably drives us on until we reach the last.

Nature and mind. Now Hegel's thought was that nature and mind together form the self-manifestation of one and the same ultimate reality, a reality which lives in its manifestations and is nothing apart from them. Hence the dialectical movement of which we become conscious, as we study the history of philosophical thought, must be the very process which lies at the bottom of all the history of both nature and mind themselves. The history of nature and of mind forms a continuous story in which the temporal succession of natural events, and again of social systems, codes of morality, religions, corresponds to the order of the dialectical movement from the emptiest 'categories' to the richest, a steady advance in the complete

self-disclosure of the 'Absolute' as self-conscious spirit embodied in a rational society, and Hegel devotes immense labour to the exposition of the history of morals, politics, art, religion, from this point of view. This is how the influence of his philosophy on historical research came to be so potent.

Hegel's evolutionism. It is obvious that we have here a thought of first-rate importance; Hegel is the first philosopher to treat all natural and human history from a standpoint in which the central idea is that of *evolution*, though the evolution, as he conceives it, is a strictly *logical* process of the unfolding of implications, and has nothing to do with the special problem of the biological factors in the development of animal species. The general result is that we are brought back again to a conception of the hierarchized world closely akin to that of the Neoplatonists, whose system Hegel regarded as the culmination of Greek philosophy. But Hegel, in developing the thought, begins at the opposite end from Proclus. He starts at the bottom of the hierarchy and tries to show how, in its effort after coherent understanding, thought is driven on by its natural 'dialectic' upwards to the summit. And he finds the summit not in a 'One' which remains outside and above its manifestations, but in the supreme manifestation, self-conscious mind itself. His own name for the system is 'absolute idealism', but it is more significantly described as *panlogism*, a doctrine which aims at the identification of causal order with an order of logical 'necessary connexion'.

Defects of the system. Magnificent as such a conception of a complete rationalization of the universe is, it is clearly not to be carried through by man. Hegel is far too ready to assume that he is already in possession of all the notions a complete science and philosophy of everything would need to employ, and that he can arrange them, by the use of his 'dialectical' key, in a serial order to which the order of history in a rationally-constructed universe must correspond. He forgets that a logic which could thus put us in possession of the ground-plan of all existence would only be possible to a mind already omniscient. His application of his principle to the natural world is also

inevitably affected by undue reliance on the very imperfect natural science of his own age as an adequate account of the facts to be explained. It is a still more serious defect that his panlogism commits him to an undue optimism about historical fact. If the order of succession in time is also the order of advance from less to more adequate manifestation of 'absolute spirit', so that, as Hegel declared, 'the real is the rational', it is an easy step to infer that 'whatever is is best' and whatever succeeds is justified by its success. There was ground for the criticism that on Hegel's own showing the kingdom of Heaven is curiously like the kingdom of Prussia, and it is intelligible that in the age of disappointment and political unrest which culminated in the upheavals of 1848 the doctrine should have come to be regarded as an apologetic for social abuses. Political and social conditions together with the unprecedented advances in natural science explain the eclipse of Hegelianism in Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century. Its immense influence in Great Britain and the United States belongs to the last third of the century, and its vogue in Italy to our own; in Germany it seems to be having a revival at the present moment.

Schopenhauer. His irrationalism and pessimism. Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) represents a reckless development of the Voluntarism which is one side of the thought of Kant, in violent opposition to the Rationalism characteristic of Hegel. He is also interesting as one of the very few European philosophers who have been seriously influenced by the speculation of India. His reading of the world is that natural to a mind which was torn by the conflict between high aspirations and an unusually turbulent sensual temperament. The world of experience and science is, as Kant had taught, a mere 'appearance'; Schopenhauer, going beyond Kant, will even call it, in Indian fashion, an illusion. But the reality which is its source is a single passionate and wholly irrational 'will to live', repeating itself in all sentient creatures, whose fundamental impulse is thus one of blind egoism. Hence all life is a scene of incessant conflict and pain; the world is inevitably the *worst* of all 'possible worlds'. The way of escape from this misery has,

however, been unintentionally created by the 'will to live' itself. It has called the intellect into being as an instrument for its own gratification, and the intellect, enlightened by the philosophic insight that life is and must be miserable, can be turned against its creator. The discovery that the universal 'will to live' is the only reality, and that our individuality is an illusion, can lead to the substitution of sympathy with the pain of all sentient beings for lust after our own pleasure, and thus to a philosophic morality of abstaining from the infliction of pain which has nothing to do with 'unconditional obligations'. Art, and especially music, opens up to the intellect a field of passionless contemplation in which desire is laid to rest. And religion—which, according to Schopenhauer, has nothing to do with belief in gods—is the practice of complete renunciation, the suppression of the 'will to live'. The universal attainment of this attitude of tranquil sanctity and entire renunciation of the 'will to live' would be the prelude to the extinction of the wretchedness of creation by the disappearance of conscious existence. (Schopenhauer does not say what guarantee there is that the universal blind will would not promptly repeat its original offence.) This vehement unreasoned pessimism had little success in his own lifetime; in the next generation it enjoyed a considerable vogue from its appeal to dissatisfied sentimentality, and particularly from its adoption by Wagner as the alleged key to the meaning of his music. By a sort of inversion it ultimately gave rise to the most characteristic doctrine of the brilliant but unbalanced Fr. Nietzsche (1844–1900).

Nietzsche. The will to power. Agreeing with Schopenhauer in finding the source of all things in a reckless and wholly irrational 'will to power', Nietzsche regards this egoistic self-assertion as eminently good and the denial of it as the root of all evil. He has nothing but contempt for Schopenhauer's morality of compassion, other-worldliness, and renunciation, and calls for a 'revaluation of all values' which will take as its ideal the 'strong man', a Napoleon or Caesar, who unscrupulously forces his will on every one round him. It is never made clear whether

Nietzsche expects these 'supermen' to appear from time to time as 'sports', or looks on them as a higher species to be evolved by organic selection and education. In any case, the 'superman' has at all times been the dream of retiring invalids with a defective sense of humour, and ought never to have been taken too seriously.

Herbart. J. F. Herbart (1776-1841), famous in the history of educational theory, developed that Leibnizian strain in Kant's thought which appealed least to the philosophers just spoken of. He too regards the world of experience as an 'appearance in us', but not as the manifestation of a single reality. He conceives 'things-in-themselves' as a vast plurality of simple units, of unknown nature, interacting with one another. Our experience, which consists, as Leibniz had held, of purely internal processes, is due to the reactions of the soul—itself one of the simple 'reals'—as it adjusts itself to the stress of interaction with other 'reals'. Herbart devoted much labour to the task of working out an elaborate psychology on lines which might permit of the direct application of higher mathematics to mental processes. This hope was never fulfilled, and is not likely to be, but the school founded by Herbart did excellent work in logic, aesthetics, and descriptive psychology. His influence played a great part in shaping the thought of the most eminent German philosopher of the mid-nineteenth century, R. H. Lotze (1817-1881).

Lotze. Lotze, distinguished as both physiologist and psychologist, agrees at once with Hegel that reality is of a spiritual nature and with Herbart that there is a real plurality of individuals. The combination of the two positions leads him to a theistic pluralism akin to that of Leibniz. The universe is a great society of spirits of every grade of intelligence, with God, the supreme and perfect personal spirit at its head, as the source of the rest, and the author of the order which pervades the whole system. But Leibniz was wrong in saying that the monads have no 'windows', and that each develops wholly from within. The fundamental fact philosophy has to explain is that often called 'transitive causality', the fact that the occur-

rence of a state in one thing *A* gives rise to the occurrence of a connected state in a second thing *B*; Leibniz's doctrine of the 'harmony' is rather a denial of the fact than an explanation. The one possible line of explanation is that things *have* 'windows', they 'take note of' the changes of state in one another and adapt themselves to their observations. This might seem at first sight to make the presence of God in the scheme otiose, but it is not really so. With Leibniz, Lotze holds that the range of possibilities is wider than that of actual events, and that the source of real possibility must be found in an eternal actuality. Further examination of the conditions of the problem converts this eternal actuality into a living and personal God. The universe is thus seen to be a society of spirits of diverse degrees, proceeding from, sustained by, and presided over by the activity of the supreme divine Person. Above the finite spirits there is only God, the supreme; besides them, Lotze argues, there need be nothing but the 'conserving acts of the one supreme'; there is no ground to assert the real existence of inanimate material 'things'.

German philosophy since Lotze can hardly as yet be the subject of historical treatment. It has been profoundly affected by the growth of experimental and physiological psychology, the critical reconstruction of the whole foundations of mathematics, and the recent revolutionary modifications of physics, but these developments are still too recent for treatment here. Under them all, the influence of Kant, Fichte, Hegel are still living and potent, and the years since 1918 have seen a striking quickening of the interest in Plato, the earliest of the supreme thinkers, as the philosopher who still appeals most directly to the hearts of men in their hours of dire need.

Comte. Central as France is in the social and political life of the eighteenth century, little work of the first order was done in philosophy by Frenchmen for a hundred years after the death of Malebranche. In this field French writers are in the main dependent upon Newton and on Locke, to whose thought they give a cruder empirical colouring by the attempt to eliminate his 'ideas of reflection', and to find the one source of

our knowledge in sensation. This dependency is illustrated by the case of the two great writers who, in different ways, did most to prepare the great upheaval of the Revolution. The philosophical ideas of Rousseau come from Locke's work on *Civil Government*; those of Voltaire are avowedly derived partly from Locke, partly from the scientific circle of Newton. In the first half of the nineteenth century France once more produced a philosopher who was to exercise a great influence on the whole course of European thought, Auguste Comte (1798-1857).

The thought of Comte is characteristic of the era to which his life belonged, the half-century of reaction following on the convulsions of the French Revolution. The Revolution, it had once been hoped, would sweep away all the abuses which were relics of a barbarian past, and transport mankind into a new age of virtue and intelligence. It had actually ended in the Napoleonic wars and the restoration of the Bourbons. The almost universal feeling was that the indiscriminate destruction of men's links with the past had been a fatal mistake; if civilization was to protect itself against anarchy, the past must be understood and revered, stable and permanent institutions, which might be to the modern world what the Empire and the Papacy had been to the Middle Ages, must secure the solidarity of mankind through the successive generations. Comte's Positivism is the intellectual expression of these convictions.

The law of the three stages. On its theoretical side the doctrine has the fatal defect of starting with an excessively crude conception of knowledge. Comte, like Kant, regards the world of experience as a mere 'appearance', a mere succession of sensations which are states of ourselves. As we can never get outside these sensations, which are assumed without inquiry to be merely our own 'mental states', it is idle to raise any questions about the real nature either of that which appears to us as the outside world, or of the selves to which it appears. Science is confined to the task of detecting a routine of regular succession among our sensations and applying the resources of mathematics to the discovery of formulae which sum up this routine

in a readily manageable form, and thus enable us to anticipate the future. For want of a critical theory of knowledge, Positivism is thus committed to the self-contradictory combination of premisses from which Hume had correctly inferred the impossibility of science with the rejection of his conclusion. Comte's own personal contribution to a philosophy of the sciences is the rash, and now generally discredited, historical generalization of which he spoke as the 'law' of the three stages. Historically, it is asserted, mankind universally begins with a *theological* interpretation of all natural events, referring them to the agency of personal deities, conceived after the human model. Further reflection leads to the substitution for these personal agents of vaguely conceived forces, attraction, repulsion, and the like. This is the *metaphysical* stage of thought; the 'forces' to which it looks for the explanations are as mythological as the deities of an earlier day, but imagined less vividly. The final stage, in which thought has become fully scientific, is the *positive*. What is characteristic of it is that it entirely abandons all search for explanation of fact, and confines itself to the one question what the observed facts are, and what uniformities of succession can be detected among them; it asks not *why*, but *how*, events happen. The rashness of the generalization is sufficiently illustrated by consideration of the history of physical science in our own generation. Since 1900 we have learned much more of the way in which events happen than Comte—who actually declared that astronomy should confine itself to the solar system because the remoteness of the stars prevents all genuine knowledge about them—could have considered possible; but the physicists of 1930 are more, not less, interested in explanation than their precursors of 1900. Science is further now than it was then from being a mere 'shorthand record' of the 'routine of our perceptions'.

The religion of humanity. Comte's philosophy of science is, however, only half, and not in his own estimate the most important half, of his doctrine. His ultimate object was a control of society by men of science, analogous to Plato's rule of philosophers. Scientific men are to be masters of society,

organizing and directing all its activities with a single view to the promotion of universal human welfare on this earth. They are, in fact, to be the clergy of a new religion in which 'collective humanity' is to be the god. If this is to be effected, the minds of mankind must be won for the new 'religion of humanity' by supplying them with an object for their devout imaginations, a cultus, and a calendar of 'saints'. Hence, to the disgust of less religiously minded followers, Comte went on to invent a kind of Positivist church with its clergy, its ritual of sacraments, its mythology, and its calendar of canonized philanthropic and scientific benefactors of mankind. This 'Catholicism *minus* Christianity', as Huxley unkindly called it, naturally had no lasting success. But the general spirit of Comte's teaching, with its disrelish for 'abstractions' and devotion to concrete fact, harmonized well with the main intellectual tendencies of the second half of the nineteenth century. Positivism, though it may fairly be regarded as an ambitious failure, did good service in its time in fostering specific historical and scientific research, and in discrediting the facile kind of scientific 'explanation' which consists in merely giving a learned name to unexamined facts.

Bergson. French philosophy since Comte has been fertile in work of high quality, but there is perhaps only one of its representatives whose influence on thought outside his own country has been so marked as to demand special mention in this brief sketch, the still living philosopher Henri Bergson. Little more must be said here than that Bergson is probably the most distinguished living representative of the Voluntarist tendency in philosophy, illustrated also by the Pragmatism of the United States and Great Britain. His central thought is that of the irreducible reality of *Time*, and of the evolution of what is really *novel* in the course of events. The determinism of current science and philosophy, he holds, amounts to the view that nothing ever issues out of a situation except what was already virtually contained in it; thus virtually the universe is at any moment already completely made, nothing is ever really 'in the making'. Bergson's contention, on the other hand, is

that every genuine event is the production of something which is strictly *new*; the world is always 'being made', never actually 'made'. The fundamental reality of things is an *élan vital*, a creative advance from one novelty to another. His philosophy thus insists on the presence of a real element of the contingent and unforeseeable in all events as against the determinism which regards the future in all its detail as already prescribed by the present. The value of this central thought, no less than its coincidence with the tendencies of the latest physical science, is unmistakable; it might be another question whether it is really in any way inconsistent with an intelligent and critical 'rationalism'.

British philosophy in the early nineteenth century. In Great Britain philosophical thought between the years 1800 and 1900 may be said to have passed through three main stages. We may distinguish the period down to the publication of Spencer's earlier works and of the *Origin of Species* (1859), the pre-evolutionary period, from the succeeding quarter of a century, in which the prevailing tendency was to find in the notion of evolution the one key to all philosophical problems, and both from the last twenty-five years of the century, the era in which critical reaction against J. S. Mill and Herbert Spencer, respectively the most distinguished figures of the two former periods, combined with intensive study of Kant, Hegel, and Lotze, culminated in the domination of Great Britain and the United States by a less naturalistic type of metaphysic with marked affinities in some cases to the thought of Hegel, in others to that of Lotze.

Associationism. At the opening of the century there are two main tendencies to be noted. We have, on the one side, the Empiricists who accept Hume's analysis of the 'contents of the human mind' into a succession of atomic 'impressions' and their fainter recurrences as 'ideas', without appreciating Hume's own demonstration that the analysis is fatal to the validity of the fundamental conceptions of science themselves. The business of philosophy, as understood by these Associationists, is to account for the formation of the orderly 'connexions between

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ideas' characteristic of scientific thinking by tracing their origin to 'associations', in accord with verifiable psychological laws, established in the course of the life-history of the individual mind. Necessary connexion is thus taken to be explained as the product of casual juxtaposition. Hume had already invoked the principle, as we have seen, to account for our belief in the necessity of causal connexion. The new departure lay in the elevation of Association to the position of the single dominant principle of intellectual life. The doctrine had a pioneer in David Hartley (1705-57), but was more completely worked out by James Mill (1773-1836), his more famous son, John Stuart Mill (1806-73), and J. S. Mill's friend, the Aberdeen psychologist Alexander Bain (1818-1903). Much of Bain's detailed work in psychology was excellent, but Associationism as a universal principle of philosophical explanation was obviously foredoomed to failure for a double reason. As more careful examination of psychological facts has long convinced most competent observers, Association alone cannot even account for the connexions of thought established in the mental history of an individual thinker; what it explains is not the development of orderly coherent trains of thinking, but the intrusion of the whimsical, irrelevant, and illogical. And if it were possible, as it is not, to account by Association for our *expectation* of 'necessary connexions', the very success of the explanation, as Hume had seen, would amount to a confession that the expectation has no rational justification. When J. S. Mill was driven to maintain the existence of a 'mental chemistry', in virtue of which the association of two 'ideas' may give rise to a third, incapable of analysis into its supposed components, he was unconsciously confessing the bankruptcy of the whole scheme. Nor did Spencer mend matters by invoking the aid of 'evolution', and suggesting that connexions of thought which in our ancestors were established by association have become *a priori* and necessary in their descendants. To raise no more special objections, Spencer lays himself open to the retort that if a connexion is necessary in our own thinking, the only thinking we can investigate, it is a baseless assertion to declare that it

must have been otherwise in the thought of unknown and hypothetical ancestors.

Hamilton. The philosophy of the conditioned. The opposition to this sensationalist empiricism during the first half of the century was represented most conspicuously by Sir W. Hamilton (1788–1856), the last famous representative of the succession originating in Reid. Hamilton attempted to improve and systematize the teaching of Reid; he also introduced into British University teaching the study of Kant. (A less systematic acquaintance with the thought of Kant and of Fichte was already finding its way into English literature through the writings of Carlyle, and a similar acquaintance with Kant and Schelling through those of Coleridge.) Unfortunately, what Hamilton regarded as the thing of particular value in Kant's philosophy is a complete perversion of Kant's meaning. Kant, as we saw, had held that *our* knowledge is confined to *phenomena* because the objects of our experience are all things in space and time, and therefore contain a constituent, spatial and temporal form, which has already been put into the data by the 'intuiting' mind itself. Hamilton evolved from this suggestion the very different theory that *knowledge* is, in its own nature, *relative*, that is, that *no* intelligence can possibly know things as they really are, because, as he asserted, any mind must 'condition', in some way deform and alter, that which it knows, in the very act of knowing it. The great offence of Kant's German successors, from Fichte to Hegel, according to Hamilton, is that each of them, in his own way, attempts to know the 'Absolute', that is, reality as it really is. The doctrine found acceptance for a time in some quarters from the ease with which it can be used, as by Hamilton's disciple H. L. Mansel (1820–71), to defend theological dogmas, asserted on a non-rational authority, against critics who accuse them of absurdity or immorality. It was also taken over direct from Hamilton's writings, without any sufficient criticism, by Herbert Spencer, and is the source of one element, the 'agnosticism', in his 'synthetic philosophy'.

J. S. Mill. J. S. Mill, the most typical figure in British philosophy of the middle of the century, affords a striking

example of the inconsistencies of a candid and receptive mind unwilling to renounce its loyalty to any of the conflicting influences which have shaped its growth, and unable to conciliate them. Thus he clung through life to the social creed of Jeremy Bentham, his father's friend, the utilitarianism which unites the psychological theory that a man's only possible motive in all his acts is desire for his *own* 'greatest pleasure' with the political theory that the object of the legislator should always be to secure the greatest pleasure of society at large. In providing utilitarianism with a code of individual morality, he consequently explains the very existence of a desire for virtue as an illogical consequence of 'association'. Men come to think of virtue as desirable because it has been found in many cases to be a means to their own pleasure. Yet Mill wants us, after the illusion has been seen through, to continue to regard virtue as though it were, what he has declared it not to be, desirable on its own account. In much the same way, in his polemic against Hamilton and his precursor Reid, he resolves the whole natural world into 'associated' mental states of the percipient, and then tries to save the objectivity ascribed to it by science by saying that a 'thing' is a 'permanent possibility of sensation', thus allowing himself to forget that sensations cannot be permanent possibilities of themselves. The same inconsequence is seen in his treatment of causality in his most important work, the *Logic*. On the philosophical premisses he has derived from Hume, the cause of an event should be simply another event which has uniformly been found to precede it. But the firm belief in the value of science which was strengthened in Mill by the influence of Comte leads him to define a cause as an 'invariable and unconditional' antecedent, and so to introduce into a professedly empiricist account of natural knowledge the very feature of 'necessary connexion' which, as both Hume and Kant had shown, consistent empiricism must deny. This generous receptivity was an attractive feature of Mill's personality, but a misfortune for British philosophy, since it enabled him to secure a longer lease of life for misleading theories by disguising their consequences.

Spencer. The 'synthetic philosophy' of Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) extorts respect for the largeness of its design even from those who can find little to praise in the execution, beyond the author's untiring industry and curious fertility in ingenious illustrations. Spencer's system, like that of Aristotle or Hegel, aims at nothing less than an encyclopaedic deduction of the whole range of natural, moral, and social science from a simple set of universal principles. Unfortunately the principles themselves are enunciated without sufficient critical scrutiny, and Spencer was also hampered in the systematic application of them by the fact that, though deeply interested in all the natural sciences, he was not, as his contemporary Darwin was well aware, thoroughly at home in any of them, least of all in the science which is fundamental for a cosmologist, mathematical physics. The consequence is that, as a unified theory of the structure of the universe, the 'synthetic philosophy' is already completely dead, though it contains much valuable original work, especially in psychology, which is probably unduly underrated in our own generation. Like Francis Bacon, Spencer attempted to 'take all knowledge for his province', a task even more impossible in the nineteenth century than in the seventeenth, and, like Bacon, has suffered the inevitable consequence.

Agnosticism. Spencer's doctrine, as a whole, is a combination of two elements which stand in no real connexion with one another, Agnosticism and Evolutionism. The Agnosticism is a hasty inference from Hamilton's thesis of the inherent relativity of knowledge, itself a misunderstanding of Kant's Phenomenalism. The whole natural and moral world is regarded as the manifestation of a single ultimate and absolute reality; on the strength of the meaningless assumption that 'to think is to condition', this reality is declared, by contrast with its manifestations, to be wholly inaccessible to thought and called the *Unknowable*. Since, however, Spencer believes himself able to give in his evolution-formula a final statement of the law which governs the whole process of the self-manifestation of reality, there is really little meaning in the formal declaration that this reality is 'beyond knowledge'. There is truth in the comment

that Spencer, in fact, assumes himself to know much more about his Unknowable than any theologian has ever professed to know about God. The Agnosticism of the doctrine is hardly more than nominal; in fact Spencer, once started on his account of evolution, proceeds exactly as though he were dealing with reality and with the only reality there is.

Evolutionism. The real key to Spencer's thought lies wholly in his evolution-formula, professedly a law underlying the whole process of history. Evolution in Spencer means something very different from what it meant to a great scientific specialist like Darwin. It is not a specific hypothesis about the factors which have contributed to a particular historical process, the origination and perpetuation of organic species, to be established or refuted by a mass of biological and palaeontological observations, but an *a priori* speculation about the universal character of all process whatsoever. As Spencer conceives it, the whole historical process is one of a gradual advance from simplicity and homogeneity of structure to complexity and heterogeneity, governed by the standing principles of the indestructibility of matter and the 'persistence of force' (which, for practical purposes, mean the conservation of mass and the conservation of energy). It is assumed that this formula will equally cover the formation of a solar system, the development of living species, and the succession of moral codes, social institutions, religions. Strictly speaking, of course, this conception, rigidly carried through, would commit the philosopher to the construction of a universe of varied and definite contents out of an original characterless nothing. But, in point of fact, even an evolutionary philosopher must make a start somewhere with a something with a definite structure, however simple, and Spencer is content to start with a vast gaseous nebula as sufficiently homogeneous and structureless for his purposes. He sets himself to argue that, given the 'indestructibility of matter' and the 'persistence of force', such a nebula must break up into a central sun with a body of satellites revolving round it. The complete execution of his programme would demand that he should then proceed to show how the conservation of

mass and of energy gives rise to the appearance of life and the whole history of living beings and of humanity as we know it. The programme naturally proved incapable of execution. Critics at home in physics readily pointed out that Spencer only got as far as the evolution of a solar system by disregard of fundamental physical principles; in our own day astronomers appear to have definitely rejected the very conception of the production of such a system by the internal self-transformations of a 'nebula'. On Spencer's own admission there was a further complete gap between his cosmology and his biology; no account was given of the supposed stages by which life was developed in a purely physical universe. Still less was there any real attempt to show that the developments studied in the volumes of the 'synthetic philosophy' which deal with the life of organisms and societies can be accounted for by the 'indestructibility of matter' and the 'persistence of force'. Ingenious analogies were made to supply the place of deduction. The source of Spencer's weakness is, in fact, that while his object is to exhibit the universe as a hierarchized system, much on the Neoplatonic lines, he starts at the bottom of the scale, and hopes to discover the formative law of the whole development by consideration of its most rudimentary stages. Hence he comes to write as though the rise of an empire or a religion can be described by the same formulae as the redistribution of the energy of a material system.

There is a further complication due to acceptance of Hume's doctrine that a perceived object differs from a 'mental image' only in 'vivacity'. (Spencer speaks of his umbrella as a 'set of visual states'.) The implication is that the whole natural world is a complex of 'states of mind': a view fatal to the truth of a doctrine of evolution according to which the solar system existed millions of years before there were any 'mental states', and the primitive nebula millions of years earlier still. Spencer is no more able than any other thinker who confuses perceived objects with states of the percipient to reconcile his theory of perception with his natural science.

The idealistic reaction. The 'Anglo-Hegelians'. T. H. Green.

F. H. Bradley. The last third of the century was marked by a strong reaction against the incoherent combination, characteristic of both Mill and Spencer, of Hume's empiricism with unquestioning faith in the methods of the physical sciences as the only legitimate methods of knowledge. The leaders of the reaction were all inspired by Kant, and some of them in addition by Hegel, others by Lotze. Their philosophical theories, by no means entirely concordant, were all forms of what was called at the time 'idealism', that is, all regarded the existence of an eternal spiritual principle as the presupposition both of the existence of the world and of our knowledge of it. The inspiration of Hegel, who had already been introduced to English readers by J. Hutchison Stirling in the sixties, is specially marked in the work of a number of distinguished Oxford and Scottish philosophers, T. H. Green (1836-82), F. H. Bradley (1846-1924), E. Caird (1835-1908), B. Bosanquet (1848-1923), as well as in that of the American philosopher J. Royce and the Cambridge thinker J. M. E. McTaggart (1866-1923), though most of them would have hesitated to describe themselves as Hegelians. T. H. Green, in particular, set himself to show, as against thinkers of the type of Mill and Spencer, the following propositions: (1) the natural world, as conceived by physical science itself, is pervaded by rational 'necessary connexions' which presuppose an eternal rational mind as their source; (2) the knowledge of these connexions which is science is only possible to us because our mental life is no mere succession of fleeting 'impressions' and 'ideas', but a process in which the eternal mind 'communicates itself to us', or 'reproduces itself' in connexion with the processes of our organic life—a virtual reassertion of the Augustinian conception of knowledge as 'illumination'; (3) human moral endeavour and moral progress again is only intelligible as inspired by an ideal of perfect personality which is implicitly present as a motive force throughout human history, though its character is only gradually unfolded in the course of moral progress itself, and which must therefore be due to the progressive self-communication of the eternal mind to the successive generations

of men. Green definitely identifies this universal mind, or 'spiritual principle', with the God of Christianity. In other representatives of the movement the dependence on Christian tradition is less close. In the brilliant work of Bradley the influence of Hegel's dialectic leads to the identification of the spiritual principle with a single all-inclusive and completely coherent 'experience' which is declared to be, strictly speaking, the sole reality. Things, organisms, persons, are all more or less self-contradictory 'appearances' of this supreme reality, and, because self-contradictory, are unreal in various degrees. Bradley's doctrine of degrees of reality thus reminds us of Spinoza, no less than of Hegel. Bosanquet's metaphysical scheme is much the same, but his interest, like that of Hegel himself, lies rather in exhibiting the increasing approximation of the higher levels of the hierarchy to the harmonious articulate structure characteristic of the absolute reality than in dwelling on the necessary imperfection of all approximations. If Green's Hegelianism recalls Augustine and Bradley's Plotinus, Bosanquet's bears some resemblance to a highly refined and spiritualized version of Comte.

Royce. McTaggart. The distinguished American thinker Josiah Royce develops the same general doctrine on highly original lines in marked opposition to the negative side of Bradley's criticism of 'appearances', by the help of the modern mathematical doctrine of the infinite, with marked stress on will and purpose as the characteristics of spiritual reality in God and man. McTaggart also develops Hegelianism, under the influence of modern mathematical logic—though he was personally less of a mathematician than Royce—in a way which is peculiarly his own. The thinkers just spoken of, with the exception of Royce, tend to insist on the individuality of God, or the Absolute, at the cost of reducing human personal individuality to a mere appearance. McTaggart, on the other hand, is led by his resolute insistence on the real individuality of human persons to deny all personality to the absolute reality. Hence in his philosophy there is no God. The absolute reality is a vast system of finite selves, all equally uncreated and

imperishable, who are all travelling through a long succession—or rather what seems to them to be a succession, for time itself is only an ‘appearance’—of lives to a final state of beatitude in which all will ‘know as they are known’, and the illusion that anything exists but persons, and their perceptions of themselves and one another, will have vanished. Here, as in the case of Schopenhauer, we note one of the rare coincidences between Western and Indian metaphysical thought.

‘*Personal idealism.*’ *James Ward.* Not a few thinkers who were in full sympathy with the revolt against the domination of philosophy by ‘naturalistic’ assumptions, and deeply influenced by their study of Kant, found themselves equally unable to sacrifice the reality of either divine or human personal individuality, and consequently looked to Lotze rather than to Hegel as the soundest continuator of the Kantian tradition. Hence the rise of a doctrine of personal, or pluralistic ‘idealism’, opposed at once to the attempt to interpret the moral and religious life of mankind in terms of the conceptions of mechanics, physics, or biology, and to the Hegelian *panlogism*. The dominant thought of philosophers of this type is that the real world is a vast hierarchy of living minds, of various degrees of intelligence, under the sovereignty of a supreme personal mind, God, but all alike substantially real; on the question of the precise relation between the supreme divine mind and the lesser minds there was considerable divergence between different thinkers who were at one on this central doctrine. The most eminent representative of this type of philosophy in Great Britain was Lotze’s pupil, the illustrious Cambridge psychologist and metaphysician James Ward (1843–1925). Ward’s philosophical position is chiefly developed in the course of a close and deadly polemic against both the positivistic philosophy of the scientific men of the mid-nineteenth century in general and the ‘synthetic’ philosophy of Spencer in particular. Against the standing tendency of the scientific positivists to reduce all philosophy to natural science and all natural science to applied mechanics, Ward’s great and incontestable point is that the success of mechanics is directly due to its utterly abstract

character. The notions in terms of which mechanics works, the mass-point, the perfectly rigid lever whose fulcrum is a mathematical point, the frictionless fluid, and the rest, are all creations of idealizing abstraction. No real historical event is ever describable in its historical concreteness in terms of mechanics or mechanical physics alone, and consequently the simplest actual event in the natural world is more than a mechanical transaction. In the same way, no concrete fact of organic life is completely reducible to description in terms of physics, and no fact of mental life to description in terms of biology alone. And against the evolution of life from the lifeless, or mind from the mindless, in the fashion of Spencer, there is also the insuperable obstacle of the great physical principle of the 'downward tendency' of energy. The advances of life and mind are bound up with the steady conversion of energy into forms capable of more and more varied work, whereas the energy of a mechanical system left to itself has a steady tendency to 'run down' to a condition in which diversified 'work' is impossible. The historical reality of ascending evolution thus presupposes an intelligent *guidance* from without. Wherever we have historical fact, we find novelty, spontaneity, and guidance, all characters of which a philosophy ultimately based on mechanics can take no account. By considerations of this kind Ward is led, like Lotze, to conceive of the real historical world as a society of spirits of different levels, created and sustained by the universally present intelligent activity of a supreme Father of all spirits.

Pragmatism. The opposition to *panlogism* and emphasis on spontaneity and real activity as characteristic of finite individuals which appear in the thought of Ward are still more strongly accentuated in the philosophic doctrine variously called by its adherents Pragmatism and Humanism, the vogue of which at the beginning of the present century was chiefly due to the brilliant writings of the great American psychologist William James (1842-1910). It is difficult to say much of Pragmatism in a sketch like the present, partly because the movement is still too close to us to be seen in clear historical

perspective, partly also because many of its representatives have been too much preoccupied with negative polemic against the Hegelianism of the older men of their own time to define their own positive position sharply. All are agreed on the principle that *practice*, living itself, is the primary business of the individual, and that in the practical work of living we constantly have to make a 'venture of faith', to act upon assumptions which we do not know in advance to be true, and to look for confirmation of them to their verification by the consequences of our action. So far Pragmatism might fairly be said to be a justified protest against the mistaken notions that our only concern with the world is to look on at it as spectators and that, if we act at all, we must wait for complete intellectual insight before we do so. On the other hand, Pragmatist writers have often tended to speak as though 'practical success in working' were the sole and universal test of truth, and even to use language which seems to mean that there is no objective truth at all, and that any man may legitimately assert the truth of any belief which falls in with his personal predilections until he is undeceived—if ever he is undeceived—by painful experience. Probably, in spite of the animus some defenders of the position exhibit against Logic itself, this polemical language does not altogether represent their settled convictions; if it does, it might seem to amount to the condemnation of all science and philosophy as an attempt to understand a world which is in its nature unintelligible. Whatever the future of Pragmatism may prove to be, it has certainly been one of the main influences in producing the contemporary reaction in Great Britain and America against the recent domination of Hegelianism.

Other contemporary influences: Neo-realism. There are other influences at work in contemporary philosophy at the present day which we must be content to chronicle very briefly, precisely because they belong to a present in which their real bearings cannot as yet be clearly discerned. The philosophical thought of the generation immediately behind us was predominantly 'idealistic', in the sense that it was agreed to assign to *mind*, human or divine, a unique and dominant status in the

universe. At the present day, all over the world, the tendency among many of the ablest younger philosophers is to a reaction in a direction which we may loosely call Neo-realist, if we mean merely that the philosophers in question are unwilling to see in mind the fundamental pattern of all reality, and prefer to look upon it as one reality among others, with a unique character of its own which is not to be explained away, but is not to be taken as the key to the interpretation of everything else, or to be assumed to be incapable of origination in the course of evolution. Theories of this type are commonly *pluralistic* in their metaphysics; they regard the real world as constituted by a great variety of components which are not to be reduced to any single type. Thus the opening decades of the present century have seen attempts by philosophers of high mathematical endowments to build up a doctrine of *panmathematism* in which the universe is constructed out of purely logical entities, interconnected by types of relation which can be completely described in the terminology of an exact logic. In spite of the originality and industry which have been expended on the task, such philosophies clearly have still to face the double difficulty that the individuality and activity characteristic of historical reality defy this transcription into the symbolism of logic, and again that, since good and right are manifestly no mere logical notions, the universe seems, in philosophies of this type, to be bisected into a realm of fact and a realm of value or worth, which stand in no intelligible inter-relation. If a pan-mathematical world is a dead and worthless world, it can hardly be the real world in which men have their lives to live. Or again, it is attempted to construct the actual world out of the point-events which are taken as the 'atoms' of the newest relativist physics, though again it is hard not to feel that James Ward's criticisms retain their full force as against this latest version of 'naturalism'.

Neo-Thomism. A vigorous movement in philosophy which conceivably has a great future before it is the revival of the doctrine of St. Thomas encouraged by the late Pope Leo XIII and prosecuted with special vigour by the late Cardinal Mercier

and his associates at Louvain. This movement also is neo-realist, not of course in the sense that Neo-Thomists have any desire to depose the divine mind from its supreme position in the universe, or to bridge over the gap between the human mind and the lower creation, but in the sense that, on the most fundamental point in the whole theory of perception and knowledge, it is a revolt against that locating of the objects immediately known and perceived 'inside' the mind of the knower which has caused so much difficulty in philosophy ever since the time of Descartes. The central thought of the Thomist teaching on the matter is that in some way or other a percipient or thinker is always in direct contact with an apprehended reality which is other than thought or perception itself; perception and thought are directly of a reality beyond ourselves, not of some 'image' or 'effect' of the reality within our own minds. The movement, though half a century old, is still in its growth; in its rejection of the doctrine of knowledge through 'representative ideas', it has an obvious point of contact with the teaching of the most philosophically minded men of science of the present day, and should have a great future before it, if its representatives succeed in living up to their ideal of a doctrine which is to be not a mere revival of what St. Thomas taught in the thirteenth century, but what he would presumably teach now, if he could bring his own fundamental principles to bear upon the store of factual knowledge available to us.

Auguries for the future. The profound transformation undergone by the physical sciences themselves within the last thirty years is bound to have in the end far-reaching consequences for the future of philosophy. It is significant that some of our foremost physicists have already not merely forgotten the old nineteenth-century scientific animus against metaphysics and divinity, but thrown themselves actively into the task of constructing a new metaphysic of nature adequate to the present state of our physical knowledge. Such contacts between general philosophy and the special sciences have in the past regularly been fruitful in new conceptions of the whole frame of things.

and we may well expect another great constructive age in philosophy whenever the twentieth century produces its Leibniz, a great physicist who is also a great metaphysical thinker. It seems fairly safe to predict that, when he does appear, his philosophy will neither treat natural science as the whole of our knowledge of reality, nor confuse natural science itself with abstract mechanics. It is characteristic of the type of cosmology prevalent among the acutest of contemporary scientific men that it is already conceiving of nature as a system of genuine individuals with a real history of which they are themselves part-makers and discerning the 'primordial nature of God' in the background as the pre-condition of the whole process by which nature makes itself. The issues which determined the Greek philosophical conception of the hierarchized universe, with God as its source, are still with us, and it seems likely that the philosophy of the near future will make one more effort to deal with them on lines which, while genuinely new and pertinent to the state of our actual knowledge of details, will be recognizably continuous with those of the supreme Greek thinkers.

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THE DECLINE OF AUTHORITY IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

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THE DECLINE OF AUTHORITY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

FEW would be prepared to dispute the statement that rule by authority declined in the nineteenth century. Whereas the sixteenth century witnessed the break-away of a part of Europe from one definite spiritual authority, the principle was not disputed. The reformers sought it elsewhere, and in civil affairs a new power was appropriated by the rulers, who claimed that they had a divine right of government. Whether this break was responsible for the further changes which took place in the last one hundred and fifty years does not concern us; the fact is that the new change was not within authority but concerned with the very principle itself. In religion it tended to become the guarantee of experience, what Mr. Rawlinson called in *Foundations* 'corporate witness' or 'inspired witness'; in political theory Professor Laski in his *Grammar of Politics* confesses that he can find no meaning in the term 'sovereignty', and in morals the belief in a natural and divine law has for long been discarded.

These are the facts, and now the history of the change and an explanation and criticism of it must be given. But as a prelude to this the proper meaning of the word 'authority' should be explained. A. E. Taylor in his Gifford lectures called *The Faith of a Moralist* has a note on page 229 of his second volume in which he writes: 'As W. G. de Burgh says, "*auctoritas* means moral influence; the English word authority in the sense of executive power would be expressed in Latin by *imperium* or *potestas*". What some of us find amiss in the attitude of "authoritarian" divines is precisely that they seem to us to confuse *auctoritas* with *imperium*.' That such is one meaning is true: we speak of a man having authority or being an authority, intending by that to say that he has an influence moral or intellectual, and in the Latin from which the English word is derived the sense is often 'prestige'. The Roman Senate when one of its decrees had been vetoed by the tribune of the people

was able often to enforce its wishes because the decree was weighted by the *auctoritas senatus*. But this is by no means the only sense, nor even the principal one, and the attempt to use etymology in its support is artificial. The root meaning, as has been well said, of appealing to *auctoritas* is the idea of transferring the responsibility for an action to somebody else who stands behind you and is prepared to take the blame if anything goes wrong. A man in making a statement appeals to his authorities; the lawyer in the court does the same in arguing his case. And there is here a close and obvious connexion between authority and author. An author originates something; it is his and he has rights to it and is responsible for it. He is thus able to claim rights and to dictate and order in varying degrees. A Newton has the right to declare and insist upon the meaning to be given to his views; a master has the right to command that his own affairs should be carried out as he wishes, and that his delegates too should be obeyed. 'I am a man having authority. I say to this man, come; and he comes; and to this man, go; and he goes.' So far, therefore, from A. E. Taylor being right when he would make a sharp distinction between authority and power, *auctoritas* and *imperium* or *potestas*, power necessarily follows on authority in certain ends of life and the two are indifferently described in the word 'sovereignty'. We rely on the word of a learned man, but if we mistake him, or if he is himself mistaken, all that normally happens is that an error has been made. He is not responsible for our mistakes. But if he is our appointed teacher and if we are young, then he has a duty to see that we are taught aright, and he has authority over us. Immediately some end of human life is in question, authority passes from the merely intellectual to the moral, and power is associated with it. A parent has authority over his children, a State over its citizens, and a Church over its members, and the subjects must obey their legitimate superiors. It is authority in this, its proper sense, which is to be the subject of the following pages.

From the examples just given it will be seen that the subject divides itself easily and naturally into four headings—spiritual authority, temporal or State authority, the interconnexion

between these two, and moral authority as shown particularly in the unit of the family. In the Christian conception of the Universe there are two domains, the spiritual and the temporal, both possessing autonomy, both proceeding from God, and both therefore having moral authority. The Greek and Christian philosophies here blended to present a view of the world in which objective values determined what was right and good, and, God being in His heaven and man His creature, duty was determined by an external and absolute standard, by the relation of human actions to their proper end. We can anticipate and state in a generalization which is unusually exact that the passing away from men's minds of the divine foundation and sanction for the authority exercised in human life has led to doubt and scepticism of that authority itself. In religion, after the rejection of the external authority of the Church, conscience as a subjective experience took its place, and it is recognized now that this substitute has spelt a loss to religion; so much so that a reaction has set in against all forms of immanence and has resulted in an extreme and prophetic form of Christianity developed by Karl Barth. In politics a similar change is to be observed in the decided stand taken, for example, by the dominant parties in Italy and Germany against the once fashionable cries of democracy and liberalism.

The authoritative elements in Christianity were developed by Newman in one of his sermons now to be found in the volume entitled *Sermons on Subjects of the Day*. It was preached in 1842, and with his accustomed skill and insight Newman puts his finger on one of the main dangers to Christianity. The Oxford Movement was partly a protest against the liberalistic tendencies in the Church of England, and that the protest was justified has been proved far too well by its subsequent history. Newman in this sermon on 'The Christian Church an Imperial Power', by an impressive accumulation of texts, makes it quite clear that Christ came as a King and gave His Church authority and power. 'In the days of these Kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall

break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.' This is the prophecy of Daniel, and the Psalmist has equally strong language. 'Gird Thee with Thy sword upon Thy thigh, O Thou Most Mighty, according to Thy worship and renown.' 'The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and against His Anointed. . . . Thou shalt bruise them with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel.' And Isaiah's: 'It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the tops of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. . . . And He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people.' When we come to the New Testament we find the note of kingship pervading it. Out of Bethlehem 'shall He come forth unto Me, that is to be the ruler in Israel'. The first words of Christ in His public ministry and the last were about His kingdom. And this kingdom is no invisible one. 'It is as unmeaning', says Newman, 'to speak of an invisible kingdom upon earth, as of invisible chariots and horsemen, invisible swords and spears, invisible palaces: to be a kingdom at all it must be visible, if the word is to have any true meaning.' It is true that He is an invisible King of a visible kingdom; but 'it is seldom that the monarch of any kingdom is seen, and then not by many, except on certain occasions. . . . It is seldom they rule by themselves; they rule by instruments. Such is Christ's mode of governing; He is away; He has not resigned His rule; He does not simply abandon it to His servants; but still He rules *through* His appointed servants, and has committed His subjects to *them*. He resembles earthly sovereigns, not only in having a kingdom, but in His mode of governing it.'

Newman then goes on to show by reference to such texts as the promise to St. Peter that 'by the Church must be meant a community or polity of men, and you see that St. Peter had the keys of this Church or kingdom, or the power of admitting into it, and excluding from it: and besides that, an awful power of binding and of loosing, about which it does not fall within our present subject to inquire'. The authority of these Apostles was

to be equal to that of Him who sent them. 'I appoint unto you a kingdom, as My Father has appointed Me that . . . ye may sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.' And so after enumerating text after text Newman concludes: 'If we will be scriptural in our view of the Church, we must consider that it is a kingdom, that its officers have great powers and high gifts, that they are all charged with the custody of Divine Truth, that they are all united together, and that the nations are subject to them. If we reject this kind of ministry, as inapplicable to the present day, we shall in vain go to Scripture to find another. If we will form to ourselves a ministry and a Church bereft of the august power which I have mentioned, it will be one of our own devising; and let us pretend no more to draw our religion from the Bible. Rather we are like Jeroboam who made his own religion.'

Almost at the middle of the last century we find Newman thus holding up to his countrymen the authoritative aspect of Christianity as one which belonged to its very essence. In the Catholic conception, indeed, the office of ruling holds the first place of all. In all societies this is so, for it is authority which binds the members together, directing them in the prosecution of the one common aim. As we shall see, nobody, civil or religious, can dispense with some kind of a head with a constituted authority. But in the Christian Church this power of ruling is all the more requisite and determined because it is concerned with the chief end of man and the way has been shown and ordered by God. Now, in the Church besides the office of ruling there exist those of teaching and sanctifying. Both these fall under that of ruling inasmuch as they are exercised with authority. The teaching has a divine sanction and under sanctification must be included the hierarchy of orders; what Newman, however, calls the imperial power of the Church is distinct from these as is made clear by the special word describing it, namely, jurisdiction. A governing body in a sovereign nation has jurisdiction, and this includes the right to pass laws, to judge, and to coerce. Here is plenary authority, and we must further distinguish from it the powers of the head

of a family or the official in charge of a small association. These latter have no more than what has been described as an authority of dominion. That is, they can command and punish, but their judicial powers are curtailed and they cannot issue legislation binding on the community in perpetuity.

In the Catholic Church the full and final authority rests with the Vicar of Christ, as the well-known texts concerning St. Peter prove, and it has always been held that the same power was given to the Apostolic body as a whole and was exercised by them in the early legislation of the Church as reported in the Acts. They legislate, they judge, and they condemn and punish. The subject-matter of this authority is determined by the end for which Christ constituted the Church, the sanctification and salvation of men, and all that has a proper connexion with this, whether it be temporal and material or spiritual, is included within the power of the Church. Again, all those who are members fall under its jurisdiction, and the condition of membership is baptism, though the Church may choose not to exercise all its rights over those who are not in visible communion with its head. All are bound to obey their legitimate superiors, not only those who hold their authority by divine ordinance but those also who have delegated and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

During the nineteenth century, though in essence this attitude towards authority remained unchanged in the Catholic Church, the exact character of it became more defined. Since the Reformation and the decrees of the Council of Trent disciplinary laws had been tightened up and the need of recourse to the principal authority in Rome made more explicit. This tendency to centralization reached its apex in 1870 in the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope and the superiority of his office to that of a Council. The result of this has been to make obedience to the Papal See more and more enthusiastic. At a time when the bonds of obedience were being loosened in all civilized countries the world witnessed this efflorescence of devotion, and it may be said that the policy of the Church, by calling its members to the contrary of the prevalent vice of the time, served to fortify Catholics and stem the tide of anarchy. That the Popes them-

selves had this in mind is made evident by the words of Benedict XV in his Encyclical Letter at the outbreak of the European War of 1914. He declared that it was owing to the neglect of fundamental Christian precepts that 'the peace and stability of institutions, the very foundations of States' had begun to be shaken. 'Such moreover has been the change in the ideas and morals of men that unless God comes soon to our help, the end of civilization would seem to be at hand. Thus we see the absence from the relation of men of mutual love with their fellow men; the authority of rulers is held in contempt; injustice reigns in relations between the classes of society; the striving for transient and perishable things is so keen that men have lost sight of the other and more worthy goods they have to obtain.' It will be noticed that among the evils enumerated by the Pope is contempt for authority, and later in the Encyclical he returns to this in a passage which sums up the whole philosophy of obedience and the explanation of why authority has declined.

The second cause of the general unrest We declare to be the absence of respect for the authority of those who exercise ruling powers. Ever since the source of human powers has been sought apart from God the Creator and Ruler of the Universe, in the free-will of men, the bonds of duty, which should exist between superior and inferior, have been so weakened as almost to have ceased to exist. The unrestrained striving after independence, together with overweening pride, has little by little found its way everywhere; it has not even spared the home, although the natural origin of the ruling power in the family is as clear as the noonday sun; nay, more deplorable still, it has not stopped at the steps of the sanctuary. Hence come contempt for laws, insubordination of the masses, wanton criticism of orders issued, hence innumerable ways of undermining authority; hence, too, the terrible crimes of men who, claiming to be bound by no laws, do not hesitate to attack the property and the lives of their fellow men.

In presence of such perversity of thought and of action, subversive of the very constitution of human society, it would not be right for Us, to whom is divinely committed the teaching of the truth, to keep silence: and We remind the peoples of the earth of that doctrine, which no human opinions can change: 'There is no power but from

God: and those that are, are ordained of God.' Whatever power then is exercised amongst men, whether that of the King or that of an inferior authority, it has its origin from God. Hence St. Paul lays down the obligation of obeying the commands of those in authority, not in any kind of way, but religiously, that is, conscientiously—unless their commands are against the laws of God: 'Wherefore be subject of necessity, but also for conscience sake.' In harmony with the words of St. Paul are the words of the Prince of the Apostles himself: 'Be ye subject to every human creature for God's sake: whether it be to the King as excelling, or to governors as sent by him.' From which principle the Apostle of the Gentiles infers that he who contumaciously resists the legitimate exercise of human authority resists God and is preparing for himself eternal damnation: 'Therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist purchase to themselves damnation.'

Let the princes and rulers of peoples remember this truth, and let them consider whether it is a prudent and safe idea for Governments or for States to separate themselves from the holy religion of Jesus Christ, from which their authority receives its strength and support. Let them consider again and again whether it is a measure of political wisdom to seek to divorce the teaching of the Gospel and the Church from the ruling of a country and from the public education of the young. Sad experience proves that human authority fails where religion is set aside. The fate of our first parent after the Fall is wont to come also upon nations. As in his case, no sooner had his will turned from God than his unchained passions rejected the sway of the will; so, too, when the rulers of nations despise divine authority, in their turn the people is wont to despise their human authority. There remains, of course, the expedient of using force to repress popular risings; but what is the result? Force can repress the body, but it cannot repress the souls of men.

The full force of these words will be felt when the decline of authority in civil life and in the State come under review. In the Church itself the office of the Pope to speak in the name of God on faith or morals made decline in authority impossible. Nevertheless, the spirit of the age has made itself felt in the growing attitude of insubordination to lesser officials. Occasionally those who professed obedience made a false use of the exceptional position of the Pope. When orders or direction

were given they asked themselves and others whether the order had the guarantee of infallibility, and if this were wanting they assumed that they were left free to criticize and thought that they had fulfilled their duty if at most they obeyed in act. This attitude was marked in the reception of some of the encyclicals which dealt with the duties of employers and employed, the responsibilities of Catholics in Italy after the reunion of Italy, the proper attitude of Catholics in France, and the relation of Catholics to socialistic groups and insurrectionary movements in various countries. England, which had displayed a cisalpine tendency at the beginning of the nineteenth century, grew more and more loyal as the century progressed, but the affair of *L'Action française* revealed in France a stubborn reluctance to yield to the clearly expressed demands of the Pope.

Apart from human nature, which is always reluctant to yield obedience against its desires, the explanation lies in the fact that the notion of jurisdiction has suffered somewhat in recent times. In the constitution of the Church bishops and religious superiors of exempt clerical religious orders and parish priests have all jurisdiction in the internal and external forum within the limits prescribed by the end of which they have charge. And having jurisdiction it is the duty of subjects to give them a willing obedience, an obedience of which the motive is not the reasonableness of their commands but the right they possess to command because of their jurisdiction. In matters of faith, indeed, the formal motive of assent is the authority of God Himself speaking and commanding, but not all matters are of faith. In those matters which fall outside revealed dogma the virtue of obedience is exercised and not the virtue of faith, and, as St. Ignatius pointed out at the time of the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century, the virtue of obedience does not reach its proper excellence until the submission includes, so far as is possible, the assent of the mind as well as of the will. It may not be always possible to agree with the order of a superior and see its wisdom, but it is always necessary to try at least to be of one mind with him, and whether one succeeds or not the obedience should be whole-hearted and willing.

Now, in the history of Protestantism and religious bodies which are independent of Rome the clear conception of authority has been clouded over. So long as the Bible was accepted without any qualification an authority existed comparable with that of the Catholic Church, but the Anglican Church laid itself open to difficulties in its future first by its connexion with the State and secondly by the vagueness of its position with regard to its own authority, the jurisdiction of its bishops, and the meaning of its own formularies. During the eighteenth century a spirit of Erastianism was very prevalent, but, while there were parties within the Church, beliefs were sufficiently fixed to provide an authoritative court of appeal. The age, however, was not one to strengthen religious belief, and the easy-going deism of Frederick the Great in Germany—‘In my dominions any man can believe just what he likes’—had its echoes in England and had as its effect the undermining of spiritual authority. What might have proved a tonic to the Church of England, the Evangelical Movement, was lost to it partly through the supine attitude of the bishops, and so the chance of recovery was delayed until the Oxford Movement. The leading Tractarians were dismayed at the state of the national Church; they saw around them increasing infidelity and a latitude of view which made them fear that Anglicanism was in danger of falling away by a slow apostasy from the revealed, authoritative religion of Christ. In the very first tract Newman cried out, ‘I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built—our apostolic descent’. The Tractarians felt fiercely also on the subject of the bondage of the Church to State authority. Although the view of Hooker had been accepted for long they attacked it as contrary to the nature of the Christian faith. Hooker had taught that the commonwealth was prior to the Church. ‘With us therefore the name of a church importeth only a society of men, first united into some public form of regiment, and secondly distinguished from other societies by the exercise of the Christian religion.’ It followed from this that ‘there is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the Commonwealth; nor

any man a member of the Commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England'.

One result of the Oxford Movement was to drive many over to Rome, where authority visibly existed and at the mercy of no State; it created too what in later years by the pressure of events came to be called Anglo-Catholicism. Amongst all it produced a fervour, and a mark of this period is the strength with which certain beliefs were held to belong to the authoritative teaching of the English Church. W. G. Ward, for instance, was deprived of his position in the University of Oxford for holding what now would be let well alone and treated as innocuous. Indeed, for a simple but adequate understanding of the change which has come about in the last hundred years no better method could be adopted than to follow the treatment of those who were supposed to hold surprising or heretical views. Whereas Ward and F. D. Maurice could suffer a form of excommunication, the latter for appearing to deny miracles in his *Essays and Reviews*, much more extreme opinions are now tolerated. Many in the Church of England would point to this as an advance in true religion, and a whole school of Modern Churchmen stand for this kind of interpretation of Christianity. Be that as it may—and the party of the Anglo-Catholics regard it as false to the national Church and the fundamental teaching of the Creeds—there can be no doubt that it witnesses to the lessening of all authority.

The revival of Anglican religion which was the main effect of the Tractarian campaign tended to produce an impasse between it and the State. The condition of affairs has been described from the point of view of a High Anglican by the late T. A. Lacey. The line taken by Pusey and Keble had stirred the resistance of liberals like Jowett, and Stanley and these 'liberals who had tried, not without some thought of their own future, to disable the acrid conservatism marshalled against Newman and Ward, soon pushed themselves to the front on their own account and the Royal Commission of 1855 gave them a firm foothold'. They sat closely to the Thirty Nine Articles and had as a task to make a compromise

with the State. That the State was not inactive is shown by the fact that

between the accession of William IV and the year 1875 more than forty Acts of Parliament testified to the interest of statesmen in ecclesiastical affairs. An imposing array of volumes contains the Orders in Council issued during the same period under powers conferred by one or another of those Acts. These intrusions were not the less intrusive because bishops had a hand in them as members, either of the House of Lords or of the Ecclesiastical Commission. In the one they sat only as magnates of the commonwealth, in the other they acted on a commission from the Crown. . . . A radical fault of all this legislation lay in the fact that Crown and Parliament were continuing to perform functions which had not been altogether incongruous under the old constitution, but were become indefensible now that Church and State were no longer conterminous.

Continual efforts were made to loose the fetters but they were ineffective, and in the celebrated Gorham case the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council upset the verdict of that clergyman's bishop and the metropolitan court against him, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in compliance with this decision, instituted him. This in the opinion of Manning and others meant in fact that the authority of the Anglican Church in spiritual matters was subject to the temporal. Hardly was this affair ended when new troubles began. Amongst them one may be singled out: the Colenso trial. Colenso was the Bishop of Natal and published a work on the Pentateuch. It was considered by a gathering of bishops at Lambeth to be of such a nature that Colenso ought to resign his see. He refused, was tried in South Africa by a Bishop Grey and condemned, and a successor to him was consecrated. Colenso, however, appealed to the Privy Council and was acquitted. After this trial 'between 1866 and 1877, at least ten judgements touching doctrine, worship or spiritual authority were delivered by the Judicial Committee'. The latitudinarians welcomed this on the whole, while the High Churchmen resented it bitterly.

There is no need to give further examples of this interference of the State, except to mention the Public Worship Regulation

Act, which was meant to put down ritualism and has led to so many quarrels since, often even between bishops and clergymen of their dioceses, as recently occurred in the Birmingham dispute. One party has desired disestablishment as a cure for the evils, but it looks even to the majority of Anglicans as if the trouble lay deeper and was concerned with a question of authority which has never been cleared up. Certainly such incidents as the Kikuyu trouble, the South Indian scheme, and the Prayer-Book revision point that way.

All these disputes and troubles have served to weaken the conception of authority in the Anglican Church. Pusey who had begun with such hope in the thirties had to confess in a letter in 1870 that 'instead of one Phaeton, there have been thirty or three hundred; each guiding the chariot of the sun after his own fashion'. The various parties have drawn farther apart, the liberal and modernist dispensing with any external authority and the Anglo-Catholic forced to struggle through disobedience to or disavowal of heretically minded bishops to a definition which will preserve the Church of England and at the same time preserve its orthodoxy. Lacey, for instance, after admitting that definition is almost impossible, finds the fount of authority in the Catholic Episcopate, meaning by that a corpus of bishops composed of Anglican, Orthodox, and Roman Catholic; and against the obvious objection to this he replies that 'the sectional divisions of the one episcopate sometimes make it difficult to ascertain what is the faith and practice of the whole, but the task is not impossible'. A very different view is taken by Luke Rivington in his book on *Authority*. Writing of the Church of England he says:

. . . it seems to me that there has been a steady descent *in this matter of obedience to authority* ever since the day of the Gorham judgement. That judgement has not yet been honestly repudiated by the Church of England, in her corporate capacity, in the face of the Christian world. The truth is taught by those who like to teach it, but the blot remains. It may yet be denied, and the denier be admitted to the highest office in the Church of England. And this after all these years! The fact is, that having herself broken off from the centre of

authority, the Church of England cannot speak authoritatively except so far as a State Court will permit. One of her clergy may still go to prison for upholding the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and the Guardians of the Faith, the Shepherds, the Bishops as a body, will not lift their finger in the way of public decided remonstrance, on the ground *that they hold the doctrine at issue*. And this after more than fifty years have passed since what is called the Church movement began. . . . So that after fifty years the authorities of the Church of England have not settled who is right, who is in accord with her formularies, those who teach the Eucharistic Sacrifice, or those who stoutly deny it; those who teach the Catholic faith concerning everlasting punishment, or those who deny it.

The severity in the above criticism must be explained as due to other causes in addition to those so far mentioned. There is a growing number of men who profess Christianity and give shelter within the Anglican communion to all who repudiate external authority. It is their influence which has so often checkmated the efforts of the Anglo-Catholics and affected the outlook also of this very party. They are the heirs of the old liberals and are now known either as liberals or modernists, the distinction being that the liberal accepts the truths of the Christian religion with a reservation of his right of free and critical judgement on them, while the modernist puts the core of religion in value and makes dogma and history subservient to this. The eighteenth century fostered rationalism in religion, and the nineteenth gave it new scope by making universal the application of the empirical methods of science. The traditional reverence for the Bible as the Word of God prevented for a time the liberal critics from laying impious hands upon it. If we consult the literature of the first half of the nineteenth century we shall find that the majority of authors who deal with or touch on sacred subjects quote the Bible as first-hand evidence which admits no rebuttal. The waters of criticism, however, slowly at first and then more swiftly began to cover it. This far-reaching change had its origin in Germany and has been called the Higher Criticism and gradually spread to England and other countries. It was abetted by the successes of the

scientific and historical method in other fields and was welcomed by theologians whose thought had been tinged with the philosophies of Hegel and Empiricism. Its final success was probably assured by the general acceptance of the theory of progress and evolution. In Germany there was less opposition because Protestantism had never made the same compromise with the traditional, authoritative position as, for instance, in England. The Bible indeed kept its central place in worship, but its interpretation was given over to private judgement and that judgement boasted little connexion with a philosophy of reason. The schools of Schleiermacher and Ritschl were able thus, as they thought, to make the best of both worlds: to accept all that could be said in the way of criticism and to muffle that criticism by an appeal to an incontrovertible spiritual experience. On this theory the most devastating attack on the historical facts of the Bible fell harmlessly against what was of a completely different order, namely, the value-judgement that God or Christ was the life of the soul.

France and England each fell into line in its own way with this new culture. Comte proceeded to make a neat philosophy in the new terms which excluded Christianity, Renan dissolved the Gospels in gentle irony, and a school of young liberals led by Lammenais resorted to a form of fideism in which an original revelation and tradition became the one authority in all matters of religion and truth. In England the Oxford Movement delayed the alliance of Anglican thought with the German critical methods; but not for long. In Oxford the high contempt of Mark Pattison for an old and, as he thought, discredited, form of religious belief, and the prestige of Jowett and Stanley turned the minds of the rising generation away from all for which Newman had stood, and the succession of a Broad Churchman, like Dr. Tait, to the See of Canterbury, marked the victory of the new order. The change was heralded by the publication of *Essays and Reviews* in 1860 and represented in 1889 by *Lux Mundi*. Since then volume after volume has appeared, radical in criticism and daring in speculation and, in the name of an honest and therefore truly Christian spirit, the

authority of the early Councils has been forsaken, much of the history as given by the Gospels denied, the facts of the Resurrection disputed, and even the divine nature of the founder of Christianity questioned or explained away.

How then and in what way has the principle of authority survived in this interpretation of religion and Christianity? So far as England is concerned we must remember that the national Church contains Anglo-Catholics and moderates as well as liberals and modernists. As many of the first of these, however, are at one with the modernist in their theory of authority, and as this theory is now common throughout Europe and the world, it will be simplest to quote from one or two representatives. In *Foundations* Mr. Rawlinson declares that *auctoritas* should be translated by 'corporate witness' or 'inspired witness', and he explains this by speaking of it as the 'witness of the Saints to the validity of the spiritual experience on which their lives are based'. In the same volume Mr. Brook falls back also on experience and compares religious experience to genius in other fields, that of art being principally in his mind. Returning to the subject in the composite volume, published in 1926 and called *Essays Catholic and Critical*, Mr. Rawlinson begins by statements with which all could agree, Roman Catholic and Orthodox:

Fundamental in Christianity is this claim of the Church to have been divinely commissioned, divinely 'sent'. The Church is not primarily a society for spiritual or intellectual research, but a society of which it belongs to the very essence to put forward the emphatic claim to be the bearer of revelation, to have been put in trust with the Gospel as God's revealed message to mankind, and to have been divinely commissioned with prophetic authority to proclaim it as God's truth to all the world. . . .

But having said this he goes on later in the essay to repudiate the 'Roman' conception as oracular and fit only for those who by nature are averse from thinking for themselves, and continues:

Neither the oracular conception of the authority of the Bible, nor that of the authority of the ecumenical Councils and Creeds, is in a

position to survive the rejection of the oracular conception of the authority of the Pope. This does not of course mean that the authority either of the Bible, or of the Church, or of the ecumenical Documents and Councils, has ceased to be real. It means only that such authority is no longer to be taken in an oracular sense, and that the final authority is not anything which is either mechanical or merely external, but is rather the intrinsic and self-evidencing authority of truth. It means that authority as such can never be ultimately its own guarantee, that the claims of legitimate authority must always in the last resort be verifiable claims. The final appeal is to the spiritual, intellectual and historical content of divine revelation, *as verifiable at the threefold bar of history, reason and spiritual experience.*

Mr. Wilfred Knox, who writes as a colleague of Mr. Rawlinson on the same subject in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, has the same general standpoint. In *One God and Father of All*, a book written in conjunction with Mr. Milner-White, he gives clearer expression to what he means. 'The ultimate authority in the Christian religion', he says, 'if by the word "authority" we mean "that which gives us reason for believing" is the Person of our Lord.' 'The second authority in Christianity is, and must always be, the private judgement of the individual. Most Roman controversialists and some Anglo-Catholics write of "private judgement" as if it were a peculiarly wicked form of the sin of pride, whereas in fact it is inevitable that it should be that ultimate authority within ourselves, which answers to the ultimate authority from outside ourselves, the Person of our Lord. We would add that we have called it "private judgement" because it is the same in its nature as any other act of our own judgement.' Mr. Wilfred Knox is aware, however, that this may sound strange doctrine from one supposed to be an Anglo-Catholic. 'Do Anglo-Catholics at last realize that they have no room left for the authority which the Church has always claimed?' He replies to this by saying that 'its authority lies in the fact that where men and women are prepared to accept it [the Anglo-Catholic or, as he calls it, 'the Catholic type of religion'] and give it a fair trial they will find that it produces

in their lives the finest fruits of Christian holiness', and he adds that 'even the most ardent advocate of the Papacy cannot suppose that the Catholic Faith as a form of Christianity, can have any other ultimate authority than this'.

Throughout the chapters in which he is dealing with this question Mr. Wilfred Knox makes much play of the criticism of the Catholic teaching that ultimately all belief must rest on private judgement. The reason is that the originating act of assent must have been of this kind and that therefore all subsequent acts must have it as a basis. A. E. Taylor, himself an Anglo-Catholic and a distinguished Christian philosopher, in his chapter on 'Authority' in *The Faith of a Moralist* seems to agree that this criticism is decisive, and so he too attempts to construct a theory of authority which will allow him to be a critical philosopher free to think what he likes and a faithful Christian as well. He takes the words from the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas:

To argue from authority is supremely proper to this study, because the principles of the study are had from revelation, and it is therefore right that there should be belief in the authority of those to whom the revelation has been made. Nor does this derogate from the dignity of this study; for though the appeal to authority founded upon human reason is exceedingly weak, the appeal to authority founded upon divine revelation is exceedingly efficacious.

On this Taylor comments as follows:

This may be true enough, but you have first to identify your divine revelation before you make your appeal to its authoritativeness, and thus there would seem to be only two alternatives, either to take as the accredited divine revelation whatever happens to enjoy the prestige of a revelation in your own community, or else to judge of the credentials of professed revelations by the exercise of your own intelligence, though when once the credentials have been found satisfactory, you propose for the future to ascribe your assent to reverence for divine authority.

The desire for this extreme form of authority is due, he thinks, to the natural inclination of a body entrusted with something

of value to be over-jealous of its guardianship and to like the position of 'boss'. Actually, so Taylor maintains, it is quite impossible to keep up such behaviour. Part of the divine message is bound to become effete, and in the acceptance of the message there is always inevitably present the subjective interpretation by the recipient of the message. He therefore looks upon authority as 'the self-assertion of the reality of an experience which contains more than any individual experient has succeeded in analysing out and extricating for himself', and having distinguished sharply between inerrancy and authority he suggests that what 'the theologian is really asserting as the foundation of his claims is simply the reality and autonomy of experiences of contact with God as a genuine feature of human life, and the legitimacy of co-ordinating the contents of such experiences into a coherent system by trusting the testimony of those in whom it is richest and most profound'.

It will not pass unobserved how profoundly this modern conception of authority differs both from the Catholic one, traditional throughout the centuries, and the old Protestant view which went straight to the Scriptures to find its warrant in religion. The modern theory is a compromise. Those whom I have quoted, belonging as they do to the Anglo-Catholic party, are anxious that the belief in an external revelation should be kept, and so they keep the shadow of an external divine authority. It is not the place here to criticize their understanding of the Catholic position, to point out that their use of the word 'oracular' belongs to a rhetorical mode of speech and not to argument, or to press the view adopted to its logical conclusion which its holders are so anxious to avoid. What does require discussion is the assertion that Catholics too are bound to make private judgement their ultimate authority if they are logical, as the question of the truth or falsehood of this touches the very foundations of religious authority. Catholic theologians flatly deny this assertion, and it has been part of the doctrine of Christianity from the beginning that the formal motive in the assent of faith is the authority of God speaking. The situation is this. On some matters I can come to a conclusion by reasoning

and, if the premisses are sure, then the conclusion will be sure. On other matters I have to rely on the word of others, about places and past events, in science and medicine. Here too owing to the weight of the evidence I may reach an assurance sometimes which it would be ridiculous to doubt. These are both cases of natural certainty in which I have been using my judgement. Unfortunately there are a vast number of subjects about which I cannot reach certainty, and amongst these are some of the most vital issues of my own life and the life of others. Now granted that there be a God—and by God is meant a Being who besides being the author of my life and the Universe is also Almighty, all-wise and the fountain of truth and goodness—if I can be sure that He has a message, then I can be absolutely certain that whatever is contained in that message is true. Whenever, then, I hear some of its contents I believe it because of the authority of God behind it, who can neither lie nor deceive me; and this is what is meant by a Catholic when he accepts the truth, for example, of the Trinity, on the authority of God. Professor Taylor raises the objection that this faith rests ultimately on the act of private judgement which decides that God really has spoken, and this is a worthy objection. What he should have known, however, before putting it down as irrefutable is that the objection has been answered time and again and to the satisfaction of many outside the Church and of all within it. The difficulty over-simplifies the mental change which occurs and leaves out of account the effect of grace. The act of acceptance and realization does away with the reasons which led the inquirer along the way, and all the former reasons are taken up into the new act and seen with a new force and conviction, just as the man who persuades himself of the goodness and ability of another without having met him may find that on contact with that other and in the new light of the affection inspired by the meeting he can no longer entertain any doubt whatsoever. Before the act of faith a man is not sure that he is listening to God, and it is his duty to find out and to question all that he hears; his mind is not made up. But there comes a moment when all the

external evidence is seen to point in one way and one way only, and that same evidence comes alive as the sign which immediately reveals a divine presence and a divine communication. Through the grace of God the mind is enlightened to see in the external evidence its divine significance as a friend can be discerned immediately in his handwriting and style, and the will is assisted too by grace to accord with the summons to divine life. It is useless to try to trace this in the antecedent investigation carried on with the help of private judgement. There is no private judgement at all of assent, for that assent only becomes possible and certain at the moment private judgement is surrendered in the act of acknowledgement that it is really God who is taking charge of us.

The essence of the Catholic conception of assent to God's authority consists in this, that the believer capitulates completely and is led by the Good Shepherd to 'green pastures', and there is no question whatsoever, once God has been recognized in the Christian revelation, of testing it or holding back the right to judge. The words 'my Lord and my God' spell the end of a life directed by human and individual speculation and ambition, and the failure to see this seems to betoken one of two things: either that God has not been recognized as God at all or that the principal point of Christianity has been missed. The two often go together. Once the belief in the Bible as the sole source of authority broke down, those outside the Catholic Church tended with some show of reason to try to make a compromise between the makeshift of the fundamentalists and the makeshift of human criticism. It cannot be denied, however, that once the authority of human criticism had crept back, the nature of God, His power and majesty, were obscured, and in fact if not in theory the human reason was treated as master and God as the *corpus vile*. When the parts had been changed in this way it was hardly to be expected that God's authority should remain or that an alternative to the true order should not be invented. How feebly reads the best that man can do to interpret a divine religion with its assured good tidings of truth and blessedness can be gauged from what Taylor, one of the

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most learned and religiously minded philosophers of the day,
writes:

What is substance [in the divine revelation of Christ], I take it, we only learn in what might fairly be called an empirical way. *A priori*, we are hardly entitled to say more than this. A religion is true religion just in so far as it achieves the purpose . . . of thoroughly remoulding the self, so as to make God, the supernatural good, and eternity the very centre of a man's thought and will. Whatever in life and practice of an actual religious community is an obstacle to this inward renewing of life is plainly incompatible with true religion and whatever, in the alleged revelation possessed by the community, encourages and perpetuates the obstacle cannot be of the substance of revelation. But also, what cannot be dismissed without impoverishing spiritual life, and hindering the remaking of the self into eternity at its source, clearly is of the substance. If we would judge how the test is to be applied, I do not see that we have any sure course but to study the types and character actually promoted by any given affirmations and denials. If we find that a high level of the right kind of spirituality and other-worldliness is regularly attained in dependence on certain convictions which have their origin in acceptance of a given 'revelation', but regularly missed when these convictions are ignored or denied, we shall, if we are prudent, be very slow to treat these particular affirmations as temporary and unessential; we shall feel fairly persuaded that they at least *contain* something which is of sterling substance, and that they must not be met by bare denials. It may be that the affirmation is not thus proved to be all substance without alloy; the future may yet show that there may be qualifications of the affirmation which can co-exist with, or even be favourable to, the richest spirituality. But the test, if it has been fairly applied, may, for all this, entirely dispose of an unqualified denial.

The qualifications, the uncertainties, the 'mays' and the 'possibly's', and the almost negative result which is all that this criterion can provide would make one think that this is meant as a caricature of the vague talk of many modern theologians, were we not sure from the context that it is intended most seriously. How differently it reads from the great Protestant writers of the seventeenth century and from the *Institutes* of

Calvin, not to mention Catholic writing and teaching, and in this contrast we see most clearly how authority has declined in the last hundred years! I have taken as an example the Anglican Church and some of its foremost right-wing defenders because in it there lingers something of the old notion of authority which has disappeared completely where Christianity persists without any church organization. Both abroad and in England the last word is with criticism, scientific and historic, and no venerable belief or practice is safe against the claims of free-thought. Not only has supernatural authority, which once was believed to be indigenous in Christianity, vanished, but even that authority which necessarily accompanies any unified organization.

The result is that we have to-day two types of religion which are completely separate, and the difference from the Catholic standpoint has been trenchantly expressed by the late Canon Moyes in his *Aspects of Anglicanism*. Writing of the controversies as to the Real Presence, the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the Confessional, 'which are chronic sources of crisis in the Anglican Church', he says that if she had the supernatural authority of the Catholic Church 'she would know how to put her house in order, and to "speak with authority"'. She would give a plain decisive answer which would bring peace and light to the minds of her distracted children. Her word would be at once that of a Mother who soothes and a Mistress who decides. When she had spoken what seemed good to her and to the Holy Ghost, the multitude would "hold their peace"; nor would she suffer her teaching—because it is her Lord's teaching—to be gainsaid within her household. She would make peace within her borders. Her voice would be just as clear-ringing to-day as when it stilled the controversial tempests at Nicaea, at Constantinople, at Ephesus or Chalcedon; as full of blessing to the sons of obedience, but as sharp and firm even to anathema for the children of contradiction.' Against this is contrasted a religion 'with its helpless, halting hesitancy, its faltering speech, its pitiful recourse to human ambiguities and its divided and distracted household'. In a self-constituted body the voice of

the public authority will be nothing more than the expression of the private judgement of the members, and whatever virtues are exercised within that body, piety, and energy, and zeal, it will nevertheless by its very nature be ever tending to faction and disruption. Parties and schools of thought will arise which will claim liberty and be given it, and so contradictions will be allowed to exist side by side and defended in the name of comprehensiveness; and as unity at all costs is necessary the changes from generation to generation in forms of thought and belief will be forced under formularies which were never intended to bear such a strain. If in the confusion and amid the warring cries an appeal is made to some authority for settlement, that authority will be questioned and in its turn will not know which way to look to bring back order and unity. The sad truth is that there is no authority, neither one to declare a settlement nor one to enforce it; and, as this is the state of things in religion in all bodies save one, we can see only too clearly how the notion of authority has ceased to function even in Christian bodies.

We have next to examine this decline in civil life, political and social. But, before doing so, it is but just to point out how fatal have been the repercussions of the religious condition on the general outlook of men and women. In the days when the voice of authority could be heard in the land, a fixed belief about certain standards and sanctions had a decisive influence upon conduct. Now it is becoming more and more apparent that human nature needs laws and customs which are so fixed that it can refer to them spontaneously and almost unconsciously. What a fixed standard such as gold is to exchange and barter, such is certain and definite belief in the moral and spiritual order. Just as free verse cannot succeed, but must at least invent its own rules, and just as a society, as soon as it reaches maturity, lays down a number of rules as to manners and behaviour which serve, so to speak, as a body in which the spirit can express itself and work, so in the highest matters some ultimate system in which man can recognize the best and the worst as clearly distinct is necessary for his welfare. We

know perfectly well in our individual conduct that if we do not make for ourselves rules which we unhesitatingly obey—whether they be for our bodily or moral health—we inevitably lose hold of ourselves and drift, as the resident amongst an alien race may ‘go native’. Of course this regimenting of life can be overdone, and the cure can be almost worse than the disease, but there is as much difference between this extreme and a moderate discipline as between a barbed wire fence and a vine-prop.

It has been said with truth, remove belief or dogma and in time morality will likewise vanish. The advantage of a scheme of life with an architectonic end is that all know their direction. Once, however, that scheme is blurred, men begin to think of what they ought to do without any reference to the nature of their final end or God. What Patmore said of love, that ‘it is sure to be something less than human if it is not something more’, holds also of morality. Deprived of a firm religion which draws back the curtains of eternity it becomes a creature of the day and seems to be continually varying its hue in the shadows and in the sunlight. A thousand different opinions are broadcast about it; passion and prejudice seize upon it as their prey, and no sooner is one violent moral judgement passed than it is denied by a multitude of voices in the press and on the platform. This is bound to happen when there is no authority with a far-reaching philosophy as its support to bespeak attention and obedience. And this is not all. Religion keeps before man the majesty and purity of God and so reminds man both of the summit of perfection he can attain by arduous effort and divine grace and also of the ruin and punishment which evil brings in its train. With the passing of religion and its authority all is changed, at first slowly perhaps as the first generation in an agnostic world may by their enthusiasm and in the afterglow of belief have high ideals and an accepted code; but as this latter depends on sentiment and not on conviction and the first flush of enthusiasm soon departs, humanitarianism and the pleasures of art and physical well-being, and finally of self-indulgence, deck themselves in the guise of a ‘new morality’. Then it is that the authority of a warped

public opinion and a darkened private conscience protest in favour of suicide, divorce, new practices in married life, and defend an enlightened selfishness. And even where there remain vestiges of the old, abiding conceptions of right and wrong, there is no sanction to make them observed, no motive of fear to check the surge of passion. 'The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord.' There can be no such fear as there is no reckoning of God and His justice, and it would seem to be clear from history, despite the disclaimers of modern educationalists, that the motive of fear, provided it be kept within due bounds, helps as an essential factor in the formation of character. Neither home life nor civil life offers any likelihood of persisting in a healthy state when the rod is spared and the child is spoilt. Thus it comes about that many think that they can sin with impunity while others for whom the old saying holds that the spirit is willing but the flesh weak have no whip of authoritarian doctrine with which to strengthen their good intentions. In former days the spectacle of the suicide's grave was enough to warn men that the commandments of God must at all price be obeyed and that human life belonged to its Creator. Now in the city of confusion weariness or disappointment is regarded as a sufficient excuse for settling one's account with life.

Lastly with the decline of religious authority has gone a loss of direction. No one knows at what he should aim, what put first and what put last. St. John Ervine in writing of General Booth says of him that he 'envisaged his Mission as a fighting force. . . . He was not a minister: he was a soldier. . . . Was a general to hold up his attack until he had consulted every corporal on its advisability and conduct? What would be said of a private or a company commander who refused to go over the top until the details of the attack had been expounded to him and a vote of the forces taken on whether it should be made?' Clearly it does make all the difference whether we consider life to be a struggle for a prize in an after-life, or whether it be taken to be complete here and now, a theatre or forum and not a campaign. If it be the former, then Booth was right in the main, though he may have narrowed down its

complexities overmuch. And if he be right, then it is surely true that the vital issues of life cannot be held waiting while a referendum is made and the vote of every man taken. Authority is essential and an authority which knows its own mind and is clear-cut in its decisions. The habit of refusing allegiance until one is convinced to one's own satisfaction has become more and more general in the last hundred years. No doubt in certain matters and on certain questions it is well and good that as many as possible should be able to contribute by good sense to the formulation of a law or policy. But it is clearly impossible that on all subjects, theological as well as economic, authority should await the judgement of the multitudes, and it may be wrong for individuals to view with suspicion an order from a legitimate authority and to withhold their assent. The failure to see this is due to misconceptions which have become ingrained in the modern mind. The majority now take for granted that their rights are absolute, that sovereignty of all kinds rests ultimately with them, and they look forward to a life in which all their interest can be satisfied here and now. This is not the outlook of Booth nor one which can survive in the rough and tumble of life; it is a dream which is dissipated in the struggle for existence. That struggle was lifted into an ideal by the Benthamite formula of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and during the last century many earnest efforts were made to make within the boundaries of this life some fair city of Cecrops. The vagueness, however, of the liberal creed permitted of a variety of interpretations. Thus in a passage in which he chants the great procession of mankind through the ages Carlyle ends with the words: 'But whence? O Heaven, whither? Sense knows not; Faith knows not; only that it is through mystery to mystery from God to God.'

An onlooker of the early part of the nineteenth century seeing the burst of speed, the triumph of liberalism, and the woebegone expression of authority might have wondered where this marching, 'distinctly of the spavined kind, what the jockeys call "all action and no go",' would lead, and if he were venture-some he might have prophesied that it would end in a riot of

competition and individualism run mad. We now with the century behind us can realize easily that the movement would not stop at individualism, but would decline to a new despotism. Authority may be driven out of doors but it always returns and, if it be not welcomed in its rightful garb, it comes in a form which is impersonal and has no regard for persons. This is what has happened in the increasing authority of the State and above all in the Communistic programme for society. Economic materialism wedded with the dictatorship of the proletariat has shown when put into practice that it has no regard at all for liberty and no toleration of those activities of mind which all civilized peoples have believed to be the highest prerogatives of man. Instead therefore of the old authority with its religious dogmas which served as charters of the kingdom of the soul and as signposts giving direction to the quest of the spirit, human nature is to be held in a gauntlet of steel and made, willy-nilly, subject to a merciless domination.

Economic materialism is the end of a long process of political changes. In the period preceding the span treated in this essay Europe was governed by the benevolent despots. The philosophers had, however, already advanced beyond kings and princes, and the nineteenth century entered into the inheritance of their ideas. Something therefore must be said of them. Hobhouse in his account of liberalism says that 'the modern State . . . starts from the basis of an authoritarian order; and the protest against that order, a protest religious, political, economic, social and ethical is the historical beginning of liberalism. Thus liberalism appears at first as a criticism, sometimes even as a destructive, revolutionary criticism.' He means by an authoritarian order the medieval constitution of society which he, like many other philosophers and historians of his time, took to be founded on an autocratic basis, 'the kingly power supreme and tending towards arbitrary despotism, and below the king the social hierarchy extending from the great territorial lord to the day-labourer'. The coming of liberalism, therefore, in the view of this school of historians was a great blessing to the human race, bringing with it liberation in the

ecclesiastical sphere from the despotic usurpations of Rome and high-handed prelates, and in the political and social spheres the recognition of natural rights and the sovereignty of the general will.

Such a view is one-sided and misrepresents the political theories of the Middle Ages, but as it was widely held in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it served as a principle and presupposition in the making of new views, and it underlies both the theory of natural rights in the declaration of 1789, and the doctrine of the Manchester school and the social reforms attempted by Bentham. That the view is not fair to the Middle Ages can be seen by reference to the encyclical already quoted, which is nothing but the reiteration of unchanging principles with application to modern problems and modern errors. In an earlier encyclical Leo XIII deals expressly with the basis of authority in the State. What he says is taken in great part from the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas and the chief theologians of the Counter-Reformation. It represents therefore the doctrine of the State held in the thirteenth, the sixteenth and seventeenth, and the nineteenth centuries.

Man's natural instinct [he says] moves him to live in civil society, for he cannot, if dwelling apart, provide himself with the necessary requirements of life, nor procure the means of developing his mental and moral faculties. Hence it is divinely ordained that he should lead his life—be it family, social or civil—with his fellow men, amongst whom alone his several wants can be adequately supplied. But as no society can hold together unless some one be over all, directing all to strive earnestly for the common good, every civilized community must have a ruling authority, and this authority, no less than society itself, has its source in nature, and has, consequently, God for its author. Hence it follows that all public power must proceed from God: for God alone is the true and supreme Lord of the world. Everything, without exception, must be subject to Him, and must serve Him, so that whosoever holds the right to govern holds it from one sole and single source, namely, God the Sovereign Ruler of all. There is no power but from God.

In this statement the Pope lays down quite clearly the

ultimate source of authority as a moral power which has the moral right to command, to which corresponds on the part of citizens the moral duty to obey. This might seem to be a simple and unimportant truth. So far from being so, however, it is difficult to think of one which is more vital. And the proof of its importance can be gauged from the fact that as soon as it fell into neglect everything concerning government and political theory also fell into confusion. Rulers claimed too much, and in a violent reaction the people in turn arrogated to themselves all ultimate authority. This led to a succession of theories which were given up one after another because they all failed to give a satisfactory analysis of authority, and especially of the moral rights which seemed to be inherent in it. After wrestling for generations with this problem the philosophers have tended to give it up in despair and to declare that they can find no moral character in affairs of State. The Catholic view, on the other hand, is quite definite about this moral character and makes sure of it by resting the authority on God. That this is no easy way out can be shown by two considerations. The first is that the authority of God is not by way of intervention, and secondly that it is the nature of man itself which carries one back to God. The word 'nature' is eschewed now. In the eighteenth century philosophers like Rousseau were not afraid to use it, but they tended to confuse several senses in one, nature as essential, as ideal, and as primitive. Later the scientific, empirical outlook turned thinkers away from metaphysics and from the use of concepts such as nature to their own undoing. Catholic philosophy, on the other hand, seeing that man if he is to be man at all must live in families and in communities, laid it down that such modes of life were natural to him, and as being natural they, like man himself, a moral being, involved moral relations. Whatever is essential to the ultimate well-being of man and his final end belongs to the moral order and was intended by God; and so it is that without bringing in a *deus ex machina* we are enabled to say that both in the family and in the State the source of authority is God and the ruler commands with a power which is moral.

The Pope goes on to develop the doctrine just stated in the next paragraphs. He declares that the 'right to rule is not necessarily bound up with any special mode of government. It may take this or that form, provided only that it be of a nature to insure the general welfare.' In all cases, 'they who rule should rule with even-handed justice, not as masters, but rather as fathers. . . . Government should moreover be administered for the well-being of the citizens, because they who govern others possess authority solely for the welfare of the State.' . . . 'To despise legitimate authority, in whomsoever it is vested, is unlawful, as a rebellion against the Divine Will; and whoever resists that rushes wilfully to destruction. . . . To cast aside obedience and by popular violence to incite to revolt is therefore treason, not against man only, but against God.' Here, it will be noticed, Leo XIII is careful to say that no one form of government is specifically Christian to the exclusion of all others. Democracy as well as monarchy can be endowed with moral authority. In the Middle Ages what is now sometimes called democratic would have been called republican, and St. Thomas, who in theory favoured the kingly rule, says in his commentary on the *Politics* of Aristotle that, 'if we do not mean the best system which can be desired and chosen purely and simply, but the best in fact attainable in the average of cases, we should say that a Republic and the mixed forms of aristocracy most closely approximating to it are the best systems which most States and men can realize'. In the *De Regimine Principum* a mixed system in which a single man rules but is assisted by the leaders and the best-equipped in the State, in which, too, the people plays some part, is considered the most solid and enduring in practice. The virtuous life is more easily seen as the ideal and authority can the more easily direct the people to it while allowing them their true liberties. The Republic, on the other hand, tends to work for the greatest contentment in civil life, and so is weaker in authority. As M. Maritain points out in his *The Things that are Caesar's*, under such a system the Church may often find the greatest liberty. Such a State will concern itself little with spiritual interests and,

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consequently, the radius of its activity will be less likely to come into contact with the power entrusted with the salvation of souls.

The Catholic philosophers of the Counter-Reformation paid, as was natural, great attention to the problems of political philosophy, and their theory of democracy may be said without exaggeration to have laid the foundations on which most modern views have been (not too successfully) built. Bellarmine and Suarez laid stress on the consent of the governed, and suggested that it was this implicit pact which designated where and with whom authority should reside. They were careful, however, never to suggest that it was this general consent which conferred authority. Authority comes from God and not from the people, but it lies with the people to settle whether the holders of it shall be this man or that, a monarchy, oligarchy, or republic. Leo XIII marks the difference between the Catholic conception and that for example exploited by Rousseau, when he says that 'such a choice appoints the sovereign, but does not confer the rights of sovereignty. Authority is not thereby conferred: all that is determined is who shall exercise it.' It is not even asserted magisterially that this moderate theory of democracy is the right one. There have always been two schools of Catholic thought, the one saying that authority arises by the operation of natural causes. Men come together for a purpose and, when that purpose is one which concerns the fundamental well-being of man, the person who takes charge as the best-fitted for the end in view is in fact endowed with moral authority. According to this view the end naturally and spontaneously brings to the fore the man best suited to its attainment. The second view maintains, on the contrary, that the ruler is always explicitly or implicitly chosen by the community, and that there is always present a kind of contract. The first view would seem to be in accord with what has actually happened in history; the second seems to many the safer and more philosophical conception.

As can be seen from the above summary of Catholic political views they are liable to be misunderstood by modern writers

owing to a similarity of names. Maritain has carefully analysed the different meanings of democracy and shown how far politicians and revolutionaries have departed in the last hundred years from true liberal and Christian principles in their advocacy of liberalism. Democracy is used first as a social tendency to improve the conditions of the poor and ensure the practice of justice and charity. The Popes in their encyclicals have shown themselves wholeheartedly in support of this. Then there is a form of government which may be called democratic, an example of which can be seen in Switzerland; this, too, is a perfectly legitimate political system and compatible with authority. Lastly we have

Democratism, or democracy as conceived by Rousseau, that is to say the religious myth of Democracy, an entirely different thing from the legitimate régime. . . . (This myth also necessitates in the *Social Contract* a theory of the three systems, monarchical, aristocratic and democratic, which is equally false and pernicious.) Democracy in this sense becomes confused with the dogma of the Sovereign People, which, combined with the dogma of the general Will and Law as the expression of Number, constitutes, in the extreme, the error of political pantheism (the multitude = God).

Passing on to Liberalism Maritain points out that the condemnation of it by the Popes touches that form of it of which the chief error was, in Leo's words, the principle that 'every man is a law to himself' which leads to the doctrine, 'obey nobody but yourself'. Liberty is the privilege of creatures endowed with mind and reason, and the true use of it consists in choosing the means which lead one to one's proper end. As it is always present in man in an imperfect manner, at its weakest in childhood and strongest in maturity, it needs to be protected.

Of its very nature then and considered from any angle whatever, in individuals or societies, in superiors no less than in subordinates, human liberty implies the necessity of obedience to a supreme eternal rule, which is no other than the authority of God in His commandments or prohibitions to us. This perfectly proper sovereignty, so far from destroying or impairing liberty in any

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degree, on the contrary protects it and brings it to its perfection. For the true perfection of every being consists in pursuing and attaining its end: now the supreme end to which human liberty should aspire is God. (Encyclical, *Libertas*.)

The chief errors of Liberalism are then pointed out: the first that man should be free from all constraint and independent of any external rule; a second that the Church as a spiritual power has no right in temporal matters; a third that civil society has no moral end and does all that is required of it in looking after material ends; again, that the authority of the State being concerned with merely material ends has no binding force on conscience and has been delegated to the government by the people. All these errors were rampant in the nineteenth century and taught in the name of Liberalism. We must now show how such errors came into prominence by the teaching of the political thinkers of that time.

The history of the change in authority can be stated in one sentence: the gradual transference of authority from God to persons and people. In the first stage the rulers, already in possession, usurp the authority which was attached to the spiritual power, and they usurp it in a way which shortly leads to the claim that they are ruling by divine right. The chief political philosopher of the period, Hobbes, buttresses up this claim. Already, however, the falsehood contained in the new claims began to manifest itself in dissidence and the advent of 'pretenders'. The Stuart dynasty collapsed before the challenge of a supposed people's divine right, and so the way was prepared by Locke and other thinkers for the dogma announced by Rousseau of the final authority of the General Will. The *Social Contract*, published in 1762, embodied the ideas of the age and has been the source from which almost all subsequent political thinking has been derived. From it have come the assumptions of a state of nature, of the innocence of man, the sentimentalizing of life, the belief in progress to happiness, and the constant appeal to the wishes of the people. These ideas left a permanent impression on the minds of men and they stirred the heart as the reforming Luther had done, especially

that article of faith in the perfectibility of human nature. As Mr. Christopher Dawson says (*Progress and Religion*, p. 194), 'the work of the earlier philosophic movement had already destroyed the spiritual foundations of the post-Reformation society and had prepared men's minds for the coming of the new order; its actual realization was due to the influence of Rousseau which supplied the necessary dynamic conviction and enthusiasm. This is the real source of the revolutionary movement of the continent.'

The influence of the *Social Contract* can be seen in the Declaration of 1789 on the doctrine of natural rights, that men are born free and remain free and equal in rights, that the end of every political association is the conservation of these natural and imprescriptible rights, that the principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, and that law is the expression of the general will. Its influence is marked even in the Declaration of Independence of 1776, although there the thought may go farther back to more Christian sources:

We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness, that to secure these rights Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the Governed, that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute a new Government.

Some of the phrases of this famous declaration read as if they were taken from Rousseau, but they are still guarded and directed by a religious belief which attributes authority to God. In Europe God, alas! played but a small part in the minds of political reformers and agitators. In France, in 1848, as de Tocqueville remarked, the revolutionaries were in pursuit of this will of the wisp, equality, 'to destroy the most ancient inequality of all, the inequality of men and women', and in Germany at the same time they were giving free scope to the romantic utopias of which Rousseau had dreamed.

Meanwhile thoughtful men were trying to find an answer to

some of the questions which Rousseau had raised and not solved in a way which was plain to all. They accepted the ambiguities contained in the word equality; they were not so happy with authority. It was all very well to create in theory an association which will defend and protect with all the force of the community the person and the property of each member, an association in which, moreover, each man though bound in association with the others renders obedience to no one but himself. This is a comforting doctrine in which all the advantages of association are combined with an untrammelled freedom because of a social contract made and a general will. But who is to determine this general will, and of what is it composed: the will of all or only the majority? The will of all at any moment is far from being necessarily representative of the best interests of the community and does not serve as a criterion, and if it be the majority the same difficulty arises with the additional one that no ground can be given why they should impose with any authority their wishes on the minority. This legacy of the General Will has turned into a problem which has perplexed thinkers ever since. Thus, Professor Broad can write: 'I am quite sure that, when Professor Bosanquet and Rousseau talk of the general will, they must be referring to something real and important; but I cannot detect anything that they might mean which seems to me appropriately called by this name.' And opening out from this doctrine of the General Will is that of authority: a problem to which there seems to be no possible solution with the pieces that Rousseau has left upon the board.

The school of the Benthamites did not inquire deeply into the philosophy provided to them by the new assertions about the rights of man. They went about their business, a noble one in the mind of Bentham, of providing as much happiness as they could to the multitudes of poor and oppressed people. Abstract questions could be shelved while they worked to secure equal chances for all by means of universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and votes by ballot. Austin and other lawyers, however, were bound to look at the problem from a legal point of view.

To Austin the maintenance of law and order is necessary in any scheme of happiness. This is self-evident, and it is evident also that law and order can be maintained only if there be one authority, the sovereign. His conclusion, therefore, is, 'if a determinate human superior, not in a habit of obedience to a like superior, receive habitual obedience from the bulk of a given society, that determinate superior is sovereign in that society and that society (including the superior) is a society political and independent'. It will be noticed that here Austin is attempting to give a legal status to the notion of authority on the lines laid down by Rousseau and Bentham, and he does not move outside the legal into the moral and philosophical justification. There are many weaknesses in the definition. It is not, for example, applicable to the United States, nor strictly even to the British constitution with its triple division of King, Lords, and Commons. But such defects are unimportant compared with its failure to answer the fundamental question, why a citizen should obey. The philosophic disciple of Rousseau is bound to add to Austin's account that the legal sovereign he has defined derives his power from the consent of the governed, and so we are back again at the problem which was supposed to be answered. Moreover, neither the view as expressed by Austin nor the usual account of the general will allow for the possibility, which is only too real, that a citizen may find himself forced by conscience to repudiate the State authority.

The philosophers had therefore to take up the question anew, and during the nineteenth century they dallied with or took up wholeheartedly the Hegelian answer. The chief exponents of this solution in England were T. H. Green and Bosanquet. Green, a man of high moral ideals, was not the kind to shirk the question of the moral foundation of authority; his Hegelianism was shot through with a marked respect for personality. What in Rousseau has a sentimentally religious sanction and in Hegel the force of an ideal, universal and spiritual and concrete at the same time, is taken over by Green. Government is based on general consent and not on fear or power, and as expressing the voice of society as a whole it has the authority

of the moral ideal embodied in the community as a whole. As this is still vague Green tries to show that the end of society and the moral end of each person in it are one and the same. If this were proved he would have his answer, for the authority of society would be identical with that of conscience and self-realization. The two, however, do not fuse altogether, and it is fatally easy following along such a line to fall into the grave error of Hegelianism, which is to make the State and its actions the law of morality and not the subject of it. Bosanquet recognized the difficulty of identifying State and individual morality and ideals, and urged that as the members of the State have willed the State as the guarantee of their ideal and all that goes to its promotion and as man is only fully human as a member of a State, opposition should not arise. But unfortunately for such theorizing opposition does arise, and the proposals of Green and Bosanquet are quite inadequate to allay it save by so deifying the State that what it says becomes the Word of God. Once the Kantian and Hegelian background is accepted it is very difficult to escape some such conclusion. Kant had asked himself the question what kind of law can I, as a rational being, obey, and he had answered that the State and its laws must be such that I, a rational being, could always choose freely to obey them, each and every one. This, as Morris in his *History of Political Ideas* says, formulated itself finally for Kant and Hegel in the question: Is there any Being to whom I can say, 'whatever you order, I feel obliged to obey'? And the answer is, the State or nothing. To Kant the only law strictly binding is one I make myself, one in which I make and realize the Realm of Reason—Law. For Hegel this realm of reason is not only in process of being realized, but must be at every moment also actual and real, and 'the march of God upon earth' can be found in its real unity and in its highest expression only in the State.

Interest in this explanation diminished amongst professional thinkers after the brutal interpretation of it by certain German politicians was thought to have been one of the causes of the War. It is, however, by no means dead. The State as the supreme authority, if not as the supreme moral power, is part

and parcel of the Communist doctrine, and we witness everyday incursions by the State into the territory of religion and private life. Except for Communists and certain exponents of Fascism political theorists have abandoned the Hegelian point of view for a more practical and real one. The problem, however, remains and the failure to solve it menaces the welfare of civilization. The attitude of the better-minded is illustrated by the comments of Mr. Clement Webb in a review in *Mind* of a book on *Social Purpose* by H. J. W. Hetherington and J. H. Muirhead. He says:

Although 'the foundations of the claim of the civic order to the loyalty of individual citizens' is proclaimed, as we have seen, to be 'the real problem of civic theory', it is perhaps in respect of the meaning of *authority* in the community that one is most disposed to ask our authors for more light than they have given us. . . . It is stated on page 110 that these lectures are founded on the doctrine of the General Will. I venture to doubt whether a satisfactory account of the nature of political obligation can be derived from that doctrine alone. I suspect that to obtain such a satisfactory account, it may be necessary not only to return (if we may so speak) from Green to Kant, by making the consciousness of obligation rather than the consciousness of a common good primary in ethics, but also to recognize, after the manner of Martineau, more emphatically than does Kant himself, the revelation in the categorical imperative of duty of a divine lawgiver, and to admit along with *autonomy* an element of what has been called *theonomy* as an essential factor therein.

Here is a welcome admission of the need to turn back to the doctrine of the divine lawgiver, if any meaning is to be given to political authority and political obligation. Not that the account is free from all the ambiguities which have been the bane of political thinking for so long. Mr. Webb does not criticize the theory of the General Will; he merely suggests that it is insufficient in itself. The autonomy, too, of the reason as stated by Kant seems to meet with his approval, and yet it is just in a thorough overhauling of these phrases that salvation can come. The element of truth in calling the will autonomous

consists in this—that human beings as endowed with reason do recognize the absolute character of right and wrong and the duty of obeying conscience, and Kant in so vindicating the universal and necessary character of moral claims and rights rendered a service and put a check on the subjective and relative standards which were prevalent. But man does not make such laws; if he did he could unmake them, and it is no use for the followers of Kant to distinguish between individual desires and the dictates of reason. Such an escape could be justified only on some theory of Pantheism, according to which the Absolute or God thought and willed in us. We are subject to a higher law, the eternal law of God, which we are able to recognize because we have God as our end and because we are rational beings. To put it this way, however, would have been to run counter to the whole spirit of the nineteenth century and to deny that society gave authority to the State. It would, in fact, have meant the eclipse of the liberal philosophy.

The criticism of the generally accepted assumptions of popular government does nevertheless display the malaise and the distrust which are the marks of contemporary thought, and the suggestion that theonomy is required gives hope for the future. Both in theory and in practice the political endeavours of the nineteenth century have left a record which is depressing. Great zeal and goodwill were often present, and there is no denying that vast strides have been made in the betterment of physical conditions and in the education of the poor, and that many restrictions on liberty and many evil laws have been removed from the statute books. A growing humanitarianism and the application of the Greatest Happiness principle have destroyed abuses and cruelties which were tolerated in a harder age and have made life far more comfortable than it has ever been before. All this and much more should be put to the credit of the liberal and democratic philosophy. But such blessings have been bought at a price which has not yet been fully paid owing to the fact that the good ideas have been wedded to false and misleading philosophies. That has been the cause why in the face of certain obvious advantages brought

to civilization the Catholic Church has steadily turned its back on the principles of liberalism and free thought. At the time the intransigence of the Church caused much heartburning and indignation, but the years have vindicated its decisions. Throughout the century we see a welter of opinion and policies in which the good was thought to predominate. 'Europe at that time was thrilled with joy', and human nature seemed born again as the barriers to happiness, to liberty and equality came tumbling down. The hopes persisted till 1848 and afterwards, and by the end of the century a number of republics were permanently installed and could examine their achievements.

It is when we examine these achievements in cold blood that we begin to see that something is wanting. Liberty and equality had not prevented bloodshed and injustice; the new governments were honeycombed with corruption and mean intrigues; their authority, while despotic towards the Church and their enemies, did not extend to their own followers; their relations with their neighbours did not grow in friendliness, and all were engaged in exploiting the lesser nations and the tribes without the law. And the most strange and, perhaps, dangerous sign of all was that at the very moment when governments pretended that they were the representatives of the general will and deprecated autocratic powers, they were, in reality, the leaders of only a party, and that a minority, and they were acting with an autocratic authority which claimed to be independent of morality or the embodiment of it, no matter what they did. We know that in Germany the adaptation of the Hegelian philosophy to actual politics produced the *Realpolitik*, but it is not always realized that the same doctrine invaded France and other countries. Thus Jules Payot in his *Cours de morale* maintains that 'in a régime of liberty, as long as a law has not been abrogated or modified, to attempt to withdraw from it by any means in one's power is to act as a social enemy; it is a reversion to the state of barbarism'; and again Charton and Delage in their work on *Morals and Civic Instruction* declare quite explicitly that 'every citizen ought to apply himself to learn the laws of

his country; he ought to obey the laws even when they are unjust'. It is not surprising then to find in the controversies of the French Republic with the Church the claim laid that whatever law the State makes the Church has no right of interference, and as late as 1924 the French press insisted that a manifesto of the Cardinals '*fait vraiment trop bon marché de la légalité républicaine et même de la légalité tout court; car enfin la loi, sous tous les régimes, est l'expression souveraine de la volonté générale*'.

To maintain that any law made by a State must be obeyed either because it is the expression of the general will and embodies the moral law or because the State is above all individual morality is a strange result of the theories which went to men's heads in the days of the French Revolution. And yet the lie in those theories concealed under their language has determined their future and betrayed many hopes. Public right and authority came from the people; it needed but one step for the State, the embodiment of the will of the people, to claim that its laws were absolute and authoritative, no matter what their content might be. It needed the foresight of a Sidgwick to see the next step—'If everything is permitted in national struggles for the sake of the nation, it will be easy to think that everything is permitted in party-struggles or class-struggles for the sake of the party or the class.' This is what has actually happened, and it is now a commonplace among Marxians that the Communist ideal must be attained by a class struggle, by the control of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Confronted with social conditions in which the State constantly in practice and often in theory appealed to power, a socialist like Bax, for instance, could write without misgiving:

Justice being henceforth [when the proletariat has conquered] identified with confiscation and injustice with the rights of property, there remains only the question of the 'ways and means'. Our bourgeois apologist, admitting as he must that the present possessors of land and capital hold possession of them simply by right of superior force, can hardly refuse to admit the right of the proletariat organized to that end to take possession of them by right of

superior force. The only question remaining is how. And the only answer is how you can.

There is no higher morality than the will of the people may determine; there is no eternal law, no divine sanction—and as a result the people are to surrender all those liberties for which they fought, all that personal life, which in the Christian scheme is the end for which men come together, and in their place they are to be subject to a materialistic and economic power whose authority will bear no questioning.

It would seem then that the denial of a higher authority has not excluded all authority from history, and that the saying that democratic revolutions end in dictatorships has truth. The last few years have witnessed various efforts at dictatorships, and not all of the kind which rules at Moscow. Of them the principal is the Fascist movement. Here sharp and unmistakable is the note of authority once more, an authority also which expressly maintains that it is a form of government opposed to all the dogmas of nineteenth century liberalism and democracy. Various estimates have been formed of it, favourable and unfavourable; there are some who see in it an extreme of the opposite kind to that of Communism, one as opposed to the Christian conception of the State as its rival. It is true that the public utterances of some of its leading representatives lend themselves to a sinister interpretation, and in the doctrine of the totalitarian State it would be easy to overstep the mark and encroach on rights which lie beyond the domain of any civil power. On the other hand, a Catholic writer, J. S. Barnes, defends the Fascist State as a model Christian polity. He congratulates it on having thrown over with bag and baggage the theory of the Social Contract. It is not historically true that States were so formed; there never was a state of nature like to Rousseau's dream; man was not born independent but as a member of the family. If a community made a pact it would have to be renewed every twenty years to give it permission to bind a new generation born free. Lastly, the theory confuses two statements: the first that man is a rational animal, and the second that man must needs act rationally. The first

gives support to the theory that good government should be reasonable, that reason is the criterion of good government and that any government, however formed, is legitimate if reasonable. The second supports the idea that popular will must be right and that a government not based on the popular will must be wrong. Neither of these last two ideas has any truth, and this has been recognized by the Fascists, who put first and foremost the good end of the State and not the subjective desires of people as the law of true government and the proximate source of authority. Mr. Barnes takes the Catholic definition of the State, that it is the political unity of a society juridically organized, whose *raison d'être* is the promotion of the general good, and tries to show that it fits Fascism and justifies its autocratic legislation. He argues that this State has been created with the idea of promoting the common good, and that it is by this end, and not by any consideration of the whims and feelings of public opinion, that its actions are determined. It leads and is not led, it elevates and is not dragged down, and its authority is based on justice and on what man ought to be.

Such a portrait of the Fascist régime may seem to many of its critics fantastically idealistic. But whether it be true or false the plea denotes a change in the outlook. There can be no doubt that on every side dissatisfaction is felt at the results of the politics of the last hundred years, and there is a readiness to listen to the arguments for authority. The development of the notion of a court of appeal is being realized in the League of Nations. The League has not yet, however, won the confidence of the Powers, and this is due to the fact that it lacks the authority and power requisite for such a body. Moreover, it has no concern with a problem which touches intimately the welfare of our civilization, and that is the relation of the spiritual and temporal powers, the question of Church and State. The growth of the modern State and the theories which have been invented to support it tend to extend its province into territories which do not belong to it. The 'benevolent despots' in the eighteenth century took it upon themselves to interfere in matters belonging to the Church, and Napoleon tried to drag

Pope and bishops at his chariot wheels. In England the last word on various occasions rested with the Government, and the restlessness of the Anglican Communion and its helplessness were manifested in the debate on the Prayer-Book and in the desire of some Churchmen to have the Church disestablished. On the Continent the secular States were in constant warfare with the Holy See. In Germany Bismarck made one of the few mistakes of his life and tried to bite off more than he could chew in his anti-Catholic legislation; in Austria in 1855 a Concordat was concluded in which the State still advanced a doctrine of interference, and after the definition of Papal Infallibility several of the Powers in alarm lodged protests or strove to prevent its promulgation. In France after 1870 relations went from bad to worse. Gambetta saw that clericalism could be used as a political weapon, but he and his followers were for a time foiled by the wise diplomacy of Leo XIII. Conflict was, however, bound to arise, and with the coming of the extreme Republicans into power in 1899 in the Waldeck-Rousseau administration legislation was passed against the religious orders and various attempts made to foist a quarrel on the Pope. In 1901 the law of religious associations was passed and so far as possible all the public works, such as the hospitals, were laicized.

The century under review saw, therefore, the growing secularization of the State and the steady policy of excluding the authority of the Pope and the Church from all the affairs of the world. The nemesis of this fatal policy came in 1914. The greatest tragedy of European history came about because there was no court and no authority to which the disputants could turn. Pius X saw the beginnings of the tragedy and died worn out with grief. His successor made one great effort to bring about a cessation of hostilities, but his appeal received no attention save in the United States, for the very good reason that Italy had made a condition with the Allies before entering the war that the Pope's claims should be put aside unheard. This sorry state of affairs has not yet been put right, though the principles on which the relation of Church and State should rest have been declared again and again. Even in the fifth

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century Pope Gelasius wrote to the Emperor Anastasius that 'there are two things by which this world is chiefly governed: the sacred authority of the pontiffs and the power of kings'. This does not mean that the Catholic Church desires a return to the conditions of the Middle Ages. They have passed for ever, but the principles remain eternally valid and fruitful. Time and again they have been set forward by the recent Popes. Thus Leo wrote that

the limits of rights and duties once and for all defined, it is abundantly clear that rulers of States are free to administer their own affairs and that not only with the passive toleration of the Church but plainly with her active co-operation. . . . Church and State have each its own province in which each is supreme; therefore neither owes obedience to the other in the administration of its own affairs within the boundaries appointed to each.

This view is confirmed by Pius XI in the *Ubi Arcano Dei*:

The Church was established by her Founder as a perfect society, the mistress and leader of other societies; such being the case, she will not encroach upon the authority of other societies which are each of them legitimate in their own sphere, but she will be able felicitously to complete them as grace perfects nature; and through her such societies will be the more able to help men to attain the ultimate end, which is eternal happiness even on this earth. . . . But if the Church considers it improper to meddle without reason with the government of worldly affairs and purely political matters, she is within her rights in seeking to prevent the civil power making that an excuse to oppose in any way whatsoever the superior interests which involve man's eternal salvation, to endanger or injure those interests by unjust laws or commands, to attack the divine constitution of the Church, or tread underfoot the sacred rights of God in the civil society of men.

It will be noticed that Pius XI compares the relations of the Church and State to that of grace and nature and speaks of the superior rights of the Church. Throughout its history the Church has steadily claimed to be the higher power, and the comparison which is used by St. Thomas Aquinas and taken up by Leo XIII is that of the soul to the body. Both the soul

and the body are distinct, and in the same way the civil is distinct from the spiritual, and furthermore each is autonomous. But just as the soul and body have common actions, so human conduct as moral falls under both domains. Owing to the goodness of God there is a domain which is quite separate, the supernatural end. For this the Sacraments were instituted and the teaching body of the Church with full authority to teach and govern the society of Christians. The State has no voice here. But as man is one being and has not lost his nature in being supernaturalized, his moral actions are the concern of the Church and also in so far as they are social acts the concern of the State, which has the high function of guiding men to their common good. What Pius XI says is that the Church must do her best to prevent the State hampering the prosecution of these 'superior interests' and that she has the right to intervene if the State fails in its duty in the moral order. This intervention is no usurpation of power, no direct interference with what does not belong to it. The theory has been carefully worked out, especially by those great theologians Bellarmine and Suarez. Thus, Bellarmine says that 'by the words direct and indirect . . . we understand . . . that the pontifical power is by nature and specifically spiritual and therefore directly concerned with spiritual matters as its primary object; but indirectly, that is in relation to spiritual things, reductively, and by necessary consequence, so to speak, it is concerned with temporal things, as its secondary object, to which this spiritual power is not converted unless in special cases, as Innocent III says'; and Suarez again defines the power of the Pope in these words: 'There are not two powers in the Supreme Pontiff, but one only relating directly to spiritual things and by way of consequence to temporal things.'

This very important doctrine the Church cannot and never has in fact abandoned. In the nineteenth century, however, it has not been easy of application. The Popes have many times been forced to conclude a Concordat which did not allot to the Papacy and to the Catholic religion their just rights. States, too, have strongly resented the protests of the Church,

and some Catholics even have tried to deny the jurisdiction of bishops and Popes in matters which they claimed to be political or social. This attitude, however, is not peculiar to the last century; there have always been Cisalpines and anti-clericals. But what is perhaps peculiar is the confusion of issues. States have lost their authority over their members and nevertheless have pretended to possess unlimited authority. Parties, too, such as the Socialist and Communist have spread the notion that the modern State is the perquisite of the bourgeois, that it has no moral end, and that all right-thinking men should be antagonistic to such an oppression and free to end it by force, if so inclined. Extreme forms of nationalism, moreover, have led to the repudiation of the old principles which were applied to justify or condemn active and passive resistance and revolutionary activities. In other words, the old boundary marks have disappeared. As Stubbs pointed out, the disputes in the Middle Ages were fought on a clear understanding of rights and claims. That is why kings and princes took such pains to make a case for themselves. A case presupposes that there are laws and principles by which the arguments can be judged. The trouble now is that the supremacy of law is denied and that there is no agreement on fundamentals. No sooner does a group label itself than it supposes that it has sovereign rights, and few dare gainsay the claim for fear of denying the great charter of Rousseau. The Church in these circumstances has been hampered on every side. The Popes made it their duty to teach their people and those of the world who would listen to them the moral principles which should govern political and social relations. The clear teaching is there in the encyclicals, but when they have been applied they have been combated. As an example we may take the recent condemnation of *L'Action Française*. There is no need to enter into the rights and wrongs of the dispute. What happened was that the Church exercised its authority and refused to allow its members to follow the teaching and direction of Charles Maurras. Instead, however, of obeying, a number of Catholics protested and continued to support *L'Action Française*; that is to say, in

the face of a clear and authoritative command of the spiritual power, Catholics denied its applicability to the situation in which they found themselves. They argued that the Pope had been misinformed or that he was trespassing on a purely political question. No better example could be found of the meaning and extent of the spiritual power and of the decline in the virtue of obedience to authority. Though political questions are of themselves outside the direct jurisdiction of the Church, belonging as they do to the State, nevertheless, as already explained, the Church has the right of intervention *ratione peccati*, when the interests of the Church and of souls is involved. Not only that, in any such clash the last word rests with the spiritual power by reason of its higher office and, if after representation the order still remains in force, then on the grounds that the spiritual power has the right to command all must obey.

If the State were healthy, there would be very seldom any reason for the intervention of the spiritual power, and in case of its intervention obedience would be willingly accorded. The trouble is that when the moral law is being set at naught and spiritual rights ignored the State becomes very sensitive to blame and full of its own authority. Either the government has let the reins of power fall from its hands and has its ear to popular clamour, or riding a theory, such as Communism, to the death, it crushes religion and family and personal claims under foot by an inhuman dictatorship. As Ortega y Gasset says in his *Revolt of the Masses*: 'To-day we are witnessing the triumphs of a hyperdemocracy in which the mass acts directly, outside the law, imposing its aspirations and its desires by means of material pressure.' It believes that it 'has the right to impose and to give force of law to notions born in the café'. These notions, moreover, tend to become more and more mere tastes and preferences. In the days when the masses lived under an external authority and accepted it, they were accustomed to the belief that their own ideas should be disciplined. But the modern mass finds complete freedom as its natural, established condition, without any special cause for it. Nothing from

outside incites it to recognize limits to itself and, consequently, to refer at all times to other authorities higher than itself. . . . The man we are now analysing accustoms himself not to appeal from his own to any authority outside him. He is satisfied with himself exactly as he is. Ingenuously, without any need of being vain, as the most natural thing in the world, he will tend to consider and affirm as good everything he finds within himself: opinions, appetites, preferences, tastes.

The truth contained in this judgement is only too apparent in the licence which is now allowed in the name of freedom, in the readiness to dispute any interference from authority in literature or art, and in the confidence of individuals that their tastes make the moral law. A critic like Irving Babbitt, who is no Christian, can see how dangerous is this decline:

The love and grace of the Christian lead to sharp exclusions and discriminations; whereas the Rousseauist tends to blur all distinctions in pantheistic revery. Contrast the 'vision' of a Dante, for example, with its clear-cut scale of moral values from the peak of heaven to the pit of hell, with the 'vision' of a Walt Whitman in which not merely men and women, good, bad, and indifferent, but 'elder, mullein, and poke-weed' are all viewed on the same level in virtue of what the pantheist calls love. Dante speaks of the 'highest love' that built the walls of hell. We shudder at the medieval grimness. The opposite and more dangerous extreme is to lavish what Bossuet calls a 'murderous pity' upon human nature, and under cover of promoting love, to be ready to subvert justice.

With reason does the same writer head his book with the quotation from Burke that 'society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things, that men of intemperate minds cannot be free.'

The most unhealthy symptom of all in civil society is the decline in ideals with regard to family life and marriage. As stated at the beginning of this essay, the family is one of the three forms of union which are natural to man. The first is the religious organization, the second is the community organized

as the State, and the third is the condition of the other two. It follows that the family is an institution with moral authority and moral sanctions to safeguard it, and in the Christian commonwealth the laws which govern it are rightly held to be most sacred. The parents have duties to each other and to the children, and the children are morally bound to reverence and obey their parents. Furthermore, it is fair to describe the natural unit of any society, not as the individual but as the family, and it is one among the many signs of decay that now social legislation concerns itself principally with the individual to the neglect of the family and that wages and income are assessed without regard to the latter. In recent encyclicals the Popes have had to remind the world constantly of the moral law respecting the family and wedlock. Thus Pius XI in 1930 declared as 'an immutable and inviolable fundamental doctrine that matrimony was not instituted or restored by man but by God; not by man were the laws made to strengthen and confirm and elevate it, but by God the Author of nature, and by Christ our Lord by whom nature was redeemed, and hence these laws cannot be subject to any human decrees or to any contrary pact even of the spouses themselves'. The growing evil and the breakdown of marriage laws the Pope attributes to the principle that matrimony was not 'instituted by the Author of nature . . . but invented by man', and he goes on to say that as a result men think that the divine laws 'can and must be founded, changed and abrogated according to human caprice and the shifting circumstances of human affairs'. This is bound to lead to disaster, as it not only leads to unions outside wedlock and so to general promiscuity, but it thwarts the upbringing of children by the mother and father, who by natural law have the right and power to educate them.

How different such words are from those of our modern prophets! Within the last fifty years there has been an intensified campaign against monogamy and the rights of the family. Ibsen made the theme popular amongst the dramatists, and so it is not surprising that such an admirer of the Norwegian as Bernard Shaw should write: 'There is a revolt against marriage

which has spread rapidly within my own recollection, although we still assume the existence of a large and dangerous majority which regards the least hint of scepticism as to the duty and holiness of marriage as infamous and abhorrent.' Mr. Shaw would call himself a socialist, and, of course, so far as extreme socialism is concerned, the traditional ideas of wedlock and parentage have no value at all. Bax, for instance, is expressing the accepted view of his school of thought when he says that 'socialism will strike at the root at once of compulsory monogamy and prostitution by inaugurating an era of marriage based on free choice and intention, and characterized by the absence of external coercion'. It is in the last words that the philosophy which governs all these movements peers out, the philosophy which has transferred authority from God to man and made the will of man the ultimate arbiter of what is right and wrong. All forms of external authority and coercion are regarded as wicked, and this view is common not only amongst such extreme unbelievers as Shaw and Wells and Lord Russell and Communists, but among liberals as well, and it has now even permeated bodies which call themselves Christian. One need not look beyond the Christians to find supporters of divorce and sterilization. In a book which claims to be more Christian than the doctrine of professing Christians, called *The Survival of the Unfittest*, the author lays down as the criterion of morality: 'What is natural is right, and Man's true nature bids him avoid causing useless suffering to others. This is, in my considered opinion, the quintessence of morality.'

So it is that with the breakdown of external authority and the rise of private judgement and general wills, by means of legislation and public opinion, the authority of the parent, the rights of the family, and the old laws governing wedlock and offspring have been impugned and are losing force. The changes that have been going on are excellently summarized in an article in the *Clerical Review* (October 1932):

Marriage had ceased to be a matter of ecclesiastical and had become a matter of civil jurisdiction. A regular system of divorce had been instituted and the grounds for which divorce might be granted had

been extended from time to time. The judges going their assize had been invested with power to dissolve marriages. In the end, though certain legal formalities had to be observed, it became possible for women and men to terminate their marriage by mutual consent (as the Papal Curia observed in the proceedings of the Marlborough case). . . . In addition to the ever-widening jurisdiction in divorce which was enjoyed by the judges of the High Court the Law had granted to magistrates in Petty Sessions extensive powers to deal with matrimonial cases and to make orders for separation of the spouses. . . . The decline of the institution of matrimony was also illustrated by the tendency of the latest statutes and orders to treat legitimate and illegitimate children on the same level. Under the Workmen's Compensation Act, for instance, no distinction is drawn between legitimate and illegitimate children so long as they are dependent on the father as wage-earner. And the final proof of the degradation of the idea of the family in England is to be found in the decision of the Court of Appeal that a marriage celebrated in Soviet Russia and terminable at the will of either of the parties (by a notice filed with the Registrar) is a marriage within the meaning and for the purposes of the English Law.

The same writer then points to the evidence which shows how the authority of the parent is being displaced. He quotes as instances the series of statutes giving the wife equal right with the husband to the custody of the child, and thereby handing over to the State the jurisdiction to decide between them; the Children's Act of 1908 which in fact hands over the child from the parents to the State, and the Settled Land Acts, Estate and Death Duties which constitute an attack on the institution of family property. In most of the legislation also for the poorer classes it is assumed that the workman will not be able to lay enough aside to assist his family, and so provision is made for old age, for ill health, and for the education of the children. What is worse is that schemes for birth prevention are now public talk and the principle has received the sanction of the Church of England.

What is happening in England corresponds with the trend of ideas and legislation in most of what are called the civilized nations of the world. Divorce was introduced into France at

the time of the French Revolution; it was checked by the reinstatement of the Catholic Church as the State religion in 1816, but after the coming of the Republic in the last decades of the century divorce became once more permissible, and the number which took place began to increase by leaps and bounds. The problem of childless marriages ought to have given a warning to French statesmen of the effects of a Godless education, but instead it has been used as a reason for still further tampering with the marriage tie. In Germany conservative principles delayed the propaganda for divorce, but the figures have increased noticeably within the last fifty years. Of all countries, however, with the possible exception of Japan, the United States has suffered the most. The facts are too well known to need repeating, and it is there that sterilization of the unfit and even 'companionate marriage' have been advocated as befitting a new and higher morality. What new enormities will be committed in the name of morality no one can tell. There is no authority to issue commandments and to insist on their being obeyed. Parents have been deprived of the powers which are theirs by nature, the State professes to be nothing else than the voice of the people and the servant of their wishes, and outside the Catholic Church religious bodies grow more and more time-servers as the name and philosophy of modernism signify. Not all, of course, are satisfied with this trend or drift, though there are many who would accept the resolution of the International Sex Congress held in London in the year 1929 that 'Soviet Russia is the only country in Europe in which a rational and scientific policy is followed in matters of sex'.

It is admitted by all the students of contemporary and social relations that the source of the ideas now prevalent can be traced back to Rousseau and the political thinkers who wrote across the earth the new gospel of equal rights, liberty, and the general will. These words burnt themselves into the minds of the mass of men and women. Irving Babbitt tells the story of Edwin Lear when stopping in a Sicilian town in the year 1848. Lear had been away from the town for some weeks and had locked up his possessions in his room in his hotel. On returning

he asked in vain for the key of his room from the hotel-keeper. Instead he received the answer: 'There isn't any longer any key or room or clothes; everything is love and liberty. *O che bella rivoluzione!*' This story illustrates the effect of the new teaching on men. They expected to obtain from life an immediate happiness, and they came to think that since happiness was their natural condition and each one was free to choose it for himself, external authority was an encumbrance and even a wrong done to them. Naturally, therefore, a new criterion came into force. What stood in the way of happiness and liberty was evil and should be removed. No doubt in the application of this criterion many evils were stopped, and it is a pleasure to think of the many humane measures which were passed. All would have been well if in the care for the body and the temporal well-being of man the highest interests, those of the soul, had not been neglected. Unfortunately the humanitarianism went with a gross insouciance and doubt of the spiritual kingdom, and a spiritual principle would be readily thrown over when it conflicted with physical discomfort. If marriage proved difficult the bond must be undone; if the rearing of children conflicted with economic conditions of the day, then the economic conditions need not be changed; it would be better to have the pleasures of sex without its responsibilities. The ideal of ease, however, whether polished or comfortable, has never yet succeeded in history, and the remarkable increase in the number of suicides may be taken as one of the symptoms of its present failure. Suicide may, indeed, be said to be the nemesis of the rejection of divine authority. In the ages of belief it was treated as the most flagrant of sins, as it meant an act of defiance. If man really is a creature of God, owing to God both his nature and his existence, then the assumption of the right to destroy himself is mad usurpation. On the other hand, it is logical for one who thinks he is his own lord and master to end his existence when he has grown weary of warming his hands at the fire of life. Thus we see in this one decisive example the vital difference between two conceptions of human nature: belief in divine authority and belief in oneself.

Throughout the period under discussion there have not been wanting voices which warned their generation of the fatal nature of the philosophy which had been adopted. There was more excuse for blindness fifty years ago. Now the evidence for the direction in which the world is moving is such as to be clear to all who care to study it, and this is the reason, no doubt, why from various countries books are forthcoming which analyse with a deep dissatisfaction the spirit of the age and seek a remedy. Amongst these may be mentioned at random such writers as the Frenchmen Massis and Maritain and Benda, the Russian Berdiaeff, the German Count Keyserling, the American Irving Babbitt, the Spaniard Ortega y Gasset, and Christopher Dawson and Wyndham Lewis in England. These and other writers who might be mentioned are to a surprising extent agreed in their diagnosis of the condition of modern civilization, though as might be expected they differ in their remedies. Irving Babbitt has no doubt of the influence of Rousseau. He quotes the words of M. de Vogué that 'democracy has only one father—Rousseau. . . . The great muddy stream which is submerging us flows from the writings and the life of Rousseau like the Rhine and the Po from the Alpine reservoirs which feed them perpetually.' Furthermore, this democracy has in America and the world over proved to be a muddy stream; it is typified by mass-production, by the preference of quantity to quality, and 'if democracy means simply the attempt to eliminate the qualitative and selective principle in favour of some general will, based in turn on a theory of natural rights, it may prove to be only a form of the vertigo of the abyss'. The modern political thinker of the left, like Mr. Laski, has no belief in the rights of man in any strict or philosophical sense. He is content with the phrase as expressing sufficiently well the truth that 'what men want corresponds in a rough way to what they need'. This cynical and sceptical outlook receives short shrift from Irving Babbitt, and his criticism could hardly be better when he says that 'the first and very elementary step in any effective knowledge of human nature, a step that "liberals" of the type of Mr. Laski have failed to take, is the discovery of the lack of

coincidence between man's wants and his needs. What man needs, if we are to believe the Lord's prayer, is bread and wisdom. . . . Whatever we may think of Christian theology, the Christian insight remains true that man suffers from a divided will: he needs to follow the law of the spirit and wants to follow the law of the members, so that he is a thoroughly paradoxical creature, for the most part at war with his own happiness.' Burke similarly put his finger on the flaw in the new political creed when he said of its devotees that 'they are so taken up with the rights of man that they have totally forgotten his nature'.

The sombre picture painted by Babbitt is not relieved by comparison with what Ortega y Gasset in his *The Revolt of the Masses* has to say. So far as morality is concerned he does not hesitate to declare that 'it would be a piece of ingenuousness to accuse the man of to-day of his lack of moral code. The accusation would leave him cold, or rather, would flatter him. Immoralism has become a commonplace, and anybody and everybody boasts of practising it.' This is surely an exaggeration, but as Babbitt is a humanist and Ortega a liberal neither can be accused of prejudice in favour of authority and Catholic doctrine, and for this reason I have thought it more convincing to quote their testimony. Ortega thinks that there are three characteristics of the modern mass-man. The first is 'an inborn, root impression that life is easy, plentiful, without any grave limitations; consequently, each average man finds within himself a sensation of power and triumph'. This attitude did not arise at once. All through the last century the people were learning that they were sovereign. At first for the majority it was only a juridical idea; they were told that they had the rights, but they did not make much effort to exercise them. Gradually through constant assurances, by watching the success of democratic action and seeing the more forward of their fellows rewarded with office, the idea became a reality and has now become a habit. Hence the second characteristic which 'leads him to shut himself off from any external court of appeal; not to listen, not to submit his opinions to judgement, not to

consider others' existence, and this leads him, thirdly, to intervene in all matters, imposing his own vulgar views without respect or regard for others, without limit or reserve, that is to say, in accordance with a system of "direct action" '.

The result of such action and such habits of thought may give comfort for a time, but it leads nowhere. 'With more means at its disposal, more knowledge, more technique than ever, it turns out that the world to-day goes the same way as the worst of worlds that have been; it simply drifts.' Except for one form of social democracy which can hardly be called a democracy at all since it is a scarcely disguised tyranny, the modern mass movements are omnipotent and ephemeral; there is no vital programme, no plan of existence. In the political order this condition was more prevalent in the nineteenth century than now; in the moral order the confusion grows. And the reason for this is that the lowest factor, the economic, has taken control, and an impersonal State manages all like a nurse with a crèche or a warder with the unfit. 'The State has come to be a formidable machine which works in marvellous fashion; of wonderful efficiency by reason of the quantity and precision of its means. Once it is set up in the midst of society, it is enough to touch a button for its enormous levers to start working and exercise their overwhelming power on any portion whatever of the social framework,' and the bitter paradox is that the people are so bewitched as to think that they are this State—*l'état c'est moi*—and so each individual 'will tend more and more to set its machinery working on whatsoever pretext, to crush beneath it any creative minority which disturbs it—disturbs it in any order of things: in politics, in ideas, in industry'.

Goethe in one of his better moments said that 'to live as one likes is plebeian; the noble man aspires to law and order'. This typically eighteenth-century remark with its mixture of truth and banal pride helped some of the aristocrats to die with dignity during the French Revolution; but something more is required to restore law and order and to show people that there is something better than plebeianism. Ortega and so many of

the serious-minded critics of the day realize this fully. They see that liberty without authority leads to demoralization. At first, having thrown away the decalogue, the masses rejoice in the new-felt freedom; they are on holiday.

But the holiday does not last long. Without commandments obliging us to live after a certain fashion, our existence is that of the 'unemployed'. This is the terrible spiritual situation in which the best youth of the world finds itself to-day. By dint of feeling free, exempt from restrictions, it feels itself empty. An 'unemployed' existence is a worse negation of life than death itself. Because to live means to have something to do—a mission to fulfill—and in the measure in which we avoid setting our life to something, we make it empty. Before long there will be heard throughout the planet a formidable cry, rising like the howling of innumerable dogs to the stars, asking for some one or something to take command, to impose an occupation, a duty.

The majority of men have no opinions, and these have to be pumped into them from outside, like lubricants into machinery. Hence it is necessary that some mind or other should hold and exercise authority, so that the people without opinions—the majority—can start having opinions. For without these, the common life of humanity would be chaos, a historic chaos, lacking in any organic structure. Consequently, without a spiritual power, without some one to command, and in proportion as this is lacking, chaos reigns over mankind. . . . In the great epochs, what mankind lives by is opinion, and, therefore, order rules. On the further side of the Middle Ages we also find a period in which, as in the Modern Age, there is some one in command, though only over a limited portion of the world: Rome the great director.

The mention of the name Rome brings us back to where we started. The theme of this essay is that the change-over from the authority of God to the authority of the people or the general will has been responsible inevitably for the decline and collapse of authority in every direction: in family life, in political sovereignty, and in morals. As Burke said: 'Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere'; and again, 'we know, and what is better we feel inwardly, that religion is the basis of civil society, and the

1330 DECLINE OF AUTHORITY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
source of all good and all comfort'. Ortega reaches the same conclusion:

Human life by its very nature has to be dedicated to something, an enterprise glorious or humble, a destiny illustrious or trivial. We are faced with a condition, strange but inexorable, involved in our very existence. On the one hand, to live is something which each one does of himself and for himself. On the other hand, if that life of mine, which only concerns myself, is not directed by me towards something, it will be disjointed, lacking in tension, and in 'form'. In these years we are witnessing the gigantic spectacle of innumerable human lives wandering about lost in their own labyrinths, through not having anything to which to give themselves. All imperatives, all commands, are in a state of suspension.

To escape this it is necessary that some high ideal, some superior law, should first bend man by discipline and then elevate him to what is both his duty and infinitely desirable; and where can these be found save in a religion and a religion with authority? In the service of God and of God alone, as St. Augustine so well realized, 'our will is God's, but our freedom is not destroyed by the will of God', and 'what soul hungering for Eternity and shocked by the shortness of this present life would resist the splendour and the majesty of the Authority of God?'

This is why in the ultimate solution earthly authority cannot endure when religious authority declines. If we begin with the highest, the over-arching demands of God, the rest will hold together. Unfortunately outside Rome even religious authority has fallen in ruins. As an Anglican clergyman recently remarked:

first of all, is the complete breakdown of authority in the sphere of religion and morals. The Roman Church stands out as a tower of strength; Anglican priests may and do still lay down as definite a standard, but somehow—perhaps because they are so much questioned and criticized by the laity in other matters, perhaps because on them falls the care of those who really have no religion at all—they do not seem to carry so much moral weight as the Romans. There seems to be no half-way house, no third course between the

acceptance of absolute Christian standards on the one hand, and floundering in the chaos of conflicting opinions—medical or otherwise—as to what is right or permissible or ‘natural’ on the other.

Other explanations might be given but the facts are only too true and, as the dogma of complete liberty has crystallized, it becomes more and more difficult to persuade the mass of mankind that they are not their own masters in everything and that an external authority is not only not a usurpation but the fundamental law of life. There are certainly difficulties which have to be adjusted, the nature of which will change in various ages; there is, too, always the danger of human authority, no matter whether it bases itself on the divine, of overreaching itself. ‘But to form a free government—that is, to temper together these opposite elements of liberty and restraint in one consistent work, requires much thought, deep reflection, a sagacious, powerful, and combining mind.’ The Church allows any form of government, monarchical, oligarchic, or democratic; it has, as we have seen, two theories of the origin of government. It recognizes the temptations both of the governed and of those who govern.

Behold [said Bossuet], an immense people brought together in a single person, behold this sacred, paternal, and absolute power; behold the secret reason which governs all this body of The State. You see the image of God in kings and gain from them the idea of royal majesty. And so, O kings, exercise your power boldly; for it is divine and salutary to mankind; but exercise it with humility. It is laid upon you from without. At bottom it leaves you weak, it leaves you sinful; and burdens you in God’s sight with a heavier reckoning.

Here in the most extreme form which is possible in Catholic theory is the power of temporal sovereigns defined, and it will be noticed that, for all the autocracy of the French Bourbons, Bossuet is not afraid to threaten the king with divine judgement. Not all sovereignty is as absolute as this, for forms of government may differ; but whatever its claim, it rests ultimately not on any individual right but on the high destiny of man and the

care which God takes to guard and direct it. And this moral authority of rulers is subject in spiritual matters to those who carry on the divine work of salvation founded by Him who 'spoke with authority' and possessed the power and the majesty of God.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND MODERN
CIVILIZATION

By E. C. BUTLER, D.LITT.

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INTRODUCTORY

IN most cases no sharp defining line can be drawn at a fixed year between two epochs of history, marking clearly the beginning of the new epoch; usually the transformation is a gradual merging of the old into the new, as gradual as is the merging of night through twilight and dawn into the full light of day. Who will draw a clear-cut line between the Ancient World and the Middle Ages? or between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance? But, although Modern History begins at an earlier date, when we come to our actual existing most modern phase of history, that which is understood by the term 'Modern Civilization', the line may be drawn, if we consider Europe and America, at a precise year, 1775, a century and a half ago. For 1775 saw the birth of events, and ideas, and forces destined to grow and to fructify into the complex state of Civil Society that prevails to-day throughout the regions of European Civilization in the Old World and in the New. 1775 was the year of the Revolt of the American Colonies from England, with the Declaration of Independence and the subsidiary Declarations of the Rights of States, the harbingers of the ideas already simmering, let loose on the world a dozen years later by the French Revolution, 1789. These ideas, embodied in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, of the same year, were destined to win their way in the modern mind and to oust the 'old régime' in which Europe had settled down, to recuperate after the religious and political upheavals of the Reformation and the century of wars of Religion, from the Peace of Westphalia, 1648, and during the eighteenth century.

Thus 1775 really was in the social and political order a decisive year. But also in the religious order it was a decisive year; for in 1775 came to the Pontifical Throne the Pope Pius VI, the first of the line that may be called the 'Modern Popes': the first of those who inaugurated a new phase of the Papacy in its relations to the outer secular world, and the first to become the object of that cultus of the Holy Father's

person, that has ever since increasingly been growing into one of the most vital elements of popular Catholic devotional life. And in yet another way 1775 was a landmark in European history; for in the previous year had died Louis XV of France, after his long reign of sixty years, and with him ended the waning glory of the great French Monarchy of the three Louis, XIII, XIV, XV, 1610 to 1774, the period of the supremacy of France among the nations of the world, and the supremacy of the whole range of ideas, political and social, for which the old France stood.

From the outbreak of the French Revolution, 1789, and the setting free of the forces that had produced it, the break-up of the Old Order went on apace in the realms of political ideas and social conditions. And in the material order soon came Steam; and then the age of Machinery, of steam-engines, of railways and steamboats, and of the applications of science to manufacture and production, was upon the world, leading on to commercialism and industrialism, full-blown capitalism, and international finance; and, in reaction against them, their contrary, socialism: in short the state of things that are the problem and the despair of statesmen and economists and religious leaders, Popes above all, in these early years of our twentieth century, when the forces and the ideas set going in 1775 and 1789 have been running their course for a century and a half.

The purpose of this section of the History of European Civilization is to display the attitude, the gradually successive attitudes, of the Catholic Church in its Popes and bishops, and outstanding laymen—statesmen, writers, thinkers—in face of this complex thing, 'Modern Civilization'.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

It is necessary to make clear from the outset what is meant in these pages by 'The Catholic Church'. It means the Christian religious Body united in accepting the Pope, the Bishop of Rome, as the heir of St. Peter and the inheritor of Christ's Commission and promises to Peter: The Rock on which He

built His Church, the Key-Bearer of the Kingdom of Heaven, the one designated by Christ to be Head-Shepherd of His Flock; Christ's Vicar on Earth and God's Representative in the religious order. All this was universally held in substance by all Catholics, Gallicans as well as Ultramontanes, for all their limitations in regard to certain theological inferences. (See Bossuet's *Sermon on the Unity of the Church*, 1681.)¹

All Catholics hold, and held at all times, that Jesus Christ was True God and True Man, the Eternal Word, Second Person of the Holy Trinity made Man; they hold without compromise or evasion the full doctrine of the Divinity of Our Lord, as set forth in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. They hold that He established a religious Society, His Church, which was to go on for all time, the Proclaimer and Teacher of His doctrine and the Guide of men in Faith and Morals, as to what in matters of religion they are to believe, and how to act in accordance with the Code of Christian morality and conduct. They hold that this Society of Christ, the Catholic Church, was carried on by the Apostles and their successors the Bishops through the three centuries of persecution, till with Constantine it emerged as the State religion of the Roman Empire; that it continued with varying fortunes throughout the Middle Ages, till at the Reformation it was standing out in western Europe as an unmistakable fact; that when the religious Unity of Europe was shattered, those portions that adhered to this Catholic Church, as it existed without rival in western Europe at the year 1500, were the Catholic Church; and that now, throughout the century and a half that we are concerned with, those groups of organized Christians that adhere to this agelong body, in union and communion with the Bishop of Rome, alone are the Catholic Church.

So that when we come to consider the reactions of the Catholic Church in face of the problems and conditions of our modern civilization, modern mentality, modern ideas of the State and the Law, and the relations of citizens to them, it is to be understood that 'the Catholic Church' is taken as being this

¹ For the Gallican position, see *The Vatican Council*, vol. i, ch. ii.

one religious body, commonly in England spoken of as 'the Roman Catholic Church', of which the chief and official spokesman is the Pope; and that he and every Catholic, from the Pope himself to the lowest and simplest, holds and believes that it is the function of the Catholic Church, laid on her by Christ, to bear witness to the Truth of God, and, if so be, to declare that a given law or action of the secular State is at variance with the Law of God, natural or revealed, and therefore not binding in conscience and, if need be, to be disobeyed and even resisted, on the apostolic principle of obeying God rather than man.

In such cases of Faith and Morals the Roman Pontiff's pronouncements are recognized by Catholics as being spoken with authority; and in certain conditions, not often fulfilled, as with final authority—*infallibility* it is called, a divine protection from error in defining. Furthermore, in its own sphere the temporal order, the State or Civil Authority has the power and right of legislating and making laws that have to be obeyed; and, in things that are of importance for the well-being of the Commonwealth, obedience is a duty and disobedience a sin. But the spheres of Faith and of Morals, in so far as conformity with the Law of God is concerned, lie outside the competence of the State and the Civil Legislature; and the question of the conformity of any legislation with the Divine Law and Code of Morality is a matter that falls under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church alone to decide.

Such claims of the Catholic Church may be rejected, will be rejected, by many, probably by most readers. But they must, for all that, be kept in mind by any one who would form a just and right estimation of the attitude of that Catholic Church and the acts of her rulers, above all the chief ruler, the Pope, in their reactions to the successive phases of the modern civilization that has been on the world since the event of 1775, and has ever since been growing in the magnitude and intensity of its developments. It must, I repeat, be borne in mind throughout that this is what the Catholic Church claims to be, and what every Catholic believes and holds her to be. And her acts, and

the acts of the Popes, can only be fairly and rightly understood and judged when these tremendous claims are kept in view.

It is to be remembered, also, that this is not the first phase of civilization to which the Church has adjusted herself. She was able to adjust herself to the survivals of the ancient Greek and Roman world; to the barbaric systems of the Teuton and Slav races, civilizing them; to the Feudal System; to the Commercial Republics of the Italian and German Free Cities; to the Renaissance: to all these varying systems and civilizations she has been able to adjust herself and to function freely in them, carrying on under all successive phases of development her appointed work, which is the leading of men to heaven, the guiding them to love and serve God and their fellow men. This, her religious mission, is the Church's own proper work; this she has to do, and has been able to do, amid all the varieties of human affairs and systems. But the acclimatizing herself to new environments, though without change in her essential teaching, has ever, naturally, been a slow and gradual process requiring time and many tentative efforts. And such accommodations are worked out in the natural way whereby God's Providence ordinarily works in human affairs, by the operation of His usual ways of procedure, and by human thought and experiment, not by sudden strokes.

So much seemed to be in place by way of orientation. And now in order to appreciate the movements of the Catholic Church in face of the New Order ushered in in 1775, it is necessary to take stock briefly of the older order that previously held sway throughout European civilization.

THE OLD ORDER: A SURVEY

The immediately preceding order, challenged in 1775, and more determinedly in 1789, may be taken as having begun with the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648. This treaty was the attempted pacification of Europe after the upheaval and exhaustion of Reformation and Counter-Reformation and wars of religion. By these movements the old idea of a single Christendom in the West had been broken, and Europe had

definitely fallen asunder into the separate nations. In the period before Westphalia Spain had been unmistakably the predominant power of Europe and of the world; and, though soon after Westphalia displaced from her pre-eminence by France, still in 1650, and until 1775, and on into the nineteenth century, Spain still held her far-flung possessions, the Spanish Empire as it would be called now. These extended along the length of the Pacific coast of South America and to the northern boundary of California; they skirted the entire Gulf of Mexico, and embraced the chief islands of the West Indies—an immense empire pouring riches into the mother country.

Though Spain held all these possessions into the nineteenth century, her position as the chief world-power was waning in 1650, and in a few years she was displaced by France, which under the inspiration and statecraft of Richelieu—the ‘Maker of Modern France’ he has deservedly been called—was during the period 1650–1775 making her great bid to supplant Spain in the domination of Europe and the world. Her foreign possessions in the New World, firmly held until the Treaty of Paris, 1763, were Lower Canada along the St. Lawrence River, Nova Scotia and the opposite mainland, and Louisiana. Claimed by France, but not effectively held or settled, dotted over by isolated French forts and missions of the French Jesuits to the Indians, were the vast territories of unsettled Canada, and the entire centre of the North American Continent, from the Allegheny Mountains to the Rockies; that is to say, all lying between the English colonies on the Atlantic coast and the Spanish on the Pacific. In course of time all this great French territory in North America passed in divers ways to England and the United States, and so has no significance for our subject, the Catholic Church in modern civilization.

But not so the Spanish dominions; nor those of the Portuguese, who had colonized at an early date the fringe along the Atlantic coast of South America, and inland along the Amazon, and gradually had brought under their sway the huge territory of Brazil. Thus in 1775 Spain and Portugal between them held all South America and all Central America to the northern

boundary of California. This is of importance; because the position of the Catholic Church as the Established Religion, and its relation to the State, was the same in these American possessions as in the mother countries. But in Spain and Portugal alike in 1775 the Catholic Church was firmly established in a privileged position as the State Church, there being no recognition and barely any toleration for any other religion.

We must turn to France. Here we found a supplementary reason for taking the year 1775 as the landmark for the beginning of the most modern epoch in the history of Europe; for with the death of Louis XV in 1774 had ended the hundred and thirty great years of the French monarchy under the two long reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV. The former reign, 1643-1715, was the zenith of the glory of the French monarchy, and it may be said also of the French Church. During that of Louis XV, 1715-74, this glorious France was in every aspect, of Church, of State, of Society alike, disintegrating rapidly, the forces ever gaining in volume that were to break forth in 1789.

The King ruled as absolute monarch without any constitutional control, by 'divine right' it was held unquestionedly; nobles and clergy were privileged classes, exempt in great measure from the common law. The official relations of Church and State were still regulated by the Concordat of 1516 between Leo X and Francis I; the chief provision was that giving the King of France the right to nominate to bishoprics and abbeys, with proviso that those named should be acceptable to the Holy See and receive confirmation from the Pope. All through the period 1650 to 1775 the French Church, and also the State, were distracted by the squabbles over Jansenism and by the Gallican theories that were officially adopted by the State and enforced in all schools of theology in France. A moderate and authentic presentation of the Gallican position, as commonly taught towards the middle of the eighteenth century by ordinary French theologians, is given in *Vatican Council*, vol. i, ch. ii, from a popular manual of religious instruction by a Maurist, Dom Jamin, 1768. The strictly theological

points of the Gallican position touching the Papacy, the relation of Pope to General Council, and Papal Infallibility, lie outside the scope of this chapter; we are concerned only with Church and State. And of the Four Articles of the Gallican Declaration of 1682 only the first need come into view: it rejects the Deposing Power, and the right, direct or indirect, of Pope or ecclesiastical authority to interfere in civil and temporal affairs. In pursuance of this, Dom Jamin lays down the complete mutual independence of the spiritual and temporal powers of Church and State, as follows:

The union of the two powers can never be on the principle of the subjection of the one to the other. Each is sovereign, independent, absolute, in that which concerns it. They owe one another a mutual assistance, but by way of concert, not by way of subordination and dependence.

To attribute to sovereigns the primacy in matters purely ecclesiastical is to reverse the order which God has established. To subordinate the power of the pastors in its exercise to the temporal power is to misunderstand it.

The King in the civil and temporal order has no superior on earth.

To attribute to the Pope a power direct, or even indirect, over the temporals of Kings, is a doctrine unknown to the Fathers of the first centuries and of which we find no trace in the Gospels.

The deposing power is rejected.

It is not for Popes to give Kings to the Earth, nor for Kings to give Bishops to the Church; if they enjoy the right of nominating those to be raised to prelacies, this is not a primitive right, but a concession from the Church (*op. cit.*, p. 30).

Such was the ordinarily received theory of Church and State in France in the period preceding the Revolution; but in practice, by the King's concordatory right of appointing bishops, the State exercised considerable control over the Church.

We pass to the other great Catholic Power, Austria. Long before 1775 the title of Emperor had become the hereditary perquisite of the Hapsburg Archduke of Austria; but it had lost its real significance and was little more than a title. The

Austrian dominions had by that date gradually grown so as to embrace the vast extent of lands the Austrian Empire ruled over up to the War of 1914; and also the Austrian Netherlands (now Belgium) and Lombardy and Tuscany in Italy. Joseph II had come to the throne in 1765, and reigned until 1790. The ecclesiastical policy and the doings associated with his name fall after 1775.

The other German States were chiefly Protestant, except Bavaria. There were at the date 1775 an incredible number—more than three hundred—of independent States in northern Germany, some very minute, single bishoprics or abbeys. Speaking broadly, the northern and central parts were Protestant, the southern and outer rim (Rhineland) Catholic. Next to Austria, Bavaria was the most important Catholic State. The great electoral bishoprics held an important and influential political position.

In Italy the States of the Church, ruled by the Pope as Sovereign, formed a belt stretching across the middle of the peninsula from sea to sea, practically the same, with slight fluctuations of expansion and shrinkage, as had been donated to the Popes by Pepin and Charlemagne a thousand years before. They embraced the Roman Patrimony along the Mediterranean, Umbria in the centre, and on the Adriatic coast the Marches of Ancona and the Romagna, reaching as far north as Rimini, Ravenna, Bologna, Ferrara. All south of the States of the Church was the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, or Naples. North were the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the Kingdom of Sardinia, embracing the island and, on the mainland, Savoy and Piedmont. Austria already had in its grip a part of Lombardy and had a hold on Tuscany, in that the Grand Duke was always a scion of the Hapsburg imperial family.

On a general survey we find that in the political world the Old Order, the *ancien régime*, prevailed throughout continental Europe. The ruler, be he emperor, king, duke, elector, or what not, was in reality monarch, a single personal ruler, untrammelled by any effective parliamentary control. In England

alone was there semblance of constitutional monarchy, whereby the King ruled subject to control of Parliament or of ministers. Thus, speaking broadly, in 1775 all Europe was ruled by absolute monarchs, looking on themselves, and looked on, as holding their title by divine right. Not only France, but Spain and Naples were ruled by Bourbon dynasties, whose absolutist ideas reached the highest pitch.

In all the Catholic countries—throughout Italy, in Spain and Portugal and their American dominions, in France, Austria, Bavaria, the Spanish or Austrian Netherlands (now Belgium)—the Catholic Church held a recognized dominant position, as the Established Religion of the State; it had a privileged status, the bishops and clergy enjoying immunities and exemptions of various kinds, as from taxation; the Church lands of bishoprics and abbeys were extensive territories, and the bishops and abbots were still important personages in the State. Except in the German lands, the public exercise of any other religion or worship was interdicted, and even a private profession of Protestantism was barely tolerated—just as in England and the Protestant countries even the private profession of Catholicism was only just tolerated; the spirit of active persecution all round had hardly ceased in 1775—it was in 1780 that the Gordon Riots broke out in London. For all that, all was not at peace between Church and State even in Catholic Europe. At all times theories of the absolute sovereignty of the State had been current, denying to the Church any voice or veto over the State's conduct. In the eighteenth century, as a result of the Treaty of Westphalia, the sovereigns of the Protestant countries of Germany did enjoy this supreme control of the established religious bodies of their dominions; and it was but natural that Catholic sovereigns should look with envy on the position of their Protestant compeers. As a result, the history of the Papacy in the eighteenth century was a prolonged struggle to maintain in the Catholic countries the proper freedom of the Church in things of the spiritual and religious order, as against the encroachments of the State. And so the relations of Church and State in the Catholic countries were settled by uneasy

compromises: the Catholic religion was recognized by the State as the religion of the country; yet the legalistic theories of absolute state-sovereignty were theories which it was so greatly to the convenience of monarchs to hold that it would have been surprising had no trace of them been found in the minds even of the most Catholic monarchs. As it was, in every Catholic country in Europe during the eighteenth century, in France under Louis XIV, in Spain under Charles III, in Austria under Joseph II, the claims of absolute state-sovereignty were advanced against the claims of the Church in the spiritual order. From time to time there was open conflict, and all the time there was latent conflict. On one important point the Popes met the wishes of the temporal sovereigns: by concordats with practically all the Catholic countries, the same right of nominating to bishoprics as was granted to the Kings of France by the Concordat of 1516 was granted to the sovereigns, confirmation being reserved to the Pope.

Such was the position in which the Catholic Church was facing the Birth of the New Order and of Modern Civilization, in the decisive year 1775, when Pius VI came to the Pontifical Throne.

But before entering on the recital of the actual course of events a preliminary general view of the nature and working of the change will be useful.

SUMMARY VIEW OF THE CHANGING CONDITIONS

With the French Revolution the agelong conflict of Church and State took upon itself a new form—the form in which it is still presented to us. After a short period of open persecution at the hands of the early revolutionaries, the relations between Church and State in France were temporarily settled by the Concordat of Napoleon and Pius VII, 1801. Napoleon's government was an autocratic one, and many years were to pass in the other countries of Europe before they were to rid themselves of governments which based their claim to power on divine right, rather than on a mandate, real or pretended, from the people whom they governed. Yet it is true, as a broad

generalization, that the nineteenth century was a century of liberalism and nationalism; and just as the problem of the eighteenth century was the problem of adjusting the claims of the Church and the autocratic State, so that of the nineteenth century was that of adjusting the claims of the Church and the nationalist liberal State.

The new nationalist liberal State, which the gospel of the French Revolution brought to birth sooner or later in every country of Europe, differed in many ways from its autocratic predecessor of the eighteenth century. But it did not differ at all in its claim to absolute sovereignty. If anything it was more insistent on that claim, arguing that, whereas resistance to the will of the tyrant of the *ancien régime* was perhaps laudable, no excuse could justify resistance to the declared will of the people, proclaimed by its elected representatives. The advent of the liberal State has brought to Catholics both advantages and disadvantages. In non-Catholic countries they have, in the name of liberalism and toleration, been admitted to a share in the government and public life of the country, such as had previously been denied to them. By the same philosophy, in Catholic countries there has been a tendency to deny to the Church any position of especial favour before the law, which she may have previously enjoyed.

The theory of the nineteenth-century State was much more easily vulnerable on the side of its nationalism than on the side of its liberalism. The doctrine that sovereignty was with the People was a doctrine that had venerable and Catholic authority on its side; but it was natural that men who repudiated the authority of the Church should repudiate also that check on the extravagances of the doctrine, which the necessity of regulating all conduct by the moral law of the Church imposed. The doctrine that a man had enormous obligations to his fellow men who lived on one side of a more or less arbitrary line, and none at all to those who lived on the other side of that line, was much more patently ridiculous. Yet men are not creatures of logic; and nationalism, childish as it is as a philosophy, was on the whole a stronger force than liberalism in the making of the

nineteenth century. As a result of it, Catholics in every country of Europe were hampered by the accusation that theirs was a foreign religion, and that they were compelled to take their orders from a foreign potentate.

The conflict took various forms in the various countries of Europe. Those who put country before religion sometimes quarrelled openly with the Church and attacked her from the outside. Others, more subtly affected, tried to use the Church as if she were a merely national institution; or to capture her for the support of their particular political programmes. It will be the interest of the twentieth century to see how, as the purely material dangers of unbridled nationalism make themselves increasingly evident, that realization will affect men's judgement concerning the great international society that is the Catholic Church.

PIUS VI

1775-1799

THE first half of the pontificate of Pius VI was taken up with the contest with Joseph II of Austria, and with the controversy over Febronianism and the Council of Pistoia. All this was a legacy of the departing age, the last phase of the old régime of the eighteenth century, in no way symptomatic of the newer age just dawning; and therefore these things need not occupy us here. But the very first year of Pius VI witnessed the first public challenge to the Old Order. It came from the English colonies of North America, in revolt against the mother country, and throwing off their allegiance to the Crown of England. The course of the War of Independence does not concern us; but the Declaration of Independence, though not directly affecting the Church, necessarily did affect her very intimately as a challenge to the accepted political structure of Society, and an assertion of the idea of the modern State, democratic, liberal, independent.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

As one of the great outstanding documents in the history of the world, of primary importance for the subject of this essay, being the first formulation of the principles of the modern liberal State and the inspirer of the more famous French Declaration of 1789, the American Declaration of Independence may fittingly claim here to be recited in full. It was promulgated in the name of the colonies by their representative men, on the 4th July 1776:

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

[Long list of grievances]

We therefore . . . appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

This declaration will be recognized as being a dignified and moderate manifesto made in the Presence of God. About the

same time the chief colonies adopted Bills or Declarations of the Rights of States. The most important and the earliest of these was that of Virginia, June 1776, a month before the declaration and evidently used in its composition.¹ It laid down:

That all men are by nature free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into society, they cannot by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring or possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

All power is vested in and derived from the people, and magistrates are their trustees and servants. Government is, or should be, for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community; and when it fails of its purpose, the people may of inalienable right reform, alter, or abolish it.

In elections all men having evidence of sufficient interest with and attachment to the community should have the right of suffrage.

The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments.

Religion should be governed by reason and conviction, not by force; all men are entitled to freedom of religion, according to conscience; and it is the duty of all men to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other.

In the Massachusetts Bill it was enacted: 'All denominations of Christians demeaning themselves peaceably and as good subjects, should have equal protection of the law'—but Protestantism was given a favoured position.

The original Constitution of 1787 had nothing on religious freedom, except the provision that 'No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States'; but the first of the Amendments to the Constitution, of date 1789, provided that: 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.'

Though these American happenings did not immediately or

¹ These Bills of Rights are treated of in the American volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. vii, ch. viii.

of themselves take effect in Europe, their importance cannot be gainsaid, in that they forestalled and inspired the ideas that were to find expression and realization a dozen years later in the great upheaval of the Old Order in France.

It was in 1789 that, after premonitory rumblings, as before earthquake or volcano, the crash came that was to shake to its foundations the social and political structure of Europe, and was permanently to change the face of the civilized world and inaugurate the modern world.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION¹

It would be beyond the scope of this essay to relate the historical facts of the course of the Revolution. The seeds had long been sown and germinating. In the long reign of Louis XIV, the *Grand Monarque*, all power had been gathered up into the hands of the King, who governed by a Council of State and by local officials, all alike appointed by him and responsible only to him, the King being aided by ministers of consummate ability. In the long reign of Louis XV the glamour of the great epoch waned; King and ministers were of inferior calibre, disintegrating elements were at work, and dissatisfaction and discontent were rife. Among the causes of disintegration were the open corruption and extravagance of the court; the anti-religious and anti-Christian propaganda of Voltaire and the Encyclopaedists; the social and political theories of Rousseau in *Le Contrat social*: these and many subsidiary causes had long been at work, loosening the bonds of the existing social system, paving the way for its destruction. But it was the financial crisis of impending national bankruptcy in the reign of Louis XVI that actually occasioned the explosion.

¹ Of course for any proper understanding of the subject of this essay, 'The Catholic Church and Modern Civilization', a knowledge of the historical background of it all is necessary, the mere facts of the political and general history of the period as affecting the Church. The best single book known to me to supply this background is the *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century (1789-1908)*, by the Rt. Rev. J. MacCaffrey, now President of Maynooth, vol. i. It is well informed, judicious, moderate, readable, and written precisely from the point of view of the Catholic Church in her relations with and reactions to the various countries and their governments.

After various devices to meet the crisis had failed, the King in 1789 convoked a meeting of the Estates General of the Kingdom, the first since 1614. There were in France three Estates, the Nobles, the Clergy, and the 'Third Estate' embracing the rest—the professional classes, the *bourgeoisie*, farmers, peasants, and workers—the great bulk of the population. The nobles and the clergy were privileged classes with exemptions and immunities, as from ordinary taxation, which fell almost wholly on the Third Estate, and with crushing weight on the small farmers.

Driven to the verge of bankruptcy by the sorry plight of the national finances, the easy-going government of Louis XVI had convoked the Estates' General. They met on the 5th May 1789. There were 300 representatives of each of the two first or privileged Estates and 600 of the Third Estate. None of the King's Counsellors had foreseen what was to happen. The Government had shown the greatest incapacity throughout the whole course of preparation for the Assembly of the Estates. The conflict between the Third Estate and the privileged Orders of Clergy and Nobility broke out almost at once. The Abbé Sieyès, a priest, one of the strangest figures thrown up by the Revolution, later one of the three consuls with Napoleon, had expressed in a sensational pamphlet—*What is the Third Estate?*—the very formula of the impending revolution: the reassumption of power, sovereignty, by the nation and its representatives.

Six weeks after the opening of the Estates the victory of the Third Estate was complete. According to ancient precedent the Estates should deliberate and vote separately. The Third Estate now stood out against this and demanded that the Nobles and Clergy should join them in forming a single deliberative Council. A hundred and sixty members of the lower clergy, the *curés*, threw in their lot with the Third Estate and were followed by a few of the Nobles. And on the 27th June the King, abandoning in the face of a threat his first policy that the Estates should sit and vote separately, commanded the privileged Orders to join the Third and together constitute the

National Assembly. A few days later, in a debate whose capital importance must always be emphasized, the victorious democracy discovered its fundamental law. On the 7th July Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, then on the threshold of his extraordinary career, raised the vital question of the *cahiers* or instructions with which the electors had furnished their representatives, and proposed that they should be declared 'absolutely null and void'. The *Moniteur* relates that his speech, 'full of an unerring and persistent logic, and based upon indisputable principles, made a profound impression upon the Assembly, and was listened to in a religious silence, broken when it was over by a storm of applause'.

The Third Estate above all realized at once what incalculable consequences might follow for it from a division on Talleyrand's proposal. For on the following day, 8th July, after an impassioned discussion the Assembly decided by 700 votes to 8 that on the self-evident question of the invalidity of the *cahiers* it was idle to debate.

This was tantamount to declaring that, while the nation was indubitably sovereign, it abdicated its sovereignty into the hands of its elected representatives. It exercised its limitless power only on election day. Once the ballot boxes were closed and the votes counted, once the elected representatives were proclaimed, the nation became subject again. It had appointed absolute masters for itself. It could no longer oppose any veto to their legislative work. It had no right whatever of verification or rectification. Its entire sovereignty had passed into the hands of a majority of its representatives, a majority which could then proceed to act as justly or unjustly as it pleased, because it possessed the formidable power of making laws at its own pleasure and without appeal.

Such were the theoretical consequences; but there were practical consequences also, and they had to be considered. Who were to be the new sovereigns? It was at the time regarded as self-evident that the nation could not be represented by the nobility or members of the clergy, unless they deserted from the two privileged orders. The Third Estate alone reaped the

benefit of the secret revolution which had been carried out on the 8th July; and of the Third Estate, only the *bourgeoisie* (the middle class) could claim to occupy the seats of the sovereign representatives. More precisely still, of the *bourgeoisie*, it was to be above all the lawyer class, the advocates, notaries, and graduates in law, who were to assume the almost exclusive control of the legislative machine. It was the beginning of the reign of the 'Men of Law'. The historians of the Revolution acknowledge the fact without hesitation—'The revolutionaries were the lawyers'.

The Church in France had never had any reason in the past to be pleased with the spirit shown by the lawyers. They had always stood in opposition to her as the representatives of the claims and demands of the State. The stiffest upholders of extreme Gallicanism were at all times the jurists and lawyers, not the bishops: so Émile Ollivier. They refused to acknowledge the independence of the spiritual society, still less its supremacy over the temporal. The first care of the lawyers, once they had become masters of the French nation by the usurpation of the 8th July, was to place the clergy under the yoke of the State, that is to say, of themselves. They invoked the Four Articles of the Liberties of the Gallican Church, 1682, according to which the Pope could issue no orders nor give any commands in France, so far as temporal matters are concerned. They drew the conclusion that they had the right to determine the boundaries of dioceses, to issue instructions as to the manner in which bishops and parish priests should be appointed, to resolve that the authority of the Pope should be restricted to questions of dogma and morals, under the additional control of the Universal Church. Their notion was that priests should be treated by the State as persons performing a duty of social utility, that is to say, as officials responsible for morals and education. Such officials fulfilled a public service in the State, and the society in whose name they worked—the Church—was therefore to be incorporated as a department in the general administration. The State would arrogate to itself the right and the duty to legislate for that society as for any

other. The clergy would cease to include any but the 'salaried officials' of the State, 'civil servants'; and, as he who pays is entitled to call the tune, the legislators convinced themselves that they had the power to impose on the clergy the new rules of their official discipline.

This explains the steps taken against the Church in France: on the 27th June 1789 the clergy, as an Order in the State, was suppressed; by laws dated the 2nd November and the 19th December 1789, ecclesiastical property was secularized; on the 13th February 1790 the religious Orders were suppressed; and most important of all, on the 12th July 1790, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was voted.

THE CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY¹

The intention of the framers of the Constitution was not to suppress religion, or even the Catholic religion; but it did radically alter the Constitution of the French Church, and in some of its provisions the Constitution of the Catholic Church.

The existing hundred and thirty-three episcopal sees of France were abolished, and eighty-three new dioceses established, to coincide in number and area with the eighty-three recently formed Departments, ten of the bishops being metropolitans. All ecclesiastical offices were to be elective. The bishop was to be chosen by the electors of the Department, the curé by the administrative assembly of the district. No elector was to be debarred from voting by the fact that he was not a Catholic or even a Christian. The canonical institution of the bishop-elect and his consecration were to be given by the metropolitan after satisfying himself of the candidate's fitness. No oath was to be taken by a bishop except one of fidelity to the Nation, the Law, and the King, and a profession of the Catholic religion. The new bishop was expressly forbidden to apply to the Pope for confirmation (as provided in the Con-

¹ An article on 'The Civil Constitution of the Clergy', by J. J. Dwyer, in *Dublin Review*, Oct. 1924, may be referred to.

cordat of 1516); he could do no more than write to the Pope as visible Head of the Church, in token of unity of faith and of being in communion with him.

On the 12th July 1790 the Civil Constitution was passed, and after fatal hesitation was sanctioned on the 24th August by the unfortunate Louis XVI; by a law of the 27th November, sanctioned by the King on the 26th December, all priests were compelled to take an oath to it. The clergy had not been slow to realize the intentions of the 'Caesarians' who were determined to enslave them. The almost unanimous resistance of the episcopate was supported by the majority of the lower clergy. All eyes were then turned to Rome, the centre of Catholic unity and the bulwark of religious independence. When Pius VI condemned the Civil Constitution by Briefs of the 10th March and 13th April 1791, a hundred and thirty bishops refused the oath, and only four would take it; a majority, though not an overwhelming one (about two-thirds) of the lower clergy followed the example given by the bishops. The clergy of France was now divided into two: constitutional priests who had taken the oath (*assermentés*), and those who refused (*insermentés*). The nation was similarly divided: the religious question was one of the reasons why civil war broke out in several parts of the country, in La Vendée especially. The lawyers, exulting in the possession of omnipotence, brandished in vain the sword which had fallen into their hands; a law of the 29th November 1791 decreed the expulsion of the non-juring priests; another of the 29th May 1792 their imprisonment; and one of the 26th August their deportation. One hundred bishops and some thirty to forty thousand priests left France and were harboured in other countries, above all in Protestant England.¹

What has been written so far deals only with the ecclesiastical side of the legislation of the Estates General; the civil side remains—the new idea of the modern State, the offspring of the Revolution, engendered by the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen', adopted by the Assembly on the 28th August 1789.

¹ See Bp. Bernard Ward's *Dawn of the Catholic Revival*.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND OF THE CITIZEN

The night of the 4th August witnessed in the Assembly the most extraordinary scene ever enacted in such a legislative body. The deputies were carried away by a great wave of enthusiasm into a veritable orgy of patriotic renunciation. Nobles and clergy vied with one another in renouncing the privileges of their orders: nobles renounced their surviving feudal rights; clergy renounced tithes; a bishop declared that Church property belonged to the nation; magistrates and municipal councillors renounced the charters of rights and privileges of their towns and districts. By midnight all the privileges in France had been renounced and offered up on the altar of Country. Such form of legislation was chaos. A deputy who kept his head sent a note to the President: 'We have all lost all self-control; dissolve the meeting.' With the loss of endowments, rents, and tithes the clergy were penniless, and the situation had to be met by State salaries. It is to be remembered that at this early stage the great majority of deputies had no thought of abolishing the monarchy or the Church: they wished to set up a constitutional monarchy and to preserve the Catholic Church, but with outworn privileges and manifest abuses removed.

Then it was proposed that a formal Declaration of the Rights of Man should be drawn up and promulgated, as the charter underlying the new Constitution. The first mover was Lafayette, one of the foremost figures in the early stages of the Revolution. He, like other French military men, had been in America, helping the colonists in their War of Independence against England, and he came back to France enamoured with the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the democratic Republican Constitution of the United States. That the most fundamental principles of the French Declaration were inspired by and derived from the American is apparent and is recognized on all hands.¹

The text of the declaration was debated in the Assembly and formulated on the 20th to 26th August, and finally voted on

¹ As by E. Blum, in the book *La Déclaration*, &c., 1902.

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the 28th. As the great charter of the modern State it deserves to be given here in full; and all the more so in that it is not given in the ordinary histories of the French Revolution, nor even in the volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*.¹

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

Preamble: The Representatives of the French People, constituted as a National Assembly, believing that ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the Rights of Man are the only causes of public misfortunes and of the corruptions of governments, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of man; in order that this Declaration being constantly before all members of the social body may always recall to them their rights and their duties; in order that the acts of the legislative and executive Powers, being constantly capable of comparison with the object of all political institutions, may on that account be the more respected; in order that the demands of citizens, being founded henceforth on simple and incontestable principles, may be always directed to the maintenance of the Constitution and the happiness of all:

Consequently the National Assembly recognizes and declares, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following Rights of Man and of the Citizen:

Art. 1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights; social distinctions can only be founded on common utility.

Art. 2. The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of men; these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

Art. 3. The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation; no body of men, no individual, can exercise any authority which does not emanate expressly from the Nation.

Art. 4. Liberty consists in being able to do whatever does not injure another; and so the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of society the enjoyment of these same rights; these limits can be determined only by the law.

Art. 5. Law has the right to forbid only actions which are injurious to society. Anything not forbidden by the law cannot be hindered, and no one can be compelled to do what the law does not order.

¹ The original text is given by Blum in the above-mentioned work.

Art. 6. Law is the expression of the general will; all citizens have the right to take part, personally or by their representatives, in its formation; it ought to be the same for all, whether it protect or punish. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally admissible to all the public dignities, places, and employments, according to their capacity, and without other distinctions than those of their virtues and their talents.

Arts. 7, 8, 9. No man can be accused, arrested, or detained, except in the cases determined by the law.

Principles of procedure.

Art. 10. No man ought to be troubled on account of his opinions, even his religious opinions, provided that their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by the law.

Art. 11. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen therefore may speak, write, print freely; but with liability of answering for the abuse of this liberty in the cases determined by the law.

Arts. 12, 13. The guarantee of these rights necessitates a public force and administration, and a common contribution to maintain it, which should be equally shared among all the citizens, in proportion to their means.

Art. 14. The citizens have the right to decide, either personally or by their representatives, as to the necessity of the public contributions; to consent to it freely; to know to what purposes the money is put; to fix the proportion, the mode of assessment and collection; and the duration of taxes.

Art. 15. Society has the right to demand from every public agent an account of his administration.

Art. 16. Any Society in which the guarantee of rights is not assured, or the delimitation of the powers not determined, has not got any Constitution.

Art. 17. Property being an inviolable and sacred right, no one can be deprived of it, except when the public necessity, legally determined, clearly requires it, and on the condition of a just and previous compensation.

This declaration was carried by a huge majority in the Assembly on the 28th August 1789, and was signed by Louis XVI on the 5th October. It was prefixed to the Constitution

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of 1791, accepted by the King on the 14th September. It has ever since been, and still is, the accepted charter of French liberties and the official basis of the Constitution.

THE 'MODERN STATE' DEFINED

With these documents, American and French, before us, wherein were first formulated and proclaimed the ground ideas of the modern State which plays so big a role in these pages, it will be opportune, as conducive to clearness of mind, to analyse these declarations and set out the elements of their idea of the modern State.

1. All men are by nature equal and have certain inalienable rights, as life, liberty, security.

2. All sovereignty resides in the Nation and is derived from the People; governments have their power from the will and consent of the governed.

3. If the government does not govern for the general good of the People, but rules oppressively and tends to be destructive of the natural rights of the subjects; then, resistance to oppression being one of the rights of man, the Nation has the right to reassume its sovereignty and to alter or abolish the government, and set up another.

4. The equality of all citizens before the law is axiomatic: the same laws for all, the same courts, the same legal procedure and penalties, the same liability to taxation according to means: all privileges, exemptions, and immunities being ruled out.

5. Every citizen has the right to take part, personally, or by his representatives, in the making of laws, the imposing of taxes and contributions for public utilities: this implies the principle of universal suffrage for all full citizens (though the Assembly imposed restrictions and conditions). The principle also of Representative Government is hereby implied.

6. The modern 'Liberties' are guaranteed: first, liberty of conscience in religion, and of worship; then liberty of speech and of the press: these liberties being subject only to the restriction that they shall not be used against the laws or against public order.

7. The right of private property is one of the rights of man, and should be safeguarded by the State.

Such, I think, is a fair conspectus of the fundamental principles underlying the theory of the modern State, as set forth in the primary documents. They should be kept in mind as we come to pass in review the reactions of the Catholic Church to the actual embodiments of the theory with which she has been faced in recent times.

CLOSING YEARS OF PIUS VI

The Pope, Pius VI, has been fairly lost sight of in the foregoing endeavour to portray and estimate the character of the movement, the political and social upheaval, that took place in his reign, initiated in America and carried forward with greater thoroughness in France, which proved to be nothing less than the inauguration of the modern world. The earliest phases of the French Revolution have been dwelt upon in so far as they affected political theory and the Catholic Church. To follow the course of the Revolution would be beyond our scope. There is no need to trace the inevitable passage of power from the hands of the relatively moderate reformers into those of the most fanatical extremists; no need to speak of the eighteen months' orgy of the Terror with its massacres; nor to tell how, with the appearance of Napoleon Bonaparte on the scene in August 1795, the beginning of a return to ordered government and civil life and liberty was made. Mention need only be made of the Italian campaign which Napoleon undertook, 1796-9, on behalf of the French Government of the Directory, in which, after defeating Austria, he invaded and occupied the States of the Church, compelling the Pope to pay heavy indemnities as the price of armistice. Finally, Rome was taken by a French army and a Roman Republic was set up under French auspices. Pius VI, an octogenarian, was carried away a prisoner into France and died at Valence, August 1799. In 1802 his remains were brought back to Rome and laid to rest in St. Peter's.

PIUS VII

1800-23

AFTER a Conclave of three months, held at Venice, Cardinal Chiaramonti was elected Pope, and took the name Pius VII. He was sixty years of age, a Benedictine, and was Bishop of Imola, near Bologna, in the Papal States. In 1797, on the French invasion of Italy, he counselled non-resistance in face of the overwhelming strength of the French army, and the acceptance of the Cisalpine Republic set up by Napoleon in northern Italy, declaring that there was no opposition between a democratic form of government and the constitution of the Catholic Church. This, though now a commonplace asserted by many Popes, was in 1797 a remarkable pronouncement, showing that the new Pope was able to take a fresh outlook.

Pius at once went to Rome, where the Republic had already collapsed, and the King of Naples was holding the city for the Pope, who had an enthusiastic welcome from the Romans. Almost his first act was to make Consalvi, who as Secretary of the Conclave had in great measure brought about his election, Cardinal and Secretary of State.¹

Napoleon had by this time entered on his wonderful career as Ruler of France: as First Consul, 1799-1804, completely overshadowing the other two consuls, and then as Emperor, 1804-14. The Revolution completing the natural cycle of its evolution, found a master in Bonaparte, who seized for himself the absolute power which the lawyers had set up. The political principle was unchanged. The Nation was still sovereign, as in the time of the Constitution or the Convention. In 1800, a few weeks after Marengo, when the official toasts at a banquet had been drunk in honour of the First Consul, he was content to raise his glass with the words: 'To the People, the sovereign of us all!' But this quite theoretical sovereignty had been delegated entirely to one man. No king in the past had ever enjoyed

¹ On Consalvi, one of the greatest statesmen in an age of great statesmen, as Talleyrand and Metternich, see article by J. J. Dwyer in *Dublin Review*, April 1925.

such absolute and universal power. His instinct for order impelled him almost immediately to a reconciliation with the Church. France and the Revolution could not hope to conquer their foreign foes if she continued divided by this internal strife. His positive mind preserved him from the cherished ideologies of the semi-Voltairian Caesarians who had devised the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Unlike them, he never fell into the error of believing that the Church was coming to an end. Napoleon was determined to obtain his object without delay. He addressed himself to the Pope. The lawyers at his side had no difficulty, however, in inspiring him with their own fears. Like them, he regarded priests as the police of the moral order. He was quite determined to keep full control over his clergy as over the whole body of civil servants.

THE CONCORDAT OF 1801

Immediately after the defeat of Austria at Marengo, June 1800, which had laid Italy open to his arms, Napoleon broached the question of a concordat with the Church, sending a message to the Pope that he desired to make him a present of thirty million French Catholics. Negotiations were entered on at once, the plenipotentiaries being Talleyrand and Consalvi. After prolonged discussions and difficulties surmounted, the Concordat of the 15th July 1801 was concluded. This concordat, both in itself and its terms, and in that it fixed for a century the relations of Church and State in France, was beyond compare the most important concordat of modern times, until that of 1929 with the Kingdom of Italy; its provisions, therefore, call for a somewhat detailed consideration. There are in obvious reference books accounts of it; that in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* from the competent pen of M. Georges Goyau, will meet the needs of most readers. The actual text is given by Ollivier in an Appendix to *L'Église et l'État au Concile du Vatican*, ii. 539; while in vol. i is a full and fair discussion of its import and implications (pp. 107 ff.)

The document has a preamble setting forth that 'the Govern-

ment of the Republic recognizes that the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion is the religion of the great majority of Frenchmen'. The Pope on his side recognizes that this same religion will benefit greatly by the establishment of Catholic worship in France, and by the profession of it made by the Consuls of the Republic.

The Convention itself contains seventeen articles; they may be grouped:

1. The Catholic Apostolic Roman religion will be freely exercised in France and also its public worship, subject to such police regulations as the government may judge necessary for public tranquillity. Cathedrals and parish churches will be placed at the disposal of the bishops; and the government undertakes to provide suitable 'traitement', salaries, for the bishops and parish priests, and also to endow the cathedral chapters and the episcopal seminaries.
2. The nomination of bishops will lie with the First Consul of the Republic, and canonical institution will be given by the Holy See.
3. Bishops are to take, at the hands of the First Consul, an oath similar to the one formerly taken, but now of obedience and fidelity to the government established by the Constitution of the French Republic.
4. Parish priests are to be appointed by the Bishop, but are to be persons accepted by the government, and are to take the same oath at the hands of the local civil magistrate.
5. The Pope, for the sake of peace and the happy re-establishment of the Catholic religion, declares that neither he nor his successors will trouble in any way the possessors of alienated church property; and the property, rights, and revenues will remain unchangeably in the hands of those at any time holding them.

(The like provision was made in England by Cardinal Pole in the name of the Holy See, on the reconciliation of the country in Queen Mary's reign.)

6. The Pope recognizes in the First Consul of the Republic the same rights and prerogatives which the ancient government (i.e. the King) enjoyed with the Holy See.

But if at any time any one of the successors of the First Consul should not be a Catholic, these rights and privileges, and the right of nominating to bishoprics, are to be regulated by a new Convention.

7. There remain the second and third articles: the Pope agrees to make, in concert with the government, a wholly new delimitation of the French dioceses; and, for this purpose, to call on the present bishops, for sake of peace and unity, and for the good of the Church, to resign their sees; and, should any refuse, the Pope engages to supersede them by the appointment of new bishops for the new sees.

As Bishop Ward says, this was an act of sovereign jurisdiction, the like of which had never been known in the history of the Church, the suppression of a whole hierarchy in full communion with the Holy See;¹ and trouble arose to be spoken of directly.

The concordat was signed in July 1801, but it was not promulgated by Napoleon as a law of the State until April 1802; and then there were attached to it a long series of glosses, called 'Organic Articles', legislating in minute detail for the carrying on of the Catholic religion, and also of the Protestant religion, in France. The Organic Articles are set forth in the preamble as being, along with the concordat, part of the Convention with the Holy See—'les articles organiques de la dite convention'. Ollivier makes it clear beyond question that they were the act only of the French Government, without consultation with the Holy See; Pius VII repudiated them in Consistory immediately on their publication, and declared them no part of the agreement, and not binding on the Holy See. They continued, however, to be the Public Law of France until their abolition, along with the concordat itself, by act of the French Government in 1905. Ollivier had no use for them at

¹ *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, i. 83.

all.¹ Many were dead letters from the first; many were meticulous and vexatious interferences with the freedom of the clergy. The first title, however, betrayed the hand of the old Gallican Erastian lawyers; without the authorization of the Government no bull or rescript of the Pope, no encyclical or even letter, could be received, printed, or published; no nuncio or legate could exercise on French soil any function relative to the Gallican Church; the decrees even of General Councils could not be published in France without Government authorization; no council of bishops or synod could be held; no bishop could go out of his diocese; finally, all teachers in seminaries were obliged to subscribe to and to teach the Four Articles of the Declaration of 1682, and the bishops were made responsible for this being done.

Ollivier, while condemning these articles, says they were not introduced by Napoleon through duplicity, but as a means of placating the powerful body of anti-clerical and anti-religious feeling in France, and so making the way easier for the acceptance and working of the concordat.

EFFECTS OF THE CONCORDAT

The effects of the concordat may be considered on the political and on the religious side.

On the political side it was the acceptance of the Republic as *fait accompli*, as the lawful Government of France; virtually the acceptance also of the Revolution, not its excesses and enormities, but its sweeping away of the *ancien régime* with all ideas of privileged classes; the acceptance too of the supersession of the Bourbon King by the Head of the Republic, the First Consul, who was to enjoy all the rights and privileges accorded by the Holy See to the 'Most Christian Kings' of the old French monarchy.

All this was greatly displeasing to the Conservative elements in France, the higher clergy and Catholic aristocracy alike, who as 'legitimists' looked on Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, as the legitimate and true Ruler of France, and were

¹ Op. cit. i. 121 ff.

hoping for his ultimate restoration as King; and they held the concordat to be nothing less than a betrayal by the Pope.

And on the religious side still greater trouble arose out of the suppression of the old dioceses and the formation of new ones. There had been a hundred and thirty French dioceses, and of the bishops eighty survived in 1801, in exile. In August of that year, just a month after the concordat, they were all called on by the Pope to resign their sees, for the good of religion. Forty-two complied, thirty-eight held out to the end in the refusal; of the nineteen in England only five complied. A large number of the émigré priests supported the bishops in their refusal; and in France, considerable groups of Catholic laymen, numbering thousands in various districts, refused to acknowledge the concordat for reasons partly religious, partly political. The controversy waxed hottest in England, where were the greatest number of French bishops and priests; the story is told by Bishop Ward in the book referred to above, and need not detain us. When it became clear that the recalcitrant bishops were not going to resign, Pius proceeded to carry out the engagement of the concordat; he redivided France and brought into being a complete set of new dioceses, only sixty in number, instead of the old hundred and thirty; thus the ancient dioceses lapsed and the bishops lost jurisdiction. The old bishops, though they would not resign, would not go into schism, but acquiesced, giving a tacit consent to the new bishops exercising jurisdiction in their dioceses.

It will be, for the special purpose of this article, of interest to examine more closely the relations of Church and State set up by this most important concordat, as showing how far the Church may be prepared to go in waiving her full claims, for the good of religion. The French Republic of 1800 was, needless to say, the modern State in its most secular guise.

In the first place, the Catholic Church was not given the position of Established State Church; only, the Catholic religion was recognized by the State as 'the religion of the great majority of Frenchmen'; and as such was protected and supported by the State, the old cathedrals and parish churches being 'placed

at the disposal of the bishops', but not restored to the Church in full possession. We know from Consalvi that he made a great effort, in the Pope's name, to have the Catholic religion recognized by the Concordat as the religion of the State, but could not carry the point; the terms of the concordat were accepted by the Pope as the best that could be obtained.

There was in the concordat no allusion to other forms of religion; but all the circumstances and conditions of the time made it certain that freedom of conscience and of worship would be given to all (according to the 'Rights of Man'), and that other religions would be tolerated and allowed places of public worship; all this must without any doubt have been taken for granted.

An episode of Napoleon's coronation three years later, 1804, makes this certain. Pius VII received in person the coronation oath taken by Napoleon on the day of his coronation, and it included a formal engagement to respect, and cause to be respected, liberty of worship. The wording at first disquieted the Pope, as implying indifferentism; Consalvi asked for explanations, and it was answered that the words by no means implied indifferentism, or a denial of the authority of the Church, but 'merely civil tolerance and assurance of personal protection'. Pius VII declared himself satisfied, and Napoleon took the oath in the presence of the Pope.¹

There was no suggestion of any privileges of the clergy in regard to taxation or exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts. There was no word of any restoration of religious orders or congregations of men or of women; the Catholic clergy are taken as the secular clergy only, bishops and parish priests. Neither was there any word as to education, or schools or colleges. The thorny question of marriages was not touched; but one of the Organic Articles forbade the 'Nuptial Blessing' to be given by a priest to any who had not 'contracted marriage before the civil officer'.

Thus the Concordat of 1801 shows the preparedness of the

¹ The above is taken from Dupanloup's pamphlet on the Syllabus of 1864, to be spoken of directly.

Holy See to go a very long way in recognizing and meeting the ideas of the modern State, refraining, for the good of religion and society, from pressing even well-founded theoretical claims that are not essential. And in spite of its shortcomings and of all the troubles it gave rise to, there can be no question but that the concordat, by securing the restoration of religion in France, and making possible again the functioning of the Catholic Church, wrought untold good, religious and social, for France; indeed, it may well be said, saved religion.

It is true that neither Pius VII nor Consalvi liked the concordat, but accepted it as all that could be secured, and as better than nothing—as indeed it was, and greatly. But it was disapproved of by a number of reactionary cardinals in Rome, and it was intensely disliked by Louis XVIII, as redolent of the Revolution and Napoleon. On his restoration (of 1817) the project of a new concordat was drawn up, reverting to the old concordat of 1516, modifying many of the provisions of 1801, among them the new divisions of the dioceses, and abrogating the Organic Articles. But it proved impossible to get this new concordat accepted by the French Legislative Chambers; and so the Concordat of 1801 remained in force until denounced by the French Government in 1905.

PIUS VII AND NAPOLEON

It would be beyond our scope to enter on the conflict between Pius VII and Napoleon; the leading facts only will be mentioned.¹

In 1804 Napoleon made himself Emperor of the French, and Pius went to Paris to crown him. This act of recognition of Napoleon as Ruler of France gave great offence to French legitimists, clerical and lay, and to the enemies of France everywhere—it was looked on as a condoning and a recognition of the Revolution.

In 1808 on the Pope's refusal to throw himself and his States

¹ A full account of these events in their religious aspect may be read in the two *Dublin Review* articles, 1925 and 1927, by J. J. Dwyer, on Cardinals Consalvi and Pacca.

on to Napoleon's side in the European war, a French army occupied Rome, and in May 1809 Napoleon declared the States of the Church annexed to the French Empire; in June the Bull excommunicating Napoleon was published; in July the Pope was called on to resign his States, and on refusal was carried away from Rome by a French guard to Savona, near Genoa. Here he was held in duress for three years, until 1812, when he was carried into France and was kept a virtual prisoner at Fontainebleau until Napoleon's fall, March 1814. During all these five years of the Pope's captivity Napoleon was keeping up persistent and determined efforts to cow the old man into submission and to break his opposition. It was his dream to become Emperor of the West, a sort of second Charlemagne, and to transfer the seat of the Papacy from Rome to Paris; and thus solve the problem of Church and State by the subjection of Pope to Emperor, of the spiritual power to the temporal, of Church to State. The story of this persecution, for so it was, and how it was countered chiefly by the backing given to Pius by the two heroic Cardinals Consalvi and Pacca, until in 1814 Napoleon's power broke and the tension was loosened—all makes entrancing, if painful, reading.

Immediately on Napoleon's fall the Pope was set at liberty and started on the way back to Rome. The return journey was a triumphal progress; wherever he passed the Pope was received with exuberant enthusiasm, culminating in the joyful welcome given to him by the Romans on the return to his city, 24th May 1814.

It is worthy of note that the harsh treatment received at the hands of Napoleon by the two aged Popes, Pius VI and Pius VII, especially the latter, in the endeavour to bend them to his will in things ecclesiastical and political, won for them the universal sympathy of Catholics throughout the world, and the sympathy and respect of non-Catholics too. It called forth unparalleled demonstrations of loyalty and affection wherever they passed on the forced journeys into exile, as Pacca relates, the companion of Pius VII. In this way, it may well be said, were laid the seeds of that devotion to the person of the Holy

Father that has been increasingly so marked an element in modern Catholic life and mentality.

The struggle with Napoleon holds a great place in the history of Church and State; for it was the last great effort to enthrall the Church and bring it under the dominion of the State; the outcome was, that the freedom of the Church in things spiritual was reasserted and won.

Of the remaining events of the reign of Pius VII it will be enough to record that at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 the masterly diplomacy of Consalvi was able to secure the restoration to the Pope of the States of the Church. He was not equally successful in the endeavour to improve or modernize the government and administration of the States, which was wholly in the hands of ecclesiastics, to the exclusion of laymen from all positions of responsibility and emolument. This system Consalvi tried to alter, and also to codify the laws and improve legal procedure, and to do away with a number of feudal privileges. But in all this he was thwarted by a powerful group of reactionary cardinals, who harked back to the old state of things before the Revolution, and disapproved of Consalvi's liberal tendencies, including the Concordat of 1801. The great minister, however, never lost the confidence and friendship of Pius VII, and he was used in negotiating Concordats with a number of States, rearranging ecclesiastical conditions after the cataclysm of the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars; with the chief Catholic States, as Bavaria, Sardinia, Naples, Austria, 1815-19; and with Protestant Prussia, 1821, and even with Russia.

Pius VII died in 1823, at the great age of eighty-three. He was followed to the grave six months later by Consalvi.

LEO XII

1823-29

PIUS VIII

1829-30

P IUS VII was succeeded by Leo XII, Cardinal della Genga, the leader of those who had opposed Consalvi's policy.

We need not delay over these two short reigns. Certain trains of thought and courses of events that were at work come to a head in the next pontificate, and will be better dealt with there.

GREGORY XVI

1831-46

GREGORY XVI, Cardinal Cappellari, was a Camaldolese Benedictine, and was Prefect of Propaganda at the time of his election. The preceding decade had been a decade of revolutions, the aftermath of the French Revolution. In 1820 had broken out the first of the Spanish revolutions, suppressed by the aid of a French army; then in quick succession after 1820, the American possessions of Spain threw off their allegiance, and the Republic of Mexico and the whole group of South and Central American Republics were rapidly brought into being. Finally, in 1830 dissatisfaction with the reactionary government of Charles X of France led to the strongly anti-clerical revolution in Paris, when the King abdicated and the July Monarchy of Louis Philippe, the head of the Orleans or younger branch of the Bourbons, was set up; it was spoken of as the 'bourgeois régime', and lasted until 1848. In most of these upheavals in the Catholic countries the Church suffered for her old association with the *ancien régime* of absolutist government and privilege, which it was the object of the revolutions to sweep away. Nor was this all: revolutionary movements which had long been brewing in the States of the Church, came to a head during the very conclave that elected Gregory, and only two days after his election the revolution broke out at Bologna and spread even to Rome, where an abortive rising took place, easily suppressed indeed. But a revolutionary force was marching on Rome, pledged to bring about the abdication of the Pope as Sovereign of the States. Gregory appealed to Austria, which then held most of northern Italy, and an Austrian army was dispatched to quell the insurrection and restore the Papal Government throughout the States.

When all this revolutionary background to the beginning of his pontificate is kept in mind, it will hardly cause surprise that Gregory XVI should have nothing but condemnation for revolutions, and scant sympathy for democratic ideas,

nowadays commonly accepted, such as elective councils and popular representation, but a century ago regarded by the old-fashioned as dangerous novelties. And for this he is commonly spoken of as 'reactionary'. Such tendencies displayed themselves most in the government of the Papal States, where he would allow no railways! But Popes' attitudes in the government of their civil principality is not the same thing as the 'Church's attitude to Modern Civilization'; and though playing a conspicuous part in the reigns of Gregory XVI and Pius IX, it need be mentioned only incidentally here.

One act of the first year of the pontificate must be recorded as definitely illustrating our subject. Spain for many years would not recognize the independence of the American Republics that had thrown off her dominion, and she asserted the right secured to the King by old concordats of nominating to the bishoprics; but this was now unworkable, and a great number of sees were lying vacant. This had occupied the Pope while Prefect of Propaganda, and the sees had been filled in spite of Spanish protests; now in August 1831 he issued a Bull declaring that in religious matters the Holy See recognizes and deals with governments established *de facto*, without thereby expressing any judgement as to abstract rights.

CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN FRANCE

We have now to turn to France, where the problems of Church and State were acutely alive during most of the nineteenth century, and gave rise to keen controversy as to how, and even whether, the ancient Church and the modern State could be reconciled together. It was natural that this problem should be debated the most keenly in France, the country in which the modern State had had its birth, and the country also in which the *ancien régime* had most conspicuously flourished.

After¹ the Restoration of the Bourbons in 1815 French

¹ The subject dealt with summarily here may be studied more fully in the remarkable chapter 'The Catholic Revival and the New Ultramontaniam' in Wilfrid Ward's volume *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, ch. v. Also in my book, *The Vatican Council*, ch. iv. Reference may also be made to an article in *Dublin Review*, 1929, by Abbé A. Lugon, 'How Politics has injured Religion in France'.

Catholics were faced with the problem of reconstituting social order in France and of setting up a stable society based on the principles of Christianity in an harmonious working of civil life and religion. Such was, at least, the object of the more conservative elements in France. Two men stand out, who by their writings wielded a great and lasting influence on French Catholic thought and endeavour.

One was Count Joseph de Maistre, who in 1819 published his remarkable book, *Du Pape*, which at once commanded attention and set in motion trains of thought destined profoundly to influence Catholic thought and action in France. Having his eyes chiefly on France, his thesis was that only by the harmonious working of Church and Throne, of Pope and King, could a Christian State be reorganized in France. He argued that the Pope must have in the spiritual order, and in a higher degree, the like position of authority, finality, power, jurisdiction that he conceived the King to have in the temporal order. A strong Papacy is the great safeguard of Christian society; Christianity has no stability without the Papacy. These Ultramontane views led de Maistre to attack the Gallican theory, reasserted in France with the Restoration. Thus de Maistre's polemic became largely theological, although his interest and purpose were on the social and political side. On this side he was conservative, harking back to the *ancien régime* of the French monarchy—'theocratic absolutism' his system has been called. And so, although his writings influenced greatly the rising generation of French Catholics, he did not directly face the problems of the Catholic Church and the modern democratic State.

Not so the other great name that along with de Maistre's was working for the restoration and renovation of religion in France. Almost simultaneously with *Du Pape* appeared the *Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de la Religion* of the Abbé de Lamennais; published in 1817 it had a quite extraordinary reception, 40,000 copies being sold in a few weeks; it was greeted with enthusiasm by Catholics, and commanded the attention of all intellectual circles. It was in effect a quite fresh

and, at the time, a very telling piece of Catholic apologetic, based on a philosophical system then having a vogue in France, named 'Traditionalism'. The system led him to combat Gallicanism and to advocate a papal absolutism, urging that the Papal power must be accepted as supreme over the regal. For a dozen years, till the revolution of 1830, Lamennais was the undisputed leader of a Catholic revival in France; surrounded by a group of able and enthusiastic young Catholics, among them Lacordaire and Montalembert, he inspired and kept up a vigorous campaign against the irreligious atmosphere of the intellectuals, a legacy of the Revolution, and against the Gallicanism still prevalent among the higher clergy.

The Revolution of 1830 made the Lamennais group concentrate on the political issues, and the more effectually to propagate their ideas a newspaper, *L'Avenir*, was started a few months after Louis-Philippe had been accepted as King. The *Avenir* writers proclaimed themselves as at once ultramontanes and democrats. They demanded entire liberty for the Church, and the only way of securing such liberty was by a complete separation of Church and State: 'Free Church in Free State.' They denounced the Concordat as a betrayal of the Church, and inveighed against the bishops and clergy for consenting to be paid officials of the State, and against the bishops for their attachment to Gallicanism and to royalty and the *ancien régime*. The *Avenir* had for its motto 'God and Liberty', and its programme was to catholicize Liberalism. In carrying out this programme the *Avenir* writers stood for full liberty all round. 'Liberty for all and in all': liberty of conscience and of worship, liberty of the press, liberty of education; universal suffrage was a sacred right that could not be denied; the Second Chamber should be suppressed, and the whole legislative power vested in the people; and, if the government did not meet the wishes of the people, then the people should overthrow the government.¹

All this was nothing else than full acceptance and defence of the programme of the modern State as the social organization

¹ See MacCaffrey, *The Catholic Church in the 19th Century*, i. 61.

in which the Church can most freely and fully function in modern times. 'Why should Liberalism', they asked, 'be allowed to remain anti-Catholic? Why should the Church not cut herself adrift from royalty and, freeing herself from the shackles of State control, place herself at the head of the democratic movement that was likely to be the power of the future?'¹

It is not surprising that the propagation of such doctrines should have brought the *Avenir* into trouble with the authorities of both State and Church. Lamennais and Lacordaire were prosecuted by the government; and the bishops, perhaps smarting under the attacks on them, uttered warnings and condemnations, and the *Avenir* was delated to Rome. Its publication was suspended in November 1831, the editors announcing that they were going to Rome to submit their principles to the judgement of the Holy Father. And so to Rome went Lamennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert. Their reception was personally kind, as befitted such outstanding champions of the Catholic religion; but it could not be expected that their programme, intemperate in many of its features, should, in the atmosphere of the revolutionary early thirties, be endorsed or tolerated in Rome, naturally conservative. After half a year the judgement of Rome was given in the Encyclical *Mirari Vos*, August 1832.

THE 'MIRARI VOS'

It would be uncandid in this place to shirk or slur over this encyclical, which to all seeming was a plain condemnation of the fundamental principles of the modern State, as set out above.² It does not directly condemn the *Avenir*, or even name Lamennais and his collaborators. But it was made clear to them that their propaganda was intended and condemned. It opens with a general lament, deploring the evils of the time. Then: We now come to a most fruitful cause of the Church's evils, viz. indifferentism, or that wicked opinion, which has spread in all

¹ See MacCaffrey, loc. cit.

² I had some difficulty in finding the complete text, only a few sentences being extracted by Denzinger. A full French translation is given in Appendix to Abbé Sylvain's *Grégoire XVI* (1889).

directions, that eternal salvation of the soul can be obtained under any profession of faith, if morals are directed by the rule of what is right and good. And from this most corrupt source of indifferentism flows that absurd and erroneous opinion, or rather insanity (*deliramentum*) that liberty of conscience is to be asserted and vindicated for every man. To which most pestilential error a way is prepared by that full and unrestrained liberty of opinions which is spreading far and wide to the ruin both of religious and civil interests; while some men say, in the extremity of impudence, that some advantage flows from it to the cause of religion. 'But what worse death is there of the soul', said Augustine, 'than liberty of error?' . . . Thence arises unsettlement of mind; thence a contempt among the people of sacred things and of the most holy interests and laws; thence arises a plague more deadly to the State than any other, inasmuch as from the earliest antiquity nations which flourished in wealth, power, and glory have fallen by this one evil, unrestrained liberty of opinions, licence of speech, desire of change. To this may be referred that liberty—most foul and never sufficiently to be execrated and detested—that liberty of the bookselling trade to publish any kind of writings, which some men dare to demand and promote with so much violence. We shudder in beholding with what monsters of doctrine, or rather, with what portents of error, we are overwhelmed, which are disseminated everywhere far and wide by the immense multitude of books, and by tracts and writings, small indeed in bulk, but in wickedness very large, and from which a curse has gone forth over the face of the earth.

Some writings spread abroad shake the fidelity and submission due to princes, and set alight everywhere the torches of revolt. The laws divine and human rise up against those who strive to shake by the shameful paths of revolt and sedition the fidelity due to princes and to hurl them from the throne. The examples of the submission of the early Christians condemn the wickedness of those who, inflamed by an immoderate ardour of an audacious liberty, strive to shake and to upset all rights of the Powers, under the cloak of liberty.

We can look for nothing happy for religion or for the Governments from the dreams of those who desire that the Church be separated from the State, and the mutual concord of the temporal with the spiritual power be broken. For this concord, always so favourable and salutary for the interests of religion and of the civil authority, is above all feared by the partisans of unbridled liberty.

Princes are exhorted to protect religion; power has been given them not only for temporal government, but to protect the Church.

With the copy of *Mirari Vos* sent to Lamennais was a covering letter of Cardinal Pacca, Secretary of State, interpreting the document:

The doctrines of the *Avenir* on the liberty of worship and the liberty of the press, which have been treated by the editors with so much exaggeration and pushed so far, are very reprehensible, and are in opposition to the Church's teaching, maxims, and practice. They have greatly astonished and afflicted the Holy Father; for if under certain circumstances prudence requires to endure them as a less evil, they may never be represented by a Catholic as in themselves a good or desirable thing.

The following extracts from the *Avenir* illustrate the attitude reprobated:

What have Catholics to desire except the effective and full enjoyment of all those liberties which may not legitimately be refused to any man: religious liberty, liberty of education, together with liberty of the press, which is the surest guarantee of all the rest?

That which retards the triumph of truth is the support which material force attempts to lend her—the very appearance of constraint in the essentially free domain of conscience and reason. No one owes an account of his faith to any human power, and the contrary maxim is directly opposed to Catholicism, and overthrows its very basis.

It is seen in such passages that the 'Rights of Man' were being urged as Catholic principles, nay the only true Catholic principles; and were being carried with all the rigorous logic of French mentality to their extremest conclusions. Such identification with Catholic principles of things that prudence may in given circumstances dictate was reprobated by the *Mirari Vos*.

On receiving the encyclical the three editors, Lamennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert, at once issued a joint note that they submitted to the decision of the Holy Father, and that the *Avenir* would cease publication. Lacordaire and Montalembert were faithful to their promise; but Lamennais revolted and

apostatized, breaking completely with the Catholic Church and even with Christianity, dying unreconciled in 1854.

THE BELGIAN CONSTITUTION OF 1830

A glance must at this point be taken at Belgium.

By the Congress of Vienna, 1815, Catholic Belgium, the old Spanish and then Austrian Netherlands, had been united to Calvinist Holland and placed under the rule of the Protestant King of Holland. The Dutch rule was oppressive, both in the religious and the civil order; so oppressive that in 1828 the two sections of the Belgian population—the great Catholic majority, and the smaller but influential group of Liberals impregnated with the ideas of the French Revolution—combined in a union for the emancipation of Belgium from Holland. The Paris Revolution of 1830 brought things to a head, and an insurrection broke out in Brussels, which by the end of the year had achieved the liberation and independence of Belgium. In face of the common enemy Catholics and Liberals worked together to give Belgium a King and a Constitution. This, being an agreed Constitution between the Catholic and Liberal elements, was perhaps the earliest attempt in a predominantly Catholic country to reconcile the Church and the modern State as brought into being by the Revolution. The Belgian Catholics, and above all the clergy, were, as in France, at the time under the spell of Lamennais's ideas of Liberty, not yet condemned; and in framing the Constitution they adopted his slogan, 'Liberty for all and in all'. It guaranteed to all freedom of conscience and of worship, and of the press; also freedom of education and of association (i.e. of the religious orders); no one was compelled to observe the religious holidays of any denomination. The State gave up all claim to control in the appointment of bishops, canons, or parish priests; and it secured to the Church the payment of a large share in the expenses of the upkeep of public worship, and of course the salaries of the bishops and clergy, as in France. The only privilege of the clergy was exemption from military service; the supervision of religious education in the schools was in

their hands; and later it was agreed that Catholic religious instruction should be given in all State schools, at which children of parents who objected were not bound to attend. The Catholic Church was not recognized as the religion of the State, or of the country; the Constitution did not even make public profession of belief in God.

These provisions were accepted by the Belgian Catholic clergy in 1830 as a satisfactory working arrangement; and, what is more remarkable, 'Gregory XVI, as is well known, answered a formal inquiry by saying that Catholics might, with a perfectly safe conscience, assent to the Belgian Constitution'.¹ This seems to have been the first practical experiment of 'Free Church in Free State' in a country predominantly Catholic. Unfortunately it did not last long. By the middle of the century, the Dutch menace being removed, and the Belgian Liberals having grown in power and in anti-clerical spirit, they would no longer act on the principle of 'Free Church' according to the Constitution of 1830. And so a bitter political struggle between Liberals and Catholics has been waged in Belgium to this day.

CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN FRANCE

We must return to France. Needless to say, the defection of the Catholic leader de Lamennais in 1832 was a bad setback for the Catholic movement; still, under the younger men who remained steadfast in their allegiance to Catholic authority, the movement soon recovered from the shock, and gathering together its forces pursued its course persistently.

In the early thirties religion in France was at a low ebb. In most parts the majority of the intellegentsia and of the professional and ruling classes was irreligious and sceptical, a survival of the late eighteenth-century and revolutionary mentality, without belief in Christianity. This anti-religious spirit had shown itself in the Revolution of 1830. But a strong Christian and Catholic revival set in, ever growing in force,

¹ The above statement is from an article by Dr. W. G. Ward in *Dublin Review*, Jan. 1865, on the *Mirari Vos*.

associated chiefly with the names of three great men.¹ In 1835 began the Abbé Lacordaire's brilliant *conférences* in Notre-Dame on Christian apologetics, listened to by the cultured intellects of Paris and read in all educated circles of France. In the same year, 1835, the youthful Count de Montalembert took his seat in the Chamber of Peers, whence resounded through France his great speeches in defence of religion and of the liberty of the Church. At the same time Frédéric Ozanam was founding and propagating the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, a widespread association of laymen who by personal visiting and contact brought practical Christian charity, and with it religion, into the homes of the poor and into the slums of Paris and other cities of France. And in 1840 Ozanam was elected to a chair in the Faculty of Literature at the Sorbonne, the ancient university of Paris; and here he made his lectures a telling and eloquent apology for Christianity and the Catholic Church, heard by crowds of young men.

Under the influence mainly of these three outstanding Catholics a return movement to Christian belief among intellectual circles was set afoot, which ever waxed stronger and stronger during the reign of Louis-Philippe (1830-48). The religious orders began to be restored in France; the Benedictines in 1837 by Abbot Guéranger, a great religious force; and in 1841 the French Dominicans by Lacordaire, now a Friar Preacher. The Jesuits, too, scattered in 1830, came back and resumed their old work, the great pulpit orator, Père Ravignan, being their most prominent spokesman.

The change in the religious atmosphere of France showed itself in the Revolution of 1848, when in a single day the Government of Louis-Philippe was upset and the monarchy swept away. For, whereas the Revolution of 1830 had been intensely anti-clerical and anti-religious, that of 1848 witnessed an unwonted combination of revolution with religion. The Paris mob carried the Cross in procession through the streets to the cries of 'Vive le Christ!'; the clergy were invited to bless the trees of liberty; bishops and priests were elected to the

¹ Cf. *Vatican Council*, i. 61.

Provisional Government; religious liberty and freedom for religious associations and orders were proclaimed and, when the new Constitution of the Second Republic was promulgated in the Place de la Concorde, the 'Veni Creator' was chanted beforehand, and the Archbishop of Paris celebrated Mass and blessed the multitudes.

Such things were too good to last.

But already we have overstepped the days of Gregory XVI, who had died in 1846; and now Pius IX was reigning in his stead.

PIUS IX

1846-78

CARDINAL MASTAI-FERRETTI, Bishop of Imola, near Bologna, was elected in June 1846 to succeed Gregory XVI, and took the name Pius IX. He was faced with situations of great difficulty alike in the Papal States, in Italy, and throughout Europe, where what survived of the old order was passing away. With the best intentions Gregory's government of the Papal States had not been enlightened; discontent was rife, owing both to the inefficiency of the administration and to the exclusion of the laity from governmental life. He followed the guidance of Metternich, the great Austrian reactionary statesman and diplomat, refusing all concessions to popular demands; and in consequence, throughout his long pontificate, he had to contend with the permanent conspiracy of the revolutionists, who repeatedly disturbed his States. In his time began the movement of the 'Risorgimento'. The Congress of Vienna had assigned to Austria in full possession Lombardy and Venetia, and she practically held and controlled the Duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. The Risorgimento movement, or party of 'Young Italy', had a twofold objective: the liberation of northern Italy from the Austrian dominion by driving the Austrians from Italian soil; and then the uniting of Italy into a single nation by bringing the various independent States under a single government,—a Republic some looked for, others looked to the King of Sardinia or Piedmont¹ to extend his sway over the rest of Italy, not excluding the Papal States, not excluding even Rome in the mind of the most advanced. Such was the state of things that Pius IX was faced with on mounting the Papal throne.

THE 'LIBERAL POPE'²

As the candidate of the cardinals imbued with more liberal tendencies, against those who sought to perpetuate the unbend-

¹ The Kingdom of Sardinia embraced the island and, on the mainland, Piedmont and Savoy, whence originated the royal family.

² A good account of the first years of Pius IX is given by Wilfred Ward in *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, i, ch. xvi.

ing attitude of the late Pope, Pius IX was hailed as the harbinger of a more liberal policy, which would shake off the control of Austria in the papal counsels, and would take part in the movement to liberate Italian soil from Austrian rule. He at once amnestied political offenders, freeing prisoners and recalling exiles—an act for which he was to pay dearly. The Young Italy party strove to induce the Pope to put himself at the head of the Italian movement and to declare war on Austria. As a patriotic Italian Pius no doubt sympathized with the wish to free Italy from foreign rule; but as Vicar of Christ and Head of the Catholic Church he felt he could not go to war with Austria, now the chief Catholic Power; the days of Julius II and Leo X were long past, when Popes took part in European wars. This hesitancy cooled the wild Italian enthusiasm with which his accession had been greeted. But in regard to the Papal States he made a big effort to reform the antiquated manner of government. He gave his States a Constitution of a popular character, with two chambers of elected representatives, and a cabinet of ministers predominantly laymen. The announcement was received with enthusiastic acclamation. Ozanam was in Rome and described in a letter the great ovation given to the Pope by the Romans on the 22nd April 1847.¹

But this was not what the revolutionary elements were working for; they were working for the idea of a United Italy, by whatever means achieved. So they wrecked the Pope's efforts at popular government in his States. His liberal Prime Minister, Count de Rossi, was stabbed to death entering the Chamber; the revolution broke out in Rome; the Pope was imprisoned, besieged, in the Quirinal, and had to make his escape from Rome in disguise, with the aid of the French Ambassador; he made his way to Gaeta in the Kingdom of Naples, and there took up his abode, waiting for the turn of events, November 1848.

This year, 1848, was a year of change in nearly all the countries of western Europe; it was the 'Year of Revolutions',

¹ See Baunard, *Ozanam in his Correspondence*, p. 245.

of insurrectionary movements, of the grantings of constitutional government. In France the Bourbon monarchy came to its end, and the Second, the Bourgeois, Republic was set up. In Austria the absolutist régime, identified with the name of Metternich, went down in a revolution at Vienna, the Emperor abdicating in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, who at the age of eighteen began his long reign of over sixty years, pledged to a more popular kind of government. Hungary rose against Austrian dominion, and the revolt was crushed only by a Russian army. In Italy constitutions were granted in Naples, in Tuscany, in Piedmont; and the first effort to expel Austria from Lombardy and Venetia by force of arms was made by the Piedmontese, and failed for the time. In Ireland the Young Ireland rising took place, but never came to a head. In England, though there was no political revolution, a very real revolution was in progress: the new liberal and radical doctrines were supplanting the old whiggery, and were ushering in the spirit of democracy, destined to transform the whole idea and machinery of government. In England, too, before any other country, the economic revolution, the great change from agriculture to industrialism, was being worked out; the age of machinery, of railways, of the shifting of the population from the country-side to the great towns, had set in in full force, and the problems of the new order, of industrialism, of commercialism, of capitalism, were beginning to make themselves felt.

Thus by the middle of the century, by the year 1850, the new order, 'Modern Civilization', was upon the world on its twofold side of politics and economics, and Church and State alike were facing the new world rapidly coming into being, in regard to their relations to it, and to one another. And so at last we enter on the actually existing phase of the subject of this essay—The Attitude of the Catholic Church towards Modern Civilization and the Modern State.

We must return to Pius IX, whom we left at Gaeta, whither he had made good his escape from the revolution in Rome, November 1848. He issued an appeal to the Catholic Powers to come to his aid in putting down the revolutionary movements

in his States, and restoring him to Rome. The turn things had taken in France after the setting up of the Second Republic early in 1848 put the Catholics in a position to bring pressure on the Government. They had at once rallied to the support of the Provisional Government, and in the election of the President of the Republic the Catholic vote was thrown in favour of Louis-Napoleon, who by this support was elected by an overwhelming majority. Thus the Catholic party had a great claim on Napoleon, and he recognized it by taking into the Cabinet one of the most representative Catholics, the Comte de Falloux, giving him the important portfolios of Public Worship and Education. Pressure by the Catholics was now brought to bear on the Government to respond to the Pope's appeal and restore him to Rome. A French army was dispatched, and in July 1849, after a severe struggle, Rome was occupied by the French, the Roman Republic put down, and the Pope's power over Rome restored. He put off the public entry into his city until April 1850, when he was welcomed home with a great ovation from the Roman people.

For twenty years, till the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, French troops garrisoned Rome for the Pope, and held for him the Patrimony of St. Peter, the territories around Rome. And largely out of jealousy of French influence, Austria undertook to hold for the Pope the northern portions of the Papal States, and did so till the War of Liberation in 1860. Thus the entire northern half of the Italian peninsula was brought directly or indirectly under the sway of Austria during the decade 1850-60, Piedmont alone excepted.

It can be no matter of surprise that after the frustration of his well-intentioned attempts at popular government in his States, and after having himself tasted the Revolution, Pius IX came back from the exile at Gaeta quite cured of his liberalism and of any sympathy with democratic ideas. Bitterly disillusioned, he declared the retention of a constitution incompatible with the most vital interest and the canons of the Church, as well as with the independence and the freedom of the Pope. The government of his States was carried out on moderate conservative

lines; but his rule always depended on the French and Austrian bayonets to keep down insurrectionary movements within and to ward off invasion from without.

LIBERALS AND ULTRAMONTANES IN FRANCE

In France the Catholic revival that had been working throughout the reign of Louis-Philippe was bearing fruit. After the *coup d'état* of 1852 whereby was ended the Second Republic, Louis-Napoleon making himself from President of the Republic into Emperor of the French, the Catholics as a body accepted the Empire and supported the Government. The régime was autocratic, a return to that of the Great Napoleon. On the whole the relations of Church and State in France worked fairly and smoothly. The concordat of 1801 was still the law regulating them. The Catholic Church was on good terms with the Empire, and indeed enjoyed a freedom from restrictions such as it had not experienced under the monarchy of the Restoration: the bishops were able to hold Provincial Councils and to communicate freely with the Holy See, and Papal encyclicals and letters could be published—all this notwithstanding the Organic Articles, still unrepealed, but allowed to lapse. A large measure of freedom of education was won, whereby Catholic schools, primary and secondary, were established in great numbers independent of the State, under teachers who might be any properly qualified Catholics, even members of religious orders, men and women, even, after a special tussle, Jesuits.

This harmonious working of Catholic Church and modern State in France went on fairly well up to 1860. In this year, after Napoleon had joined forces with Victor-Emmanuel of Piedmont to free Italy from Austrian rule, and the Austrians having been defeated and forced to quit Italian soil, Napoleon sanctioned the annexation by Piedmont not only of Lombardy, and not only of the Duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, but also of all the northern portions of the Papal States held for the Pope by Austria since 1850. By these annexations in 1860, and by the conquest of Naples in the following year, the

new Kingdom of Italy under the King of Sardinia and Piedmont, of the House of Savoy, was brought into being, and the 'Young Italy' dream of a United Italy materialized—all but Rome and the Patrimony, still held for the Pope by the French army of occupation.

Napoleon's connivance at the spoliation of the great part of the Pope's civil principedom, held for a thousand years, since the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne, called forth a storm of indignation and protest throughout the whole Catholic world, and above all among the French Catholics, who felt that France was responsible for the Emperor's betrayal of the Pope. The bishops issued pastorals; Dupanloup published one of his eloquent and powerful pamphlets, calling on France to undo the wrong by compelling, even by force of arms, the restoration of the stolen provinces to the Pope.

The protests were unavailing, but they broke the already waning good relations of Church and Empire; the bishops' pastorals were banned; the press was forbidden to publish them; the *Univers* was suppressed for disobeying; and during the last ten years of Napoleon's reign the hitherto working concord of Church and State was broken and anti-clerical and anti-religious, and also revolutionary, influences and currents waxed stronger and stronger in French politics, until the *débâcle* of 1870.

But before this, before 1860, the Catholic cause in France had been greatly weakened and injured by a controversy and sharp division of opinions, splitting the Catholics into two bitterly hostile camps, which came to be called Liberal and Ultramontane. The overt occasion of the break was in 1850, with the Education Act de Falloux had been able to get through Cabinet and Parliament; but the rift had been for some time forming and was inevitable. The divergence turned largely on theological issues, concerning in great measure the Papacy, the prerogatives and position of the Pope in the Church, and in particular the matter of Infallibility: all which does not concern us here. But the really more fundamental difference does directly concern us, for it turned on the theoretical

relations between the Catholic Church and the Modern State. I had occasion in *The Vatican Council*, vol. i, pp. 63, 64, to bring out the discordant attitudes of the two schools of thought that divided the French Catholics; I make no apology for reproducing here the substance of what I then wrote:

The questions at issue in France were much more politico-social than theological—theories of government and the relations between Church and State. On these issues of the practical order there existed among the French Catholics a liberal party and an intransigent party. . . . The idea liberals stood for was to christianize and catholicize modern society and the modern State, without repudiating or combating the democratic idea or the principles of political liberalism. They recognized that the work of the French Revolution could not be undone, and that the modern State with its new ideas of polity, freedom, had come to stay. They believed that the Church could embrace and assimilate the modern State just as well as she had the feudal State; and also in great measure modern social and political ideas. These men held that the principles of 1789—Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité—were capable of a good Christian meaning, and could be applied to the conditions of a sound modern State and society. Their idea was to ‘baptize the Revolution’, exorcizing the evil elements in it; their endeavour was to control and guide on to right lines the new democratic political and social ideas, rather than to reject them root and branch.

To the other school, the irreconcilables, all this was a betrayal in principle, and a delusion in fact. Modern society and all the political and social ideas let loose by the Revolution were so incurably vicious that nothing could be hoped for from them; and there was nothing for sound Catholics to do but to stand aloof and protest and reassert uncompromisingly the principles that had held sway in the times when Europe was Catholic. For the present, things could only be left to run their course, and society, after plunging through evil upon evil, might be hoped at long last to find salvation by a return to the polity of olden times.

As a sample, the following piece may be taken from the *Univers*, July, 1868:

“Society is on a sewer—it will perish—with the debris of the Vatican God will stone the human race. These stones of the Vatican will roll through the world, crushing thrones and dwellings, even to the

tombs. There are no more Catholic Princes in the world. Well, O Church of God, leave them and turn to the democracy. The democracy baptized will do what the monarchies have not done. The multitude of the nations will form one universal confederation under the presidency of the Roman Pontiff, a holy people, as there was a Holy Empire."

The protagonist of this latter school, the 'zealots' they were called, was the very able and combative layman, Louis Veuillot, editor of the *Univers*. He had a strong backing among the clergy; so prominent a man as Abbot Guéranger was in great measure a sympathizer and supporter; also the very leading bishop, Mgr. Pie of Poitiers, who, though of course acquiescing in the Empire as the *de facto* government, ever looked for the restoration of the elder branch of the Bourbons and of the *ancien régime* as the only real hope for France. The leading Catholic Liberals among the laity were such outstanding figures as Ozanam (who died in 1853 at the early age of forty), Falloux, Montalembert; and among the clergy Bishop Dupanloup and Père Lacordaire, now a Friar Preacher, the most advanced liberal of them all—he died in 1861. It is now well recognized of Ozanam and of Lacordaire, from their published Lives and Letters, that they were Christian heroes, having in them much of the stuff that makes saints; but at the time they were badly abused by the opposite party. There can be no doubt that, apart from certain extravagances, the Ultramontane school enjoyed the approval and favour of Pius IX, rather than the liberal school of French Catholics; indeed by the time of the Vatican Council the latter school had incurred his disapproval. It is right to point out that in our own day, in the pontificate of our present Holy Father Pius XI, there has been a readjustment of values and full justice has been publicly done, the Holy Father taking part, to the memory of the great French Catholic Liberals of the sixties.¹

THE SYLLABUS OF 1864

In 1864 the issue concerning the attitude of the Catholic Church in face of modern civilization and the new order of things political and social, the modern State, was raised to white heat by the publication of the Syllabus, or list of modern

¹ *Vatican Council*, i. 67, 123.

errors that had been reprobated and condemned in some thirty allocutions, encyclicals, letters of Pius IX in the eighteen years that had elapsed of his pontificate. It raised a storm of unprecedented fury in the quarters hostile to the Church and the Papacy. The secular and anti-clerical press seized on it with delight, exploiting it as a declaration of war upon modern civilization, society, thought, and on the modern State: as the 'definitive divorce of the Church from the modern world'. A Piedmontese paper declared that the Pope had condemned all the discoveries of modern science and industry, railroads, electric telegraphs, photography; and was about to suppress all such things in the small territory left him, along with steam-engines and gas-light.

This of course was foolish nonsense. But more serious was Lord Morley's estimate in the *Life of Gladstone* (ii. 509): 'A movement of the first magnitude was accentuated by Pius IX, when by the Syllabus of 1864 he challenged modern society in all its foundations, its aims, its principles, in the whole range of its ideals; some called this daring ultimatum the gravest event since the French uprising of 1789.' This passage is in relation to Gladstone's attack of 1874 on the Vatican Council, Ultramontanism, and the whole system of 'Vaticanism', for in this attack he naturally made great play with the Syllabus. It is strange that so careful and so fair-minded a man as John Morley should have written so of the Syllabus after Newman's exposition in the *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, called forth to meet this very attack of Gladstone's. Bishop Ullathorne also produced a *Reply to Gladstone*, dealing even more fundamentally with the Syllabus than Newman had done. I feel I cannot do better than give here the substance of what I gave in *The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne* (ii. 95 ff.) as a summary of what is said on the Syllabus in the pamphlet *Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation unravelled*. Professor Bury's treatment of the Syllabus in the recently published posthumous volume of lectures, badly misnamed *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century*, justifies and necessitates my dealing with the Syllabus at some length here, it being the outstanding evidence in the mind even of educated

people of the fundamental incompatibility between the Catholic Church and modern civilization and society.

Ullathorne, then, points out that the Syllabus is not a body of dogmatic teaching, but a list or index, issued to the bishops, of errors condemned in the allocutions and encyclicals of Pius IX; to each of the eighty propositions is attached the reference to the documents wherein that error was condemned; and in order to understand the several condemnations and the nature of the errors, recourse must be had to the original documents, the contexts, not the face value of the propositions, affording the key to the right interpretation. He applies this criterion to the last and probably most startling of all the propositions, the one that above all gave rise to such ideas as those of Lord Morley. The eightieth item of the Syllabus condemns the proposition: 'That the Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself and come to terms with progress, with liberalism, and with recent civilization.' Ullathorne quotes the allocution from which the condemnation is taken, spoken in 1861 within a year of the spoliation by Piedmont of the greater part of the hereditary States of the Church:

'Long have we been witness of the agitation into which civil society is thrown through the lamentable conflict of antagonistic principles. Certain men, on the one hand, contend for what they call modern civilization; others, on the contrary, strive for the rights of justice and of our holy religion. The first demand that *the Roman Pontiff should reconcile himself and come to terms with what they call progress, with liberalism, and with recent civilization.* But others with reason reclaim that the immovable and unchangeable principles of eternal justice be kept in their integrity and inviolability. . . . Solemn Concordats, regularly concluded between the Apostolic See and various sovereign Princes, have been utterly abolished, as recently occurred at Naples.

'But whilst this modern civilization fosters every anti-Catholic worship, it is irritated against religious Orders, against institutions founded to teach Catholic schools, and against numerous ecclesiastics of every grade, even those who are clothed with the highest dignity, of whom not a few drag on an uncertain life in miserable exile or imprisonment.¹ While it grants pecuniary assistance to anti-Catholic institutions and persons, this civilization despoils the

¹ Various Italian bishops had been exiled or imprisoned for their protests against the Piedmontese aggressions.

Catholic Church of her most lawful possessions, and puts forth every effort to lower the salutary influence of the Church.

'Can the Roman Pontiff ever extend a hand to this kind of civilization, or cordially enter into alliance and agreement with it? Let their real names be restored to things, and this Holy See will ever be consistent with itself; for truly has it always been the patron and nurse of real civilization. But if under the names of civilization is to be understood a system devised to weaken, and perhaps even to destroy, the Church—no, never can the Holy See come to terms with such a civilization.'

The Pope goes on to narrate how, in return for his paternal concessions, as of a constitution for his States, this civilization spattered his Council Chamber with the blood of his Minister (Count de Rossi), and drove himself into exile; how it stripped the Holy See of its territories, and, amidst all its infamies, still called upon the Pontiff to reconcile himself with this modern civilization. 'Willingly do we pray for these persons, that by the help of divine grace they may repent. But in the meanwhile we cannot remain passive, as if we had no care for human calamities. If unjust concessions are asked of us, we cannot consent to them. But if pardon be asked of us, freely and promptly shall we be prepared to give it.'

In the *Life of Ullathorne* I say that, while the full context of the allocution is a triumphant vindication of the Pope's real meaning, it has to be allowed that, as a piece of indexing, Proposition 80 was singularly unfortunate, in that it issued to the world as an 'error' a proposition that, as worded and without reference to documents generally inaccessible, was bound to give rise to wrong and mischievous interpretations. We can easily see how, taken at its face value, it could occasion such estimates as Morley's of the Syllabus.

Again, Proposition 79 was taken as a condemnation of liberty of the press: it does not directly touch it at all; it condemns a theoretical proposition that when formulated will be recognized as extravagant. What is condemned is the thesis that 'full power given to all of openly and publicly manifesting any opinions and thoughts whatsoever, does not tend to the corruption of public morals and ideas, and to the spread of the

pest of religious indifference'. In no civilized society is such unbridled licence of public expression allowed. The proposition does not even say it is to be suppressed; only, that it may not be defended as harmless.

It would be impossible here to go through the propositions of the Syllabus. When now read dispassionately and pondered in a calmer atmosphere, fully half the condemned errors will appear worthy of condemnation to any Catholic, indeed to any one who accepts a Christian basis of society, or any religious sanctions whatsoever; witness Proposition 39, that 'The State, being the origin and fount of all rights, itself possesses a right that is circumscribed by no limits'.

The one to enter the lists in France in explanation and defence of the Syllabus was Bishop Dupanloup, in a pamphlet exposing the exaggerated and erroneous meanings being placed on its propositions. It was said by the hostile press that he acted as an adroit politician, softening down, making palatable, and giving another colour to the Syllabus. But his vindication of its true meaning was welcomed by the bishops of the whole Catholic world, bringing to him letters of thanks from 630 bishops, and one also from the Pope thanking him for having 'exploded the calumnious interpretations' placed on the Syllabus.

Dupanloup's pamphlet is a fine piece of work, eloquent, courageous, convincing, and it certainly got home, carrying war into the enemy's country, the anti-religious circles of France.

Newman's account of the Syllabus will be the best known in England; it was in answer to Gladstone's attack of 1871 on 'Vaticanism', and is to be found in the *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*. A good account in English summing up the matter may be found in Wilfred Ward's *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, ch. x.

But, to my mind, the best and most convincing defence of the true significance of the Syllabus is that of Émile Ollivier in the book *L'Église et l'État au Concile du Vatican*¹ (1877, 4th ed. 1884;

¹ On Ollivier and his book see *The Vatican Council*, i, p. xviii, and ch. vii. He was a French politician and statesman, not a Catholic, and was Prime Minister of France during the Council.

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vol. i, ch. iv, §§ iii and iv). He takes a number of the most disturbing propositions and, pursuing the same method as Ullathorne, he puts them back into the context of the documents from which they were extracted, thereby showing their real meaning to be quite other from the meaning commonly being attached to them. That this is the right method of interpretation, not the face value of the propositions, was laid down by Leo XIII in a letter of the year before he became Pope.

All this adds force to what was said above regarding Proposition 80, that the Syllabus as a piece of indexing was unfortunate, in that it easily gave rise to misconceptions that could be removed only by reference to a number of documents to which the general public, whether of statesmen or journalists, could hardly be expected to have ready access.

THE ENCYCLICAL 'QUANTA CURA'

The Syllabus went out to the bishops as an annex to an Encyclical Letter, *Quanta Cura*, wherein were formally condemned a number of erroneous propositions and positions. The encyclical at the time caused no less stir than the Syllabus. Ollivier (loc. cit.) undertakes its defence, giving a sensible and fair account of its condemnations. Most of the twenty-four propositions condemned are of an extreme crastian character, denying to the spiritual or religious authority any place in ordering the civil life of States or citizens;¹ most of them would be rejected by any Christians, or by those of any religion whatsoever. For instance, 'that the best kind of public society absolutely requires that human society be constituted and governed without any regard for religion, as if it did not exist'; or 'that the will of the people, manifested by public opinion or otherwise, constitutes the supreme law, independent of all divine or human right'; or 'that in the political order an accomplished fact, by the mere fact that it is accomplished, has the force of right'.

If it be asked, as Gladstone asked in face of Newman's

¹ See Denzinger, *Enchiridion*.

explanation: 'If such be the real force of the Syllabus, what was the use of formally condemning propositions manifestly outrageous?' the answer is that such wild and subversive ideas were as a fact current in the extreme liberal circles of the fifties and sixties.

The whole range of questions was dealt with, not by way of condemnations, but by way of positive statement of theory by Leo XIII and will come up for examination immediately.

CONCORDATS OF PIUS IX

During the reign of Pius IX the whole matter of the Catholic Church and the modern State was dealt with not only by condemnations of errors, but also by concordats made with a number of States. The former method would not allow anything to be asserted as theoretically ideal or good in itself which contradicted or fell short of the full traditional theological positions on the nature, the rights, the claims of the Church in regard to the State: the concordats showed the concessions and modifications that high theory could put up with for the good of religion in face of actual facts in given countries.

The principal concordat of Pius IX was that made with Austria in 1855.¹ The main features may be summarized:

(1) *Position of the Catholic Church.*

The Catholic Apostolic Roman religion shall be preserved throughout all the Austrian Dominions intact always, with the rights and prerogatives it should enjoy according to the ordinance of God and the Canon Law.

The Catholic Church, its faith, liturgy, institutions, shall be protected from all contempt by words, deeds, or writings. Her ministers shall not be impeded in the discharge of their duties.

¹ The texts of the concordats may be found in the book of V. Nussi, *Conventiones de rebus ecclesiasticis inter S. Sedem et Civilem Potestatem*, Rome, 1869; fuller edition, Mainz, 1870. Nussi has been superseded in every aspect by Angelo Mercati, *Raccolta di Concordati*, Rome, 1919 (1,138 pages), complete and critical.

(2) *Appointment of Bishops.*

The Emperor is to nominate the bishops as heretofore, and the Holy See will institute those nominated, unless there be some grave objection. Also, in many cases, the Emperor has the appointment of canons, dignitaries, and parish priests.

(3) *Education.*

Catholic doctrine in all branches of education is to be under the supervision and control of the Bishops; this applies to the teaching of theology in Catholic faculties at universities and in seminaries; and to the religious instruction in Catholic schools, primary and secondary.

(4) *The clergy and the civil courts.*

This is the matter of the old *privilegium fori* of the Canon Law, whereby clerics were exempted from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, and had to be tried by the ecclesiastical courts in all cases, even of crimes the most heinous. After providing that matrimonial and purely religious causes, as heresy, &c., are to be tried by the Bishop's Court, the concordat goes on:

The Holy See makes no objection against the cases of ecclesiastics for crimes or offences against the penal laws of the Empire being tried by a lay judge. The following conditions are to be observed: the judge trying the case must notify it to the bishop; the arrest is to be made with as little publicity as is possible, due reverence for the clerical state being observed; if condemned, clerics are to be confined in prisons separately from seculars; in case of condemnation to death or to imprisonment beyond five years, the *procès verbal* of the case is to be communicated to the bishop.

Such, by way of example, were the leading provisions affecting the relations of Church and State of the most important Concordat of Pius IX, made with the principal Catholic Power, the Austrian Empire. Other concordats were made by Pius IX, with a number of lesser Catholic States; instead of taking these individually it will conduce better to a comprehensive view to treat them collectively, under the headings that bring out most clearly the points engaging our attention, as

showing in practical details the actual, not theoretical, attitude of the Catholic Church to modern ideas of the State.

1. *Position of the Catholic Church: Freedom of Worship for other Cults.*

In the foregoing account of the encyclical *Quanta Cura* and the Syllabus, nothing was said purposely of those propositions concerned with 'freedom of conscience' and 'freedom of worship'. The *Quanta Cura* reasserted the condemnation in *Mirari Vos* of the *deliramentum* that 'liberty of conscience and of religious cults is the natural right of every man, and should be proclaimed and asserted by law in every rightly constituted society'.

Propositions 77 and 78 of the Syllabus touch on this point:

77 condemns the position—

In our age it no longer is expedient that the Catholic religion be held as the only religion of the State, to the exclusion of all other cults.

78 condemns the position—

Therefore in certain regions called Catholic it is laudably provided by law that immigrants may have the public exercise of each one's own religious cult.

These condemnations read as if directly counter to a fundamental principle of the modern State according to the American Declaration and Constitution, and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. But Newman's treatment of the whole subject might with advantage be considered: *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, sections 'Encyclical of 1864', 'Syllabus'.

In fairness to Pius IX, by bringing out his full mind all round, it seems only right to quote words of his spoken in 1863, in a letter to the Bishops of Italy:

We know, and you know, that those who labour under invincible ignorance concerning our holy religion, and who carefully keep the natural law and its precepts engraven by God on the hearts of all, and are ready to obey God, and who lead an honest and upright life, can, by the operating power of the divine light and grace, attain

to eternal life. God who fully sees, searches, and knows the minds, souls, thoughts, and characters of all men, out of His goodness and loving kindness will by no means allow anyone to be punished with everlasting sufferings who has not the guilt of voluntary sin.¹

It is worthy of note that this piece was incorporated in the chapter of the *schema de ecclesia*, 'Out of the Church no Salvation', by the theologians who prepared the schema for the Vatican Council (see below).

To return to the concordats.

That with Spain lays down:

The Catholic religion which, to the exclusion of every other cult, continues to be the only religion of the Spanish nation, shall always be maintained in the whole Spanish dominions with all the rights and prerogatives it ought to enjoy according to the law of God.

In the fifties Spaniards, those of them who had any religion, were 100 per cent. Catholics; and those Spaniards who were not Catholics were free-thinkers, hostile or indifferent to religion; Spanish Protestantism was non-existent. Therefore, so far as Spaniards were concerned, the restrictions could not be regarded as a practical hardship.

In Austria things were different; Catholics were the large majority, but there was a considerable Protestant minority, which had enjoyed freedom of conscience and of worship for two centuries, under the provisions of the Treaty of Westphalia. Hence the Concordat of 1855 only gives the Catholic religion the position of State religion, but says nothing of the exclusion of other cults, which were taken for granted.

Pius IX made concordats with a whole series of the South and Central American republics set up in the old Spanish dominions: Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Venezuela, Ecuador, Nicaragua, San Salvador, Haiti. They are all nearly the same. The usual formula is that the Catholic religion is the religion of the State and will be preserved intact always with the rights and prerogatives that it should enjoy by the law of God and the holy canons: without reference to other cults.

¹ Denzinger, *Enchiridion*.

Only in the case of Ecuador are other cults excluded; in no case are they explicitly tolerated:¹ the only difference is in the case of Haiti, 1860, where the first clause runs: 'As the religion of the great majority of Haitians, the Catholic religion is to be especially protected by the Government.'

Perhaps the most useful commentary showing the actual as distinguished from the theoretical attitude of the Holy See in the matter of freedom of worship may be to cite words spoken by Pius IX while still in full exercise of his sovereignty over Rome: 'The Jews and Protestants enjoy liberty and peace here with me. The Jews have their Synagogue in the Ghetto, and the Protestants their Temple at the Porta del Popolo.' Dupanloup in the pamphlet on the Syllabus records these words as having been spoken to himself by the Pope. In that pamphlet he maintained that the condemnations of the Syllabus were not aimed at the 'Civil tolerance' of other cults; and this, as we have seen, did not stand in the way of Pius IX thanking him for having 'exploded' the wrong interpretations that had been attached to the Syllabus.

2. *Appointment of Bishops.*

All these concordats of Pius IX with Catholic States give the ruler, be he emperor, king, or president of a republic, the right of nominating the bishops, the Holy See undertaking to confirm any nomination of a suitable candidate. In the case of Protestant countries the election was put in the hands of the chapter, but subject to the veto of the ruler.

This right of nominating bishops was conceded to Kings of France by the concordat of 1516, confirmed by that of 1801. In the course of the eighteenth century the like privilege was gradually extended to the Emperor and to the Kings of Spain and the Italian principalities; so that even before the Revolution it was the ordinary discipline. In a number of concordats the ruler is given also the right of appointing parish priests from a list of three names presented by the bishop.

¹ *The Catholic Encyclopaedia* is wrong in saying that such toleration was provided for in the concordat with San Salvador.

3. *Alienated Church Property.*

An indemnity, like that of the French Concordat of 1801, is given in various States to the possessors of alienated Church property, with the assurance that the actual holders will not at any time be disturbed by the ecclesiastical authorities.

4. *Privileges of the clergy.*

In regard to taxation, it is in many cases declared that ecclesiastical properties and persons are liable to taxation according to the laws.

In regard to the *privilegium fori*, or exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, we must go back to the reign of Gregory XVI. By concordats with Naples 1834, and with Sardinia (Piedmont) 1841, the privilege was waived, and criminous clerics were subjected to the jurisdiction and procedure of the civil courts. The concordat with Sardinia sets forth:

Having regard to the circumstances of the times, to the necessity of prompt administration of justice, and the lack of adequate means for this in the episcopal courts, the Holy See will make no difficulty about lay magistrates trying ecclesiastics for all offences called crimes according to the laws of the State; also for all offences of a financial character.

By the concordats of Pius IX with Catholic States similar provision is made; as with Tuscany, 1851, Austria 1855 (as we have seen), with the Republics of South America; in Ecuador alone was the *privilegium fori* maintained.¹ In all cases provisions are made similar to those with Austria (see above) for the treatment of clerical offenders.

The series of cases, extending from 1834 to 1862, in which the Holy See allowed the *privilegium fori* to lapse affords a practical commentary on the interpretation of the Syllabus. For Proposition 31 condemned the following position: 'The ecclesiastical court (forum) for the temporal causes of clerics,

¹ The differences noted in the Ecuador Concordat in regard to exclusion of other cults and maintenance of *privilegium fori* were no doubt owing to the influence of the strongly Catholic and courageous President Garcia Morena, assassinated 1875.

whether civil or criminal, should be wholly abolished, even without consultation with the Holy See, and in spite of its protests.' This extreme and injurious assertion is condemned; but the Holy See 'makes no difficulty' in arranging with Catholic countries—the only ones in which the *privilegium* could work as part of the law of the land—for the clergy to be subject to the jurisdiction of the civil courts according to the laws of the State.

This illustrates the distinction of *thesis* and *hypothesis* first drawn by the *Civiltà*, the almost semi-official organ of the Vatican, edited by the Roman Jesuits: viz. What could not be held as a *thesis*, a principle intrinsically right, might be held as an *hypothesis*, allowable, desirable, and even best in given conditions. Thus the condemnation of freedom of worship is a *thesis*, asserting that the ideal is unity in true worship; albeit freedom of worship may be allowed as an hypothesis in certain conditions.

VATICAN COUNCIL: CHURCH AND STATE

Though questions of Church and State never actually came up at the Council they were simmering underneath the surface all the time. The subject is dealt with in *The Vatican Council* in two places, i, ch. vi and ii, ch. xvii. Statesmen, especially in the Catholic countries, were much perturbed lest there were going to be a reassertion of such claims to power over temporals as are associated with Gregory VII, Innocent III, or Boniface VIII: also lest the condemnations of the Syllabus should be turned into affirmative propositions and issued as dogmatic decrees, thereby leading to a disturbance of the relations existing between Church and State. As a fact there was no real ground for such alarmist forebodings; there is no evidence of any thought, on the part of those responsible, of turning the propositions of the Syllabus into dogmas—though there was some wild talk of it in certain Catholic extremist circles.

Before the Council certain decrees were drawn up on the relations of Church and State, and were incorporated in the Schema *de Ecclesia*, prepared by the theologians as a basis for

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discussion at the Council. Such discussion never took place, owing to the impossibility of the Council reassembling in the winter of 1870, as had been intended. These provisional decrees are, along with the encyclical *Immortale Dei* of Leo XIII, the most authentic formulation in modern times of actual Catholic theory on the relations of Church and State; as such they claim treatment here.

The first ten chapters of the Schema are a summary statement of the theological treatise *de Ecclesia Christi*, on the nature and attributes of the Catholic Church; the next two were on the Papacy. Then xiii, xiv, xv were on Church and State. The following summary is from *The Vatican Council*, ii. 6:

XIII. *The Concord between the Church and the Civil Society*

God being the Author of the two Societies, the Church and the State, it follows by the very nature of things that there is no conflict between them. The Church by sanctifying men makes them better citizens, and confirms the authority of Rulers by making obedience to them matter of conscience. Rulers also it exhorts to rule justly and for the good of their subjects. This union of the two Societies is according to the law of God, that they mutually help each other, and that the State recognize and protect the laws of the Church.

Therefore let not any one say that the authority and rights of the Church cannot coexist with those of the State; or that for the best form of civil government the separation of State from Church is necessary; or that human society should be so constituted and ruled with regard to religion, as if religion were non-existent; or as if there were no difference between true and false religions.

Conflicts between Church and State would not arise were it remembered that the Church is concerned with things of a higher order, namely the eternal salvation of men; and that things that may seem useful for the temporal kingdom, but are a hindrance to salvation, are not true goods.

XIV. *The teaching of the Catholic Church on the right and the exercise of the Civil Power*

Against various modern errors the Church teaches that every lawful authority, and therefore the civil authority, has God for its author; therefore obedience to lawful authority is of the law of God.

Rulers on their side must rule according to the law of God, not according to utility, or public opinion, or the will of the multitude, if they be counter to the law of God.

But the judgement as to the rule of action, in as far as it concerns right moral conduct as to licitness or illicitness, for civil society and for public transactions, belongs to the supreme authority of the Church. In the way of eternal salvation, for all, subjects and rulers alike, the Church has been established by God as guide and teacher (*dux et magistra*). Therefore rulers must not deem it right, either in private or in public affairs, to violate for political reasons the laws and rights of God and of holy Mother Church.

XV. *Certain particular rights of the Church in relation with Civil Society*

Among violations of the rights of the Church on the part of Civil Governments may be specially singled out:

- (a) the laicizing of education, so that all consideration of religion is excluded, and the Church prohibited from all control and from providing instruction in the Catholic religion;
- (b) the idea that the State should control the working and the courses of studies in ecclesiastical colleges and seminaries wherein the clergy are trained;
- (c) the suppression of religious orders;
- (d) the denial of the Church's right to hold property, and the confiscation of Church property.

The canons attached to these chapters anathematize positions that would surely be looked on as outrageous by any Christian man, or by any man with any religion whatsoever.¹

Perhaps ch. x, on 'The Power of the Church', was partly responsible for the general outburst of excitement, especially among statesmen and journalists. It laid down that:

the jurisdiction of the Church is not only in the realm of conscience, but is also external and public—legislative, judicial, and coercive. The Pastors of the Church rule her with full authority received from Christ, and independently of any secular domination, not only in matters of faith and morals, worship and sanctification, but also in those concerning the external discipline and administration of the Church.²

¹ *The Vatican Council*, ii. 8.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

This certainly is 'Free Church'; whether the proposed Vatican legislation really offended against any Christian idea of 'Free State' may reasonably be doubted. But the leading statesmen lost their heads: four years after the Council, Gladstone declared rhetorically that at it 'Rome had refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused'; while at the time von Beust, the Austrian Foreign Minister, instructed the Ambassador to represent to Cardinal Antonelli that 'by such proposals an impassable gulf would be dug between the laws of the Church and the laws that govern modern society'. Though with greater moderation, even Ollivier, then Prime Minister, and the French Government were disturbed, and a Memorandum was sent to the French Ambassador to communicate to Antonelli, the Pope's Secretary of State.¹ After referring to the proposed legislation, it went on:

The consequences that flow from these principles may be stated thus: there are subject to the supreme magisterium of the Church the constitutive principles of society; the political rights and duties of citizens; their electoral and municipal rights. Also whatever in the legislative and judicial order contains what is licit or illicit in view of the natural or divine or even ecclesiastical law; and so marriage, the family, the civil rights and duties of married people, contracts, means of acquisition, prescription, education, taxation, peace and war, conquest;—all this is nothing else than the consecration of the supreme authority of the Church over Society, and the absolute subordination of all the political and civil rights of every authority whatsoever to the Papacy, proclaimed infallible.

Antonelli replied in a lengthy statement of the true import of the Schema.² After saying that 'it passed his comprehension how such an exaggerated and mistaken idea of the import of the schema and canons could be entertained', he went on:

The Church has no thought of exercising any direct power over the political right of the State. But as she has from God the sublime

¹ *The Vatican Council*, ii. 17.

² *The Vatican Council*, ii. 19; the entire document is given in English by Manning in Appendix to *The Vatican Council and its Definitions*, in volume *Petri Privilegium*.

mission of guiding men, alike individually and as constituted in society, to a supernatural end, she has thereby the authority and the duty of judging of the morality and the justice of actions, interior and exterior, as to their conformity with the natural and divine laws. And as no act can be exempt from this character of morality and justice, it follows that the judgement of the Church, although directly bearing on the morality of the action, indirectly reaches to all the things with which it is bound up. But this is not equivalent to an intervention directly in political affairs, which according to the order established by God and by the teaching of the Church belong to the temporal power; consequently it is not the case that the Church exercises a direct interference on the constitutive principles of the Governments, on the political rights of citizens, on the duties of the State, and the other things named in the despatch. But no civil society can subsist without a supreme regulating principle of the morality of its acts and its laws; and the Church has from God this sublime mission. Moreover, no decrees made by the Council on relations of Church and State will make any difference to the relations settled by Concordat between the Holy See and France and other Governments.

On this I commented (*loc. cit.*):

It seemed good to reproduce this evidently carefully formulated statement of the 'indirect power' claimed by the Church in regard to the laws of the State. Ollivier looked on it as a bare reassertion of the old claim to 'indirect power', formulated by Bellarmine, and as wholly inadmissible by the Governments. But, if it be compared with Bellarmine's, the profound difference will appear. Bellarmine's fundamental proposition ran: 'We assert that the Pontiff as Pontiff, though he has not any merely temporal power, yet has, in order to spiritual good, supreme power of disposing of the temporal affairs of all Christians.' And he reduces this principle to practice by asserting for the Pope the power of legislating over the head of the temporal ruler, by enacting or abrogating laws of the State, when the salvation of souls requires it; also of deposing princes and handing over their kingdoms to others, for the spiritual good of their subjects.¹ Quite other was Antonelli's claim, that the Church has the right of judging a law of the State to be against the

¹ See Fr. Brodrick's *Saint Robert Bellarmine*, i, ch. xii.

law of God, and therefore not to be obeyed. Such a claim goes back to the Apostles: 'We must obey God rather than man.' A clear instance are the divorce laws of many modern States: the Church declares them to be against the law of God, and that therefore marriages of divorced persons, no matter what the State may allow, are unlawful and invalid. There are not many such clashes. By a recent decree the Church has made the civil marriage of Catholics invalid; but Catholics may comply with the law by going through the subsidiary civil ceremony required for the legal recognition of marriages by the State.

The 'Deposing Power' has just been mentioned; it was a very living issue of Church and State in England during the first fifty years of our period; there is no need to repeat here what is said on this subject in the latter half of Chapter I of *The Vatican Council*. It was brought up again, very perversely, at the time of the Council, and Pius IX made on it a pronouncement, noteworthy as the latest papal utterance on the subject, July 1871. He said:¹

There are many errors regarding infallibility, but the most malicious of all is that which would include in the doctrine the right of deposing sovereigns and declaring the people free from their duty of allegiance. This right was, indeed, exercised by Popes in extreme cases; but neither the claim to it nor the use of it have anything to do with papal infallibility. Its source was not papal infallibility, but papal authority. That authority, according to the public law then in force and by the agreement of Christian nations, which revered in the Pope the supreme judge of Christendom, included the judging, even in temporal matters, of princes and states.

But present conditions are altogether different from this, and only malice could confuse things and times so different; as if an infallible judgement concerning a principle of revealed truth had any affinity with a right which the Popes, solicited by the desire of the peoples, had to exercise when the common good demanded it. It is very clear why currency is now being given to such an absurd idea that no one any more thinks of, and least of all the Supreme Pontiff. They seek for pretexts, even the most frivolous and the most untrue, to stir up Princes against the Church.

¹ Text in *Civiltà Cattolica*, Aug. 1871, p. 485.

LAST YEARS OF PIUS IX

The post-Council years of Pius IX need not detain us. The Franco-Prussian War of the summer of 1870 caused the withdrawal of the French troops holding Rome, and immediately the Italian armies closed in on the remnant of the Papal States and on Rome, which they entered in September. Thus the annexation of the entire Papal States to the Kingdom of Italy was effected, and a United Italy achieved. The Pope naturally issued protests against this final act of spoliation, but to no purpose. As a standing protest he shut himself up in the Vatican, and for sixty years no Pope went forth from the precincts of the Vatican Palace and Gardens and St. Peter's.

The next years witnessed in the *Kulturkampf* in Germany the most sustained and determined attempt of the Government, that is of Bismarck, to set up a national German Catholic Church cut off from Rome and the Pope. The Pope issued a letter to the Prussian bishops declaring the famous Falk Laws null and void, as altogether opposed to the divine constitution of the Church; nor by any power of this world, no matter how sublime, can bishops properly instituted to rule the Church be deprived of their episcopal office. The splendid resistance of the bishops, priests, and Catholic laity defeated the schismatical movement; and Bismarck, in spite of his famous boast, did 'go to Canossa',—but that was in the reign of Leo XIII. Pius IX died in February 1878, aged eighty-six.

LEO XIII

1878-1903

LEO XIII was of the generation after that of Pius IX. Pius, born in 1792, had passed boyhood and early manhood in the later stages of the French Revolution, and his life was spent amid the succession of lesser revolutions and political upheavals that were its aftermath and at the middle of the nineteenth century had changed the face of the whole range of European civilization, both in Europe and in America; and had obliterated almost everywhere all vestige of the *ancien régime*, the absolutist States, with the state religion, Catholic or Protestant, in a privileged and specially protected position. Pius thus had lived his life in the era of revolutions, the time of passage from the old régime to the new. And as reactions always tend to run to extremes, these revolutionary movements with which he was faced were for the most part characterized by strongly anti-clerical, anti-Catholic, anti-religious tendencies, often even anti-social and anarchical in character, subversive of all law and right, human or divine. Hence the Pope's pronouncements took on the shape of denunciations and condemnations of errors commonly propagated by the Revolution, or of ideas and principles flowing from it.

Leo, born in 1810, belonging to a later generation, witnessed the change as an accomplished fact while still in middle life; and when he became Pope in 1878 he had passed most of his working life in the newly constituted modern world. Thus, when he came to deal with social and political questions affecting Catholics, his pronouncements were constructive, laying down principles on the great problems of the modern world. This he did in the series of great encyclicals that called forth the admiration of those beyond the Catholic Fold, proclaiming the ground principles of Christian society and polity in the conditions of modern times.

As the problems of Church and State, and the attitude of the Catholic Church to the modern State, are the questions that

have hitherto principally been before us, it will be natural to take here first the encyclical *Immortale Dei*, on 'The Christian Constitution of States', of 1885, in order to study this, the latest pontifical pronouncement on the subject. It is the most authentic formal exposition in modern times, and the most recent, of Catholic doctrine on the ideal relations between the Catholic Church and a Catholic State; for at the close the Pope declares that the encyclical is addressed to 'all nations of the Catholic World', and therefore has primarily in view the Catholic States. In the year 1885 there would have been, in any fairly real sense, hardly any others than Austria, Hungary, Spain, Belgium, and it may be some of the South American States. In Italy and perhaps in France, the people, in so far as they had religion, were Catholic, but the Governments were hostile. The Pope has in mind a State wherein both people and government are professedly Catholic.

THE CHRISTIAN CONSTITUTION OF STATES

The encyclical *Immortale Dei* will be taken as the basis of the exposition; but pieces from other encyclicals, in illustration or elucidation, will be interwoven.¹ The matter will be set out under headings corresponding roughly to the principles underlying the theory of the modern State, formulated above (p. 1362).

1. *Two Societies established by God.*

Man's natural instinct moves him to live in civil society. Hence it is divinely ordained that he should live his life—be it family, social, or civil—with his fellow men. Civil society has its source in nature, and has, consequently, God for its author.

The Church is a society established by Jesus Christ, chartered by right divine, perfect in itself, with the mission to guide men to heaven, and its aim and end the eternal salvation of souls. She has for her immediate and natural purpose the saving of souls and securing man's happiness in heaven.

The Almighty, therefore, has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over divine and the other over human things. Each in its

¹ The chief encyclicals of Leo XIII are given in a volume of the Catholic Truth Society, *The Pope and the People*, published in 1894, 1902, 1912, 1929.

kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the nature and special object of the province of each. One of the two has for its proximate and chief object the well-being of this mortal life; the other the everlasting joys of heaven. Whatever, therefore, in things human belongs to the salvation of souls or to the worship of God is subject to the power and judgement of the Church; whatever is to be ranged under the civil and political order is rightly subject to the civil authority.

Within its own sphere, obedience is owing to the civil authority and the laws of the State, as based on the authority of God.

The Church and the State alike possess individual sovereignty; hence, in the carrying out of public affairs, neither obeys the other within the limits to which each is restricted by its constitution.

Governments are wholly free to carry out the business of the State; but the Church alone has been invested with such power of governing souls as to exclude altogether the civil authority.

2. *Almighty God the Source of all Authority.*

Every civilized society must have a ruling authority; and this authority, no less than society itself, has its source in nature, and has consequently God for its author. Hence it follows that all public power must proceed from God. Whoever holds the right to govern holds it from God.

True and legitimate authority is void of sanction unless it proceed from God, the Supreme Ruler and Lord of all. The Almighty alone can commit power to a man over his fellow men.

This is the constant burden of these encyclicals, enforced again and again, that all right authority in Church or in State, in the family or in civil life, is the authority of God. 'God alone can commit power to a man over his fellow men.'

So St. Paul: There is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God (Rom. xiii. 1).

3. *Criticism of the idea that authority of Rulers is derived from the People.*

Here the Pope's teaching comes into conflict with one of the ground ideas laid down as axiomatic in the Declarations of Rights, &c. (see above, p. 1360), viz. that authority to rule is given by the people: 'It has even been contended that the

public authority, with its dignity and its power of ruling, originates not from God, but from the mass of the people.'

Here an encyclical of 1881, on 'Political Power', will be cited at some length, because it is not included in the volume *The Pope and the People*; and because it brings out clearly fundamental points of political theory.¹

It is matter of mere necessity that in every association and community of men some should govern. It is important to realize that it is by no means opposed to Catholic doctrine that those who rule the State should be elected by the will and judgement of the multitude. By such election the Ruler is designated, but the rights of government are not conferred; authority is not given to him, but it is fixed by whom it is to be exercised.

No question arises as to kinds of government; for there is no reason why the Church should approve the sovereignty of one or of many, if only it be just and bent on the common good. Therefore, provided justice be kept, the peoples are not prohibited from providing for themselves whatever form of government is most congenial to their temperament, or the institutions and character of their ancestors.

The idea of the 'Pact' (Rousseau's 'Contrat Social') is evidently fabricated and fictitious, and incapable of giving to the political power the strength and the dignity required for the well-being of the citizens. Only when it is recognized as coming from God will sovereignty have its necessary safeguards. Not to refer to God as its author the right of ruling is nothing else than to deprive political power of its highest sanction and to paralyse it.

So far the *Diuturnum illud* of 1881. The fact that any good and just form of government is right, and has the approval of the Church, is emphasized by Leo many times. Thus, in the *Immortale Dei*:

The right to rule is not bound up with any special mode of government. It may take this or that form, provided only that it be of a nature to ensure the general welfare.

No one of the several forms of government is in itself condemned, inasmuch as none of them contains anything contrary to Catholic doctrine, and all of them are capable, if wisely and justly managed,

¹ The encyclical *Diuturnum illud* is in Denzinger, *Enchiridion*.

of insuring the welfare of the State. Neither is it blameworthy in itself, in any manner, for the people to have a share, greater or less, in the government: for at certain times, and under certain laws, such participation may not only be of benefit to the citizens, but may even be of obligation.

4. *The State must recognize God and protect Religion.*

The State is bound to make public profession of religion; it is a public crime for it to act as though there were no God. It is a sin in the State not to have care for religion, as a something beyond its scope, or as of no practical benefit; or out of many forms of religion to adopt that one which chimes in with the fancy; for we are bound absolutely to worship God in that way which He has shown to be His will. All who rule should hold in honour the holy name of God; and one of their chief duties must be to favour religion, to protect it, to shield it under the sanction of the laws, and to enact no measures that may compromise it. This is the bounden duty of Rulers to the people over whom they rule.

5. *The Catholic Religion should be the Established Religion (i.e. in a Catholic Country).*

It is not right for the State to treat all and any religions as on an equal footing. It is the duty of the State to give an established position to the religion which God enjoins, and which certain and most clear marks show to be the only one true religion. It cannot be difficult to find out which is the true religion, if only it be sought with an earnest and unbiassed mind. It is evident that the only true religion is the one established by Jesus Christ Himself, which He committed to His Church to protect and propagate.

This Church of Christ is the Catholic Church, Apostolic and Roman.

For all that, though the Church deems it unlawful to place various forms of divine worship on the same footing as the true religion, she does not, on that account, condemn those Rulers who, for the sake of securing some great good, or of hindering some great evil, tolerate in practice that these various forms of religion have a place in the State. And in fact the Church is wont to take earnest heed that no one shall be forced to embrace the Catholic faith against his will, for, as St. Augustine wisely reminds us, 'Man cannot believe otherwise than of his own free will'.

It is to be remembered that the Pope has in mind primarily Catholic countries, and what would be the ideally perfect thing where the population is solidly or predominantly Catholic. He recognizes that concessions to facts may be necessary. Of course, only in a Catholic country could the Catholic religion be established.

6. *Authority and Liberty of the Church.*

Jesus Christ established on earth a Society which is called the Church, and to it He handed over the exalted and divine office which He had received from His Father, to be continued through the ages to come. It is a Society chartered as of right divine, perfect in its nature and in its title, to possess in itself and by itself, through the will of its Founder, all needful provision for its maintenance and action. And just as the end at which the Church aims is by far the noblest of ends, so is its authority the most exalted of all authority; nor can it be looked upon as inferior to the civil power, or in any manner dependent upon it.

In very truth, Jesus Christ gave to His Apostles unrestrained authority in regard to things sacred, together with the power of making laws, as also with the twofold right of judging and of punishing, which flow from that power. It is the Church, not the State, that is to be man's guide to heaven. It is to the Church that God has assigned the charge of seeing to, and legislating for, all that concerns religion; of teaching all nations, of spreading the Christian faith as widely as possible; in short, of administering freely and without hindrance, in accordance with her own judgement, all matters that fall within her competence.

This authority, perfect in itself and plainly meant to be unfettered, the Church has never ceased to claim for herself, and openly to exercise.

In another outstanding encyclical, on 'Christian Marriage', the Pope takes occasion to define the normal relations of Church and State:

No one doubts that Jesus Christ, the Founder of the Church, willed her spiritual power to be distinct from the civil power, and each power to be free and unshackled in its own sphere; with this condition, a condition good for both, and of advantage to all men, that union and concord should be maintained between them; and

that on those questions which are, though in different ways, of common right and authority, the power to which secular matters have been entrusted should happily and becomingly depend on the other power which has in its charge the interests of heaven. In such arrangement and harmony is found not only the best line of action for each power, but also the most opportune and efficacious method of helping men in all that pertains to their life here, and to their hope of salvation hereafter. When the civil power is on friendly terms with the spiritual authority of the Church, there accrues to both a great increase of usefulness. The dignity of the civil power is exalted, and so long as religion is its guide it will never rule unjustly; while the Church receives help of protection and defence for the public good of the Faithful.

This may suffice as an exposition of Pope Leo's teaching on the theory of Church and State, and their mutual interrelations: Two societies, both established by God, and having their authority from Him; the State to provide for the things of this world, the Church for the things of the next. They should work in mutual accord for this twofold object, and in her own assigned sphere the Church is independent of the State.

THE MODERN LIBERTIES

We must now turn to what Pope Leo says of the principles asserted as the foundations of the modern State and the modern liberties. And here it will be useful to avail ourselves also of another encyclical, of 1888, *Libertas praestantissimum*, on 'Human Liberty', wherein he deals more fully with the subject. (See *The Pope and the People*.)

It is to be remembered throughout that in speaking of 'Liberalism' the Pope has in view the extremest forms of Continental Liberalism, revolutionary and anti-religious, which he almost identifies with thoroughgoing Socialism, Communism, even Nihilism. He says:

To reject the supreme authority of God, and to cast off all obedience to Him in public matters, or even in private and domestic affairs, is the greatest perversion of Liberty and the worst kind of Liberalism; and what we have said must be understood to apply to this alone, in its fullest sense.

Such Liberalism is described:

Among the later tenets of unbridled licence which were proclaimed as the principles and foundations of the new jurisprudence, the main one lays down that, as all men are alike by race and nature, so all are equal in the control of their life; that each one is so far his own master as to be in no sense under the rule of any individual; that each one is free to think on every subject just as he may choose, and to do whatever he may like to do; that no man has any right to rule over other men. In a society grounded upon such maxims, all government is nothing more nor less than the will of the People; and the People, being under the power of itself alone, is alone its own ruler. It does choose some to whose charge it may commit itself, but in such wise that it makes over to them not the right so much as the business of governing, to be exercised in its name. The authority of God is passed over in silence, as if there could be a government of which the whole origin and power and authority did not reside in God Himself.

It would be a libel to attribute such godless subversive and ultra-revolutionary tenets to the men who framed the Declarations of Independence or of the Rights of Man, or to the documents themselves: for instance, in them liberty of the press and of speech are subject to the condition that they be not used against law and order. But certain of their principles do seem to fall under the condemnation of the Pope.

7. *Equality of Men.*

That all men are by nature equal is the first principle of the declarations. The Pope comments thus:

It is asserted that all men are by nature equal; but, according to the Gospel teaching, equality among men consists in this, that one and all, possessing the same nature, are called to the sublime dignity of being sons of God; moreover, that one and the same end being set before all, each and every one has to be judged according to the same laws, and to have punishments or rewards meted out according to individual deserts. There is, however, an inequality of right and authority which emanates from the Author of Nature Himself, *of whom all paternity in heaven and earth is named*. . . . The Church recognizes the existence of inequality among men, who are by

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nature unlike in mental endowment and strength of body, and even
in amount of fortune.

8. *Liberty of Worship.*

The Liberty of Conscience and Liberty of Worship proclaimed as the natural right of all men are enunciated in such a form as to assert that every one is free to choose his own religion as he may like. Such free choice as this the Pope will not allow. Every man is bound to serve God in the religion and with the worship that God has ordained. As one who had grown up in wholly Catholic surroundings, Leo was unduly optimistic as to the ease with which any one of goodwill, who candidly examines the question, will perceive clearly that the Catholic and Roman religion is the one ordained of God, and the Catholic Church in communion with the Holy See the Church instituted by Jesus Christ. Those who live among Protestants know that it is not so simple as all that, and that people with all good faith and goodwill do sincerely think otherwise.

For all that, the Pope will not have it that liberty of worship, liberty for other cults than the Catholic, is a natural 'right of man'. He will only say, as we have seen, that to avoid greater evil the civil Ruler may without blame tolerate the practice of other religions. It will have been noticed that the American documents limit freedom of religious practice to forms of Christianity.

9. *Liberty of Speech and the Press.*

Not only in matters of religious worship does the Pope recognize that it may be necessary, best, for a Government to tolerate things in themselves theoretically indefensible. Thus in regard to Liberty of Speech and of the Press, it is in itself bad that doctrines should be propagated injurious to religion, to Christian faith and morality, to the Catholic Church, or subversive of obedience to law and order, and proper loyalty to the State and its Rulers. Such liberty cannot be held to be good in itself, or as the natural right of man.

Thus he lays down:

It is quite unlawful to demand, to defend, or to grant unconditional freedom of thought, of speech, of writing, or of worship, as if these were so many rights given by nature to man. But freedom in these things may be tolerated wherever there is a just cause; but only with such moderation as will prevent its degeneration into licence and excess. And where such liberties are in use, men should employ them in doing good.

10. *Concessions to the Spirit of the Age.*

The Church weighs the great burden of human weakness, and well knows the course down which the minds and actions of men are in this our age being borne. For this reason, while not conceding any right to anything save what is true and honest, she does not forbid public authority to tolerate what is at variance with truth and justice, for the sake of avoiding some greater evil, or of obtaining or preserving some greater good. In the government of States it is not forbidden to imitate the Ruler of the world, who permits evil to exist. But if, for the sake of the common good, human law may or even should tolerate evil, it may not and should not approve evil. The tolerance of evil which is dictated by political prudence should be strictly confined to the limits which its justifying cause, the public welfare, requires. Although, in the extraordinary condition of these times, the Church usually acquiesces in certain modern liberties, not because she prefers them in themselves, but because she judges it expedient to permit them, she would in happier times exercise her own liberty, and by persuasion, exhortation, and entreaty, would endeavour, as she is bound, to fulfil the duty assigned to her by God of providing for the eternal salvation of mankind. One thing, however, remains always true, that the liberty which is claimed for all to do all things is not of itself desirable and is entirely contrary to reason.

There are those who think that the Church ought to adapt herself to the times, and conform to what is required by the modern system of government. Such an opinion is sound, if it is to be understood of some equitable adjustment consistent with truth and justice: in so far, namely, that the Church, in the hope of some great good, may show herself indulgent, and may conform to the times in so far as her sacred office permits. But religion, truth, and justice must ever be maintained; and the Church can never be so unfaithful

to her office as to dissemble in regard to what is false or unjust, or to connive at what is hurtful to religion.

11. *Right of Resistance to Oppression.*

Throughout the whole series of encyclicals the obligation of obedience to the lawfully constituted civil government of a country is preached again and again and enforced with great insistence. The duty is based on the fundamental Christian truth that all authority is from God, and that civil rulers rule by the authority of God and as His representatives. Thus the notion that revolution or revolt is the obvious remedy to which recourse may be had in face of misgovernment is ruled out. Such passages as the following are of frequent occurrence:

If those in authority rule unjustly and if their measures prove hurtful to the people, such Rulers must bethink themselves of the account they will have to render to God. The people must be convinced that their Rulers hold authority from God, and feel that it is matter of justice and duty to obey them. To despise legitimate authority in whomsoever vested is unlawful as a rebellion against the divine Will. To cast aside obedience and by popular violence to incite to revolt is treason, not against man only but against God.

Should it happen at any time that in the public exercise of authority Rulers act rashly and arbitrarily, the teaching of the Catholic Church does not allow subjects to rise against them without further warrant, lest peace and order become more and more disturbed, and society run the risk of greater detriment. And when things have come to such a pass as to hold out no further hope, she teaches that a remedy is to be sought in the virtue of Christian patience and in urgent prayer to God.

Leo XIII had lived his life through the insurrectionary and revolutionary period towards the middle of the last century when the right of revolt was proclaimed and acted on as a principle of revolutionary liberalism in reaction against the absolutism of the previous century. Such unguarded doctrine of rebellion he is at pains to condemn, as against the teaching of the Catholic Church and against Christian principles. But he recognizes, nay asserts, that cases may arise when resistance to laws of the State may be allowable, and even a duty:

Should it please legislators and rulers to enjoin or sanction anything repugnant to the divine or the natural law, the dignity and duty of the name Christian, and the Apostolic injunction, We proclaim that one *ought to obey God rather than man*.

If the laws of the State are manifestly at variance with the divine law, to resist becomes a positive duty, to obey a crime. . . . If laws of men contain injunctions contrary to the eternal law of God, it is right not to obey them. . . . Commands which are issued adversely to the honour and obedience due to God, and hence are beyond the scope of justice, must be looked upon as anything rather than laws; for law is of its very essence a mandate of right reason, proclaimed by a properly constituted authority, for the common good.

Leo, of course, knew well the teaching of the great Catholic theologians who have dealt with these questions of civil society and government, notably St. Thomas, Suarez, Bellarmine, that when a government degenerates into a tyranny oppressive of the rights of the subjects, against justice and the natural law, then, under certain broad conditions, 'resistance to oppression' is a natural right of the governed, and the setting up of a better government; also the winning of the independence of one's country. All this is clearly recognized by the Pope in such passages as follow:

As for those who would make the State absolute and omnipotent, and proclaim that man should live altogether independently of God, if what they say were really true, there would be no tyranny, no matter how monstrous, which we should not be bound to endure and submit to.

Wherever there exists, or there is reason to fear, an unjust oppression of the people, or a deprivation of the liberty of the Church, it is lawful to seek for such a change of government as will bring about due liberty of action. In such a case an excessive and vicious liberty is not sought for, but only some relief for the common welfare.

Nor does the Church condemn those who, if it can be done without violation of justice, wish to make their country independent of any foreign or despotic power. Nor does she blame those who wish to assign to the State the power of self-government, and to its citizens the greatest possible measure of prosperity.

The Church holds that it is not her province to decide which is

the best amongst many diverse forms of government and the civil institutions of Christian States; nor does she disapprove of any, provided the respect due to religion and the observance of good morals be upheld. In the sphere of politics ample matter may exist for legitimate difference of opinion; and, reserve being made of the rights of justice and truth, all may strive to bring into actual working the ideas believed likely to be more conducive than others to the general welfare. But the Church refuses to link herself to any mere party; and to attempt to involve her in party strife, and to seek to bring her support against those who take opposite views, is only worthy of partisans.

12. *Of Love of Country.*

The natural law enjoins us to love devotedly and to defend the country in which we had birth and in which we were brought up; so that every good citizen hesitates not to face death for his native land. We are bound to love dearly the country whence we have received the means of enjoyment this mortal life affords—still more are we to love the Church, the City of the Living God.

It is not of itself wrong to prefer a democratic form of government, if only the Catholic doctrine be maintained as to the origin and exercise of powers. Of the various forms of government, the Church does not reject any that are fitted to procure the welfare of the subject. She approves of every one devoting his services to the common good, and doing all that he can for the defence, preservation, and prosperity of his country.

SUMMARY OF THE TEACHING

It has been possible, even thus at some length, to set out only the main heads of the teaching contained in the series of encyclicals of Leo XIII on Church and State. It will be in place to make a summary of the doctrine.

On the side of theory it is quite uncompromising. Every Christian should be a Catholic, so evident are the credentials of the Catholic Church; every Christian country should be Catholic in its people and its government; the Government should make the Catholic religion the established religion of the State, not as one of a number of religions on equal footing, but

in a privileged position as the official religion of the State. The State should recognize the Catholic Church and protect it, and respect its laws. The Church on its side will support the State by proclaiming the Christian principle that all authority, in State as well as in Church, is from God, and that obedience is owing to the State, its laws and its ministers, as matter of conscience. Thus Church and State should work together for the good of society, mutually helping each other to carry out their respective functions of providing for the well-being of the citizens, in the future life or in this. Each in its own sphere should be independent and supreme. The idea of 'Separation of Church and State', the breaking of such harmonious interaction, is many times denounced as 'fatal'.

This is the theory, the idea. But it may be asked, in the actual condition of the world at the present time, whether Malta be not the only surviving spot on earth where such conditions are to be found.

When we turn to actual conditions, to the modern State with the modern liberties, we find that for them, taken as embodying true principles, there is nothing but repudiation. That there should be condemnation of the 'unbridled licence' claimed under the name of Liberty—unrestricted liberty of thought, of speech, of the press, of resistance—can cause no surprise to any Christian man, or to any man who respects civil order and the decencies of life.

But these liberties, under reasonable limitations, and also liberty of worship, the Church will allow, in the existing conditions of society and political life, not as being best, or good, in themselves, nor as the natural 'Rights of Man'; but as the lesser evil, or, in practice, the best that can be done. It is the distinction of *thesis* and *hypothesis*: that which may not be approved as theory and principle may be tolerated as the best attainable in given conditions. However, a practical sanction is given to the working of the modern State as such, when conducted on reasonable and just lines. And the duty of all citizens is strongly inculcated, of serving their country and taking their part in its political and municipal government, whatever be the form of

government, working to make it as good and as Christian as may be, and not standing aloof in sulky opposition or protest.

In keeping with this was Leo's call to French Catholics in 1892 to rally to the Republic and accept it as the constituted authority of the country, and work for the modification of those laws which hampered religious freedom. 'Royalists of every shade turned a deaf ear to his counsels. There was division in the ranks of the faithful, and even of the clergy.'¹ In the eighties Leo had taken similar action in Spain, forbidding the Carlists to identify Catholicism with Carlism, and calling on all Catholics to unite in accepting the government of Alphonso XII as the established form of government, so long as it had the support of the majority of the people; and in this way to put themselves in a position to defend the Church by constitutional weapons. As in France so in Spain this policy met with bitter opposition, the majority of the Catholics refusing to rally to the government of Alphonso XII and keeping up the Carlist campaign.

ECONOMIC SIDE OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

Up to this point the survey of the Catholic Church and modern civilization has been mainly, it may indeed be said wholly, concerned with the political side, the modern State, and the problems of Church and State and their reactions, to which the modern State has given rise. This side of things and the aftermath of the French Revolution absorbed almost wholly the attention and the activities of the Popes of the nineteenth century, up to and including Pius IX. It was Leo XIII who broke new ground.

Throughout the century, alongside of the political revolution a no less great economic revolution had been working its way. Early in the century, after Europe had settled down to rest and recuperate from the succession of devastating wars of the eighteenth century, culminating in those of Napoleon, the great industrial and commercial revolution began to run its course.

¹ See article by Abbé Lugon in *Dublin Review*, 1929, 'How Politics has injured Religion in France'.

With the application of steam to machinery, and the introduction of steamboats and railways in the twenties, and the employment of machinery and of science in manufactures, with the consequent methods of intensive culture and mass production, and facilities of transport, there came the veritable transformation of social and economic life in all western Europe and America, whereby Europe was changed from an agricultural to an industrial population, the people more and more deserting the country-side and flocking to the big towns, ever growing bigger and bigger. This transformation has produced quite new problems of industrialism, commercialism, capitalism, international finance, of a kind unknown to the olden times prior to the nineteenth century. And all this complex of social and economic problems raised questions of ethics, morality, religion, more pressing for the Catholic Church even than the questions presented by the political problems of the modern State.

It will be to the everlasting credit of Pope Leo that, though an octogenarian, he did not flinch from the duty of his position as supreme Christian Teacher, by laying down in unfaltering terms, without fear or favour, the Christian principles underlying the rights and duties of Capital and Labour as existing in the actual industrial world. This he did in the most remarkable utterance of his reign, the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of May 1891. It is known that he was stirred up and encouraged by the two great Cardinals, Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, and Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, both closely in touch with the conditions of labour and of the working classes.

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES

The encyclical *Rerum Novarum* has been described as setting forth the basic principles of social justice. It will not be easy to make a summary of its teaching; still this must be done, because it is, on the most practically important aspect of human life and of actual social conditions, the outstanding presentation of the attitude of the Catholic Church in face of modern civilization on the economic side.

1. *Existing Conditions.*

The Encyclical opens:

That the spirit of revolutionary change, which has long been disturbing the nations of the world, should have passed beyond the sphere of politics and made its influence felt in the cognate sphere of practical economics is not surprising. The elements of the conflict now raging are unmistakable, in the vast expansion of industrial pursuits and the marvellous discoveries of science; in the changed relations between masters and workmen; in the enormous fortunes of some few individuals, and the utter poverty of the masses; in the increased self-reliance and closer mutual combination of the working classes; as also, finally, in the prevailing moral degeneracy. The momentous gravity of the state of things now obtaining fills every mind with painful apprehension; wise men are discussing it; practical men are proposing schemes; popular meetings, legislatures, and rulers of nations are all busied with it; and actually there is no question that has taken a deeper hold on the public mind.

If this were a true picture in 1891, how much truer is it after forty years! So the Pope deemed it expedient and a duty to speak on the Condition of the Working Classes, and to treat the question of set purpose and in detail, 'in order that no misapprehension may exist as to the principles which truth and justice dictate as to its settlement. It is no easy matter to define the relative rights and mutual duties of the rich and of the poor, of Capital and of Labour.' He goes on:

We clearly see, and on this there is general agreement, that some opportune remedy must be found quickly for the misery and wretchedness pressing so unjustly on the majority of the working class. By degrees it has come to pass that working-men have been surrendered, isolated and helpless, to the hard-heartedness of employers and the greed of unchecked competition. The mischief has been increased by rapacious usury, which, although condemned by the Church, is nevertheless, under a different guise, but with the like injustice, still practised by covetous and grasping men. To this must be added that the hiring of labour and the conduct of trade are concentrated in the hands of comparatively few; so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming

masses of the labouring poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself.

Mr. Belloc is rightfully credited with the introduction into the study of social and economic theory of the term 'Servile State', as defining the actual industrial condition of the workers in the modern world as one of servitude or slavery. But we see that Pope Leo was before him. In a previous encyclical of 1878 he had similarly declared that if things went on as they were in the labour world, 'the vast majority of mankind will fall back into that most abject condition of bondage which through a long lapse of time obtained among pagan nations'.

Such are the evils crying aloud for remedy. Two solutions are in the field: the Socialist and the Christian.

2. *The Socialist solution to be rejected.*

In earlier encyclicals, in one issued in the first year of his pontificate, 1878, the Pope had dealt with Socialism. It is to be understood that in denouncing Socialism he has in mind the most extreme and uncompromising socialistic doctrine, in one place coupling together, as being the same, Socialists, Communists, and Nihilists. They reject the truths of Revelation and make no account of God and His Law; asserting all men to be by nature equal, 'they contend that neither honour nor respect is due to public authority, nor any obedience to the laws'.

Socialism is by many pushed so far as to reject the supernatural, to profess to aim at only bodily and material blessings, and to place human happiness in the attainment and enjoyment of such alone. Hence they wish to place the supreme power in the State in the hands of the masses: so that having destroyed class distinctions they may proceed to an equal distribution of wealth: and so the right to own private property is to be abolished, and all private possessions, including even the means of subsistence, are to become common property.

Such full-blooded Socialism is what the Pope has in mind.

To return to the *Rerum Novarum*:

To remedy the wrongs of the workers set out above, the Socialists are striving to do away with private property, and contend that

individual possessions should become the common property of all, to be administered by the State or by municipal bodies. They hold that by thus transferring property from private individuals to the community, the present mischievous state of things will be set to rights, inasmuch as each citizen will then get his fair share of whatever there is to enjoy.

There follows a closely argued demonstration that the right to own private property is according to the law of nature and the law of God.

Hence the main tenet of Socialism, community of goods, must be utterly rejected, since it only injures those it would seem meant to benefit, is directly contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and would introduce confusion and disorder into the Commonwealth.

3. *The Family the Social Unit.*

The Christian solution of the social and industrial question is based on the family, the primary and most essential unit of society.

The Family is the society of a man's house: a society very small, but none the less a true society, and one older than any State. Consequently it has rights and duties peculiar to itself which are quite independent of the State.

The family has at least equal rights with the State in the choice and pursuit of the things needful to its preservation and its just liberty. We say, at least equal rights; for inasmuch as the domestic household is antecedent, as well in idea as in fact, to the gathering of men into a community, the family must necessarily have rights and duties which are prior to those of the community, and founded more immediately in nature.

On the Socialist theory, the State is the social unit supreme over the family. It invades the family, and in its extreme manifestations seeks to sap its stability by attacking and weakening its very foundation, the marriage bond. Hence in these encyclicals Pope Leo again and again asserts the sanctities of marriage; and in 1880 he issued an encyclical *Arcanum divinæ* on Christian marriage, wherein the teaching of the Catholic Church is clearly set forth.¹ The *Rerum Novarum* goes on:

The contention that the civil government should at its option

¹ See *The Pope and the People*.

intrude into and exercise intimate control over the family and the household is a great and pernicious error. . . . Paternal authority can be neither abolished nor absorbed by the State, for it has the same source as human life itself. The Socialists, in setting aside the Parent and setting up a State supervision, act against natural justice, and break into pieces the stability of family life.

The State must not absorb the individual or the family; both should be allowed free and untrammelled action in so far as is consistent with the common good and the interests of others.

4. *State Interference.*

The principle laid down is, that circumstances may arise in which the interference of the State becomes necessary, as the only effective remedy of evils; but the tendency should be to restrict it to what is necessary.

Whenever the general interest, or any particular class suffers, or is threatened with harm, which can in no other way be met or prevented, the public authority must step in to deal with it. . . . The principle is that the law must not undertake more, nor proceed farther, than is required for the remedy of the evil or the removal of the mischief.

A list of cases is given that justify State action:

If by a strike, or other combination of workmen, there should be imminent danger of disturbance to the public peace; or if circumstances were such as that among the working class the ties of family life were relaxed; if religion were found to suffer through the workers not having time and opportunity afforded them to practise its duties; if in workshops and factories there were dangers to morals through the mixing of the sexes, or from other harmful occasions of evil; or if employers laid burdens upon their workmen which were unjust, and degraded them with conditions repugnant to their dignity as human beings; finally, if health were endangered by excessive labour or by work unsuited to sex or age——

in such cases State intervention would be right with the authority of the law.

Further:

if a family finds itself in exceeding distress, and without any prospect of extricating itself, it is right that extreme necessity be met by public aid, since each family is a part of the Commonwealth.

5. *The Poor to be protected by the State.*

Rights must be religiously respected wherever they exist. But where there is question of defending the rights of individuals, the poor and badly-off have a claim to especial consideration. The richer class have many ways of shielding themselves and stand less in need of help from the State; whereas the mass of the poor have no resources of their own to fall back upon, and must chiefly depend upon the assistance of the State. Wage-earners should be specially cared for and protected by the Government.

It may be truly said that it is only by the labour of working-men that States grow rich. Justice therefore demands that the interests of the working classes should be carefully watched over by the Administration, so that they who contribute so largely to the advantage of the community may themselves share in the benefits they create,—that being housed, clothed, and bodily fit, they may find their life less hard and more endurable. It cannot but be good for the Commonwealth to shield from misery those on whom it so largely depends for the things it needs.

The desire of the Church is that the poor should rise above poverty and wretchedness and better their condition in life.

6. *Religion offers the only real solution of social trouble.*

We approach the subject with confidence, for no practical solution of the question will be found apart from the intervention of Religion and of the Church. All the striving of men will be vain if they leave out the Church. It is the Church that insists, on the authority of the Gospel, upon those teachings whereby the conflict can be brought to an end, or rendered at least far less bitter.

It is to be laid down as axiomatic that 'the condition of things inherent in human affairs must be borne with'; 'it is impossible to reduce civil society to one dead level'; 'all striving against nature is in vain'; 'differences exist among mankind'; 'people differ in capacity, skill, health, strength; and unequal fortune is a necessary result of unequal condition'. Further, 'the pains and hardships of life will have no end or cessation on earth'; 'to suffer and to endure is the lot of humanity'; 'no strength and no artifice will ever succeed in banishing from human life the

ills and troubles which beset it'; 'if any hold out such hopes to a hard-pressed people, they are deluding them with lying promises'. 'Nothing is more useful than to look upon the world as it really is, and at the same time to look elsewhere for the solace of its troubles.'

Class war is essentially wrong.

It is ordained by nature that in a State the two classes, the wealthy and the workers, should dwell in harmony, so as to maintain the balance of the body politic. Each needs the other: Capital cannot do without Labour, nor Labour without Capital. Perpetual conflict between them produces confusion and savage barbarity. There is no intermediary more powerful than Religion in drawing the rich and the working class together, by reminding each of its duties to the other, and especially of the obligation of justice.

Thus Religion teaches the labourer and the artisan to carry out honestly and fairly all equitable agreements freely entered into; never to injure the property, nor to outrage the person, of an employer; never to resort to violence in defending their own cause, nor to engage in riot or disorder.

Religion teaches the wealthy owner and the employer that their work-people are not to be accounted their bondsmen; that in every man they must respect his dignity as a man and as a Christian; and that it is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by, or to look on them as so much muscle or physical strength. The employer is bound to see that the worker has time for his religious duties, that he be not exposed to corrupting influences, or led away to neglect his home and family. Furthermore, the employer must never tax his work-people beyond their strength, or employ them in work unsuited to their sex or age.

The first thing to secure is to save unfortunate working people from the cruelty of men of greed, who use human beings as mere instruments for money-making. It is neither just nor human so to grind men down with excessive labour as to stupefy their minds and wear out their bodies. Daily labour should be so regulated as not to be protracted over longer hours than strength admits. In all agreements between masters and work-people there is always the condition expressed or understood, that there should be allowed proper rest of soul and body. To agree in any other sense would be against what is right and just.

7. *Wages—'The Living Wage'.*

The axiom of the old *laissez-faire* political economy, that wages should be regulated simply by the law of supply and demand in the labour market, is to be rejected, as leading to injustice.

Each one has a natural right to procure what is required in order to live; and the poor can procure that in no other way than by what they earn through their work.

Let the working man and the employer make free agreements, and let them agree freely as to the wages. Nevertheless, there underlies a dictate of natural justice more imperious and ancient than any bargain between man and man: namely, that wages ought not to be insufficient to support a frugal and well-behaved wage-earner; and not only himself but his family—wages should be sufficient to enable him comfortably to support himself, his wife, and his children.

If through necessity or fear of a worse evil the workman accept harder conditions, because an employer or contractor will afford him no better, he is made the victim of force and injustice.

Wealthy owners and all masters of labour should be mindful of this,—that to exercise pressure upon the indigent and the destitute for the sake of gain, and to gather one's profit out of the need of another, is condemned by all laws, human and divine. To defraud any one of wages that are his due is a crime crying to heaven for vengeance. The rich must religiously refrain from cutting down the workmen's earnings, whether by force, by fraud, or by usurious dealing; and with all the greater reason, because the labouring man is, as a rule, weak and unprotected, and because his slender means should in proportion to their scantiness be accounted sacred.

8. *Organizations of Workers.*

When work-people have recourse to a strike, it is frequently because the hours of labour are too long, or the work too hard, or because they consider their wages insufficient. The grave inconveniences of strikes should be obviated by public remedial measures; the laws should forestall and prevent such troubles from arising; they should lend their influence and authority to the removal in good time of the causes which lead to conflicts between employers and employed.

The Right of Association and Combination is strongly asserted for the workers, and they are to be encouraged to organize in unions and associations for mutual help and protection. It is a natural right of man to enter into such societies, and so long as they are beneficent and law-abiding they should be allowed by the State; only if they are being worked for illegal or subversive objects should they be suppressed. The Pope has in view associations or unions conducted on Christian principles, in which active Christian charity plays a great part in helping those in need. There is, however, a warning that 'many of these societies are in the hands of secret leaders and are managed on principles ill according with Christianity and the public well-being; and that they do their utmost to get within their grasp the whole field of labour, and force working-men either to join them or to starve'. This is condemned as 'a yoke of unrighteous and intolerable oppression'.

The object aimed at in working-men's associations should be 'to furnish the best and most suitable means for helping each individual member to better his condition to the utmost in body, soul, and property'.

9. *A Peasant Proprietary good for a country.*

Far from tending to abolish ownership, the law should favour ownership, and its policy should be to induce as many as possible of the people to become owners.

A workman who gets proper wages, if he be a sensible thrifty man, will not fail to put by some little savings and thus secure a modest source of income.

Many excellent results will follow from this. First of all, property will certainly become more equitably divided. For the result of civil change and revolution has been to divide society into two widely differing castes. On the one side there is the party which holds power because it holds wealth; which has in its grasp the whole of labour and trade; which manipulates for its own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply, and which is even represented in the Councils of the State itself. On the other side there is the needy and powerless multitude, sick and sore in spirit, and ever ready for disturbance. If working people can be encouraged

to look forward to obtaining a share in the land the consequence will be that the gulf between vast wealth and sheer poverty will be bridged over, and the respective classes will be brought nearer to one another. A further consequence will appear in the greater abundance of the fruits of the earth. Men always work harder and more readily when they work on that which belongs to them. That such a spirit of willing labour would add to the produce of the earth and to the wealth of the community is self-evident.

Lastly:

10. *The right use of Riches.*

The right use of money rests on the principle that it is one thing to have a right to the possession of money, and another to have a right to use money as one wills. Private ownership is a natural right of man. But if the question be asked: How must one's possessions be used? the Church replies without hesitation in the words of St. Thomas: 'Man should not consider his material possessions as his own, but as common to all, so as to share them without hesitation when others are in need.' True, no one is commanded to distribute to others that which is required for his own needs and those of his household; nor even to give away what is reasonably required to keep up becomingly his condition in life; 'for no one ought to live other than becomingly'. But when what necessity demands has been supplied, and one's position fairly taken thought for, it becomes a duty to give to the indigent out of what remains over.

This obligation had been put even more forcibly in an earlier encyclical:

The Church lays the rich under strict command to give of their superfluity to the poor, impressing them with fear of the divine judgement, which will exact the penalty of eternal punishment, unless they succour the wants of the needy.

The great encyclical ends on the note on which it began:

Every one should put his hand to the work which falls to his share, and that at once and straightway, lest the evil which is already so great become through delay absolutely beyond remedy. Those who rule the State should avail themselves of the laws and institutions of the Country; masters and wealthy owners must be mindful of their duty; the working class, whose interests are at stake, should make

every lawful and proper effort. And since Religion alone, as we said at the beginning, can avail to destroy the evil at its root, all men should rest persuaded that the main thing needful is to return to real Christianity, apart from which all the plans and devices of the wisest will prove of little avail.

The *Rerum Novarum* is well worth reading in its entirety—should be read—by all desirous of bringing Christian principles into the realm of political economy.¹ It has seemed only right, and indeed necessary, to deal thus at considerable length with it here, as being in its own sphere the most important Papal utterance of modern times declaring the attitude of the Catholic Church towards modern civilization in the aspect most urgently clamouring for guidance. It seemed necessary, too, to cite the actual words of the Pope, lest in any attempted appreciation of the import of the encyclical there would have been room for the suspicion that the very downright words and uncompromising assertions of principle had been imported by the writer, and were an over-emphasizing of the Pope's teaching.

The encyclical had a great reception. Cardinal Manning had an article in the *Dublin Review*, July 1891, probably the last thing he ever wrote, just six months before his death. He, with Cardinal Gibbons, had had a great hand in the production of the encyclical;² and he now rejoiced in it as the crown of the work of his last twenty years of life in behalf of the labourers of England. He wrote:

Since the divine words 'I have compassion on the multitude' were spoken in the wilderness, no voice has been heard throughout the world pleading for the people with such profound and loving sympathy for those that toil and suffer as the voice of Leo XIII. . . . The voice of the 'good shepherd' has been heard by the flock spread throughout the world with a loving, thankful, and joyous assent. It has been heard by Sovereigns and Statesmen, and men of every calling and of every measure of culture, with a respectful attention never before given to any pontifical utterance. It has been heard by

¹ It is to be found in the volume *The Pope and the People* of the Catholic Truth Society. It has been published also as a separate tract, *The Workers' Charter*, by the Catholic Social Guild, Oxford.

² Cf. Card. Gibbons, *Retrospect of Fifty Years*, vol. i, p. 189f. (ed. 1916).

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the millions of the world of labour, and they have recognized the accents of the Father's love and sympathy.

This was no exaggeration. In those days the leading London weekly in realms of thought was the *Spectator*, inspired and in great part written by its editor, R. H. Hutton. His welcome was couched in these words:

Leo XIII is definite to a marvel, clear to audacity, terse till he almost oversteps the bounds of Pontifical etiquette, and uses epigram as a judicial weapon. And though Pope Leo's warm denunciations of oppression for greed may not make capitalists more philanthropic, his distinct declaration that labour has a right to a comfortable 'frugal life'—what courage it must have required in an epoch of universal suffrage to put in that word!—will give new heart to the millions.

He added, however, the fear that what the Gospel had failed to achieve would hardly be achieved by the encyclical.

And so it was. In truth, only in a Catholic country would the Pope's call come with the weight of authority. Unfortunately, in the chief industrial countries, in England, the United States, north Germany, the industrial magnates and great employers of labour were not Catholics, were not practical Christians where gain and money-making and profits were at stake. And so a deaf ear was turned to the Pope's assertion of elementary justice, as so much beautiful theory, but quite impracticable in the modern world. Thus a fair field has been laid open for the Socialism and Communism he denounced.

Only in Belgium did the conditions exist for a concerted effort on a large scale to give effect to the programme of the encyclical. Here there was a country with a population largely of practical Catholics; with a Catholic Government of earnest Catholics flushed with a recent great political victory over opposing forces; and, what was more important still, with a number of the leading industrialists and employers of labour staunch Catholics animated by the principles of Christian morality and charity. Here the Pope's programme had a fair chance of success, and it did achieve a good measure of success. Employers, working men, Catholic statesmen, and conspicuously the Catho-

lic clergy, all threw themselves into the endeavour to better the condition of the workers and to put on a sounder footing the relations of capital and labour along the Pope's lines; and for a good time the industrial and social situation was much improved.¹ But it had all to be done in face of determined opposition from socialists and anti-clerical liberals. Finally came the War and swept it all away.

Of course the *Rerum Novarum* was not a bolt from the blue. The matters it dealt with had long been before the minds of Catholic leaders in many lands. Leo himself while Bishop of Perugia had been alive to the problems of capital and labour, and in 1877 had issued a pastoral letter adumbrating the main lines of the encyclical. Such prominent churchmen as Manning and Gibbons had been actively engaged in the labour question. But the credit of being the first Catholic bishop in the field belongs to Bishop von Ketteler, who in 1850 became Bishop of Mainz. He it was who perceived the need for the Catholic Church to take the field against the rising forces of the socialism of Marx and Lasalle in Germany, and to counter the socialist movement by a Catholic democratic movement pledged to maintain the right of private property, but pledged also to a broad policy of social reform to redress the wrongs to which the working classes were subjected in the industrial world. His efforts met with a great response in the Catholic parts of Germany and also in Austria and in other Catholic countries.² But it proved difficult to get the Catholics to pull together. The more conservative among them, and those who were capitalists and industrialists, looked askance on the movement as savouring of socialism. There was need of guidance by the Voice of Authority.

That Voice spoke. The great significance of the act of Leo lay in this, that it was the first authoritative pronouncement of the Holy See, laying down in unmistakable terms what ought to be, and is, the only right Christian method of alleviating the social evils of the modern industrial and commercial world.

¹ Charles Plater, S. J., *The Priest and Social Action*, chap. vi.

² A good account of all these movements is to be found in the last two chapters of Mgr. MacCaffrey's *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*, 'Socialism' and 'Labour Movement'.

Ten years later, in 1901, when he was ninety years of age, Leo came back to these questions in an encyclical on 'Christian Democracy'.¹ Its immediate purpose was to settle a controversy that had arisen among Catholics, as to whether the terms 'Christian Democracy', 'Christian Democrats' were proper names to be taken by Catholics striving to carry out the spirit of the *Rerum Novarum*. In Austria these names were in use in a Catholic popular movement, and they were objected to in Catholic conservative circles. The Pope decided that when properly understood the names were unobjectionable. The encyclical reinforced the teachings of the earlier ones, but its tone is more definitely religious, its burden being the necessity of bringing practical Christian principles into all social and political endeavour. The word 'democracy' is not to be understood in its political sense: the Church accepts equally any and every kind of government that is based on right principles, and is carried on for the common good. 'Christian Democracy' must mean nothing but 'Christian beneficent action on behalf of the people'.

Surely there will be no single person to find fault with an endeavour, conformably to the law of nature and of God, to make the lives of labourers and artisans more tolerable, to enable them gradually to make some provision for themselves, to make it possible for them at home and in the world freely to fulfil the obligations of virtue and religion, to let them feel themselves to be men and not mere animals, Christian men and not pagans; and so enable them to strive with more facility and earnestness to attain that 'one thing needful', that final good for which we came into the world. This is the aim and task of those who in a Christian spirit would have the working classes on the one hand suitably helped and, on the other, preserved against the contagion of socialism.

The social question is not primarily economic; it is primarily moral and religious. The duty of almsgiving, of the rich coming to the help of the poor and needy, according to the command of Our Lord, is reasserted, and the obligation of taking part in the efforts to better the social conditions of the working class.

¹ *The Pope and the People.*

The kind assistance is to be invited of those whose rank and wealth and superior culture carry with them more influence in the State. If this assistance is not given, scarcely anything can be effected of real avail towards the improvement which it is sought to introduce in the life of the people. Certainly, the path of improvement is better assured and more quickly traversed the more we have the co-operation of the well-to-do, with their wide opportunities of effectual aid. We would have them consider for themselves that they are not free to choose whether they will take up the cause of the poor or not: it is a matter of simple duty. Men live in a civil society not only for their own good, but also for the good of all; some are too poor to contribute their share to the common stock; those, therefore, who can, should contribute more generously. The extent of this obligation is in proportion to the amount of riches received; the larger it is, the stricter must be the account we shall have to render to God, who gave it to us.

Finally, the Pope lays down 'these five things', to be instilled into the souls of the masses by those who work among them for the betterment of their condition:

To beware of sedition, and of seditious persons, wherever found; to hold inviolate the rights of every one else; to show willingly due deference to their masters and do honest work; not to get a distaste for the life of the home, which is in many ways so fruitful in good; to attend especially to religion, and to seek in it their sure consolation amid the hardships of life.

The encyclicals on Church and State and on modern industrial conditions were the great contribution of Leo XIII towards determining the Attitude of the Catholic Church to Modern Civilization. But in other ways also his pontificate has its lessons. When he came to the pontifical throne he found a state of strained relations, even open conflict, between the Holy See and many countries of the civilized world. He openly proclaimed his intention of working for conciliation. He succeeded almost everywhere in finding a *modus vivendi* for the Catholic Church in the Modern State: except in Italy itself and in France, where he was faced by Governments growing more and more antagonistic to the Church, the Papacy, and religion.

In other spheres too he showed himself as having an appreciative understanding of the ideas of the modern mind; as in the enlightened step of throwing open to scholars the Vatican archives and proclaiming that history should be written as history, not as apologetics.

In all Leo XIII stands out as one of the great Popes of history. He died July 1903, aged ninety-three.

PIUS X

1903-1914

BORN in 1835 in Venetia of peasant stock, Pius X had passed his life as a country parish priest, then as Bishop of Mantua, until in 1893 he became Patriarch of Venice and Cardinal. A deeply religious man of intense personal piety, his pontificate was chiefly concerned with the internal affairs of the Catholic Church: the stamping out of Modernism, the codification of the Canon Law, the regulation and improvement of divine worship and, above all, the promoting of Eucharistic devotion and of a more frequent reception of Holy Communion; in all this he has left his stamp indelibly on Catholic life. But also, inevitably, in more than one way he was brought against the external problems that had so greatly occupied his predecessor.

In the first year of his reign, in view of controversies among Catholics, he explicitly endorsed the teachings of Leo XIII, reasserting the principles and rules he had laid down. A summary of Leo's teaching, under nineteen heads, was issued, and was ordered to be taken as the rule of conduct by all Catholic social workers.¹

In 1905 Pius X issued a letter of his own on 'Christian Social Action'.² Here he gives to the movement the name of 'Catholic Action', the name that has now come to be commonly in use. The Pope sets out the programme of Catholic Action:

To restore in Christ not only what directly depends on the divine mission of the Church to conduct souls to God, but also that which flows from this divine mission, viz., Christian civilization in each and every one of the elements which compose it.

The purpose is: to combat anti-Christian civilization by every just and lawful means, and to repair the grievous disorders which flow from it; to reinstate Jesus Christ in the family, the schools, and society; to re-establish the principle that human authority represents that of God; to take intimately to heart the interests of the people, especially those of the working and agricultural classes, not only by the inculcation of religion, but also by striving to dry their tears, to

¹ *The Pope and the People*, ed. 1929.

² *Ibid.* It is well worth reading.

soothe their sufferings, and by wise measures to improve their economic condition; to endeavour, consequently, to make public laws conformable to justice, and to amend or suppress those which are not so; finally, with a true Catholic spirit to defend and support the rights of God in everything, and the no less sacred rights of the Church.

But it must be observed that it is impossible at the present day to re-establish in the same form all the institutions which may have been useful, and were even the only efficient ones in past centuries, so numerous are the radical modifications which time has brought to society and to public life, and so many are the fresh needs which changing circumstances cease not to call forth. But the Church, throughout her long history, has ever shown that she possesses a wonderful power of adaptation to the varying conditions of civil society.

The programme of Catholic Action is 'the practical solution of the social question according to Christian principles'. In this work Catholic laymen are the principal supporters and promoters. They should avail themselves of those rights of citizenship which modern constitutions offer to all, in the power of influencing public opinion; and they should be ready to take their part in the political and municipal life of their country, co-operating in the material and civil well-being of the people; and, if so be, entering the Legislature.

This makes it incumbent on Catholics to prepare themselves seriously for political life in case they should be called to it, as well as for administrative life in parish and county councils. The Catholic should remember to be and to show himself in all circumstances a true Catholic, undertaking and fulfilling public duties with the firm and constant intention of promoting as much as he can the social and economic welfare of his country, especially of the people, according to the maxims of a distinctly Christian civilization.

Let each one strive by the efficacious propaganda of the press, by the living exhortation of speech, by direct help, to ameliorate within the limits of justice and charity the economic condition of the people, fortifying them against the invasion of Socialism.

Thus in the matter of Catholic action for social reform, and for bettering the condition of the labourers and for securing the

practical recognition of Christian principles in social and political life, Pius endeavoured to carry on vigorously the movement set going by Leo, encouraging above all Catholic laymen to take their part in the public life of the modern States. In the other great domain in which Leo had worked to bring about a right understanding with modern society, the relations between Church and State, the chief event of the pontificate was a conflict with the French Government. All through the time of Leo successive Governments in France had been growing progressively more and more anti-clerical, more and more hostile to the Church. At last in 1905 this hostility culminated in a 'Law of Separation', whereby the Concordat of 1801 was abrogated, and the complete separation of Church and State effected. The terms of the law amounted to a full laicizing of the Catholic religion, and the avowed object of its promoters was to 'de-Catholicize France'. In face of so grave a situation Pius X issued, on the 11th February 1906, a strong protest in the encyclical *Vehementer Nos*.¹ In his condemnation of the Law the Pope enunciates in clear language principles very germane to our purpose.

He rehearses previous hostile acts of French Governments: the sanctity and inviolability of Christian marriage outraged by legislative acts; the schools and hospitals laicized; the religious congregations dispersed and despoiled; public prayers abolished; all actions and emblems recalling the idea of religion banished from the courts, the schools, the army, the navy: all this amounted in reality to separation of Church and State.

He goes on:

That the State must be separated from the Church is a thesis absolutely false, a most pernicious error. Based on the principle that the State must not recognize any religious cult, it is guilty of a great injustice to God, to Whom we owe not only a private cult, but a public and social worship to honour Him. This thesis limits the action of the State to the pursuit of public prosperity during this life only, which is but the proximate object of political societies, and does not occupy itself with the ultimate object, which is man's

¹ English translation in *Tablet*, 24 Feb. 1906.

eternal happiness in the next life, and the civil power should aid man in procuring it. . . . The order established by God demands an harmonious agreement between the two Societies, Church and State. The civil and the religious society each exercises in its own sphere its authority over its subjects. But there are many things belonging to them in common, in which both Societies must have relations with one another. Remove the agreement between Church and State, and from these mixed matters will arise disputes which will become acute on both sides, and great confusion is sure to follow. Finally, this thesis inflicts great injury on society itself, for it cannot prosper when due place is not left for religion, which is the supreme rule and sovereign mistress in all questions touching the rights and the duties of man.

And he refers back to the declarations of Leo XIII.

The Pope denounces the Law of Separation in divers of its aspects:

The Concordat of 1801 was, like all treaties concluded between States, a bilateral contract binding on both parties to it. The same rule applied to it as to all international treaties, viz., the Law of Nations, which prescribes that it could not be annulled by one alone of the contracting parties; yet to-day the State by its sole authority abrogates the solemn pact it signed.¹ . . .

The injury inflicted on the Holy See by the unilateral abrogation of the Concordat is aggravated by the manner in which the State has effected this abrogation. In spite of all recognized diplomatic courtesy whereby the denouncing of a treaty should be previously notified to the other contracting party, no notification has been made to the Holy See, no indication whatsoever has been conveyed to it.

To examine the provisions of the Law of Separation:

When the State broke the links of the Concordat and separated itself from the Church, it ought to have left her her independence, and allowed her to enjoy peacefully that liberty, granted by the common law, which it pretended to assign to her. Nothing of the kind has been done. There are in the law many exceptional and odiously restrictive provisions, the effect of which is to place the

¹ The above quite clear utterance is of importance in view of a discussion by theologians and canonists on the nature of concordats; see article 'Concordat' in *Catholic Encyclopaedia*.

Church under the domination of the civil power. Such provisions are contrary to the constitution on which the Church was founded by Jesus Christ. The Law of Separation, in opposition to these principles, assigns the administration and the supervision of public worship not to the hierarchy divinely instituted by Our Saviour, but to an association formed of laymen, and considers it alone as having rights and responsibilities in the eyes of the law in all matters appertaining to religious worship. It is this association which is to have the use of the churches; which is to possess ecclesiastical property, both real and personal; which is to have at its disposition the residences of the bishops and priests and the seminaries; which is to administer the property, regulate collections and receive the alms and legacies destined for religious worship. As for the hierarchical body of Pastors, the law is completely silent. These associations of worship are placed in such a state of dependence on the civil authority that the ecclesiastical authority will have no power over them.

Nothing more hostile to the liberty of the Church than this Law could well be conceived: after proclaiming the liberty of public worship, it restricts its exercise by numerous exceptions; it despoils the Church of the internal regulation of the churches in order to invest the State with this function; it violates the rights of property of the Church; it suppresses and annuls all the pious foundations consecrated, with perfect legality, to divine worship; it transfers the resources furnished by Catholic liberality for the maintenance of Catholic schools and the working of various charitable associations to lay associations in which it would be idle to seek for a vestige of religion; it proclaims as property of the State the ecclesiastical edifices dating from before the Concordat; it suppresses the Budget of Public Worship, thus violating an engagement contracted in a diplomatic convention, and committing a grave injustice; for when the French Government assumed in the Concordat the obligation of supplying the clergy with a revenue sufficient for their decent subsistence and for the requirements of public worship, the concession was not a merely gratuitous one—it was an obligation assumed by the State to make restitution, at least in part, to the Church whose property had been confiscated during the first Revolution. And when the Roman Pontiff in this same Concordat bound himself and his successors, for the sake of peace, not to disturb the possessors of property thus taken from the Church, he did so only on one

condition: that the French Government should bind itself in perpetuity to endow the clergy suitably and to provide for the expenses of divine worship.

Such are the heads of protest picked out from the powerful indictment of the Law of Separation. In face of them the conclusion was inevitable:

Mindful of our Apostolic charge . . . We do, by virtue of the supreme authority which God has confided to Us, and on the grounds set forth above, reprove and condemn the law voted in France for the separation of Church and State, as deeply unjust to God Whom it denies, and as laying down the principle that the Republic recognizes no cult. We reprove and condemn it as violating the natural law, the law of Nations, and fidelity to treaties; as contrary to the divine constitution of the Church, to her essential rights, and to her liberty; as destroying justice and trampling under foot the rights of property which the Church has acquired by many titles, and by virtue of the Concordat. We reprove and condemn it as gravely offensive to the dignity of this Apostolic See, to Our own person, to the episcopate and to the clergy and all the Catholics of France. Therefore We protest solemnly and with all Our strength against the introduction, the voting, and the promulgation of this law, declaring that it can never be alleged against the imprescriptible rights of the Church.

This final declaration is but an application of the principle laid down by Leo XIII already cited, that a law must be in conformity with right reason and natural justice; if it is at variance with the law of God, natural or revealed, it is no law and has no binding force; if it calls upon an individual to do something against his conscience, as against the law of God, he is bound to disobey and even to resist: 'We must obey God rather than man.' The Pope's act was not an abrogation of the law; he expresses the hope that the French Government may in time come to see the wisdom and the necessity of abrogating it; and he calls on the French Catholics to unite in the endeavour to bring this about, presumably by constitutional means, for there is no suggestion of resistance. Meantime he declares that the Law of Separation can never be appealed to

as against rights of the Church that can never legally be taken away.

In France the encyclical had a surprisingly good press—i.e. on the part of the leading papers, neither Catholic nor anti-clerical. For instance the *Journal des Débats* described the encyclical as ‘a document noble in form and eloquent in language’.

This episode in France was the principal clash between Church and State in recent times. At first it looked as if the War was going to bring a solution; but such hopes seem to be dashed.

BENEDICT XV

1914-1922

BENEDICT XV was the Pope of the War. In place of considering problems regulating the attitude of the Catholic Church towards Modern Civilization, he had to be watching the threatening destruction of civilization in Europe. Three of his encyclicals, all touching on the War, are given in the latest edition of *The Pope and the People*, 1929. Benedict XV will surely get the blessing of peace-makers, for his great endeavour was to end the war and bring back peace to the world. His overtures were very notable and worthy of remembrance, though at the time they were little listened to. The first was in November 1914, after the first three months of war. The Pope, after an earnest appeal to the belligerent Powers to make a cessation of hostilities and have recourse to arbitration, declares that the manifold evils affecting society, and the war itself, are the result of the abandonment of Christian principle in the ruling of States and in social and economic life. After vividly depicting these evils he calls for a return to religion and ends with a final plea for peace.

Benedict put out more than one similar pleading, until finally in August 1917, when the war had run its course for three years, he made to the 'Heads of the Belligerent Powers' definite proposals that he hoped might afford the basis for a Peace. It was not surprising that at that date the Pope's proposals were based on the idea that the issue of the War was going to be indecisive, a stalemate; and so he proposed complete reciprocal condonation all round in regard to reparations for damages and costs, along with the evacuation of occupied territories in Belgium and France, and restoration of the German colonies; also a fair settlement of territorial questions, with a special word for the ancient Kingdom of Poland. As is known the belligerents were not prepared to accept the idea of an indecisive war, but fought on to a finish for another fifteen months, till the Central Empires were definitely vanquished and terms of peace could be dictated.

But certain of the Pope's principles were of permanent value, as forestalling principles accepted in the treaties as necessary for the peaceful settlement of Europe and of the world. Such was the lessening of armaments and the enforcing of arbitration:

First, the fundamental point should be that the moral force of right should replace the material force of arms. Hence a just agreement between all for the simultaneous and reciprocal diminution of armaments, according to rules and guarantees to be established, to the extent necessary and sufficient for the maintenance of public order in each State; then in place of armies, the establishment of arbitration on lines to be concerted, and with sanctions to be settled against any State that should refuse either to submit international questions to arbitration or to accept its awards.

The supremacy of right once established let every obstacle be removed from the channel of communication between peoples, by ensuring, under rules likewise to be laid down, the true freedom and common enjoyment of the seas. This would remove manifold causes of conflict, and would open fresh sources of prosperity and progress to all.

These ideas were all incorporated in the treaties, especially in President Wilson's famous 'Fourteen Points'; and for fourteen years now the statesmen of the world have been trying, and still are, to find a way of carrying them into effect.

Not in these proposals, but elsewhere, the Pope pointed out, as the most effective step in the path of disarmament, the abolition of conscription in all countries.

In a third encyclical in May 1920 the Pope, while rejoicing at the restoration of peace, gave proof of his political foresight in the following words:

This joy of Our paternal heart is disturbed by many bitter anxieties; for if in most places peace is in some sort established and treaties are signed, the germs of former enmities remain; and there can be no stable peace or lasting treaties, though made after long and difficult negotiations and duly signed, unless there be a return of mutual charity to appease hate and banish enmity.

This is the burden of the encyclical. How its forebodings have been fulfilled is only too evident. Towards its end the

Pope speaks definitely of the League of Nations, adumbrated in his Proposals above:

It is much to be desired that all States, putting aside mutual suspicion, should unite in one League, or rather a sort of Family of Peoples, calculated both to maintain their own independence and safeguard the order of human society. What specially calls for such an association of nations is the need generally recognized of making every effort to abolish or reduce the enormous burden of the military expenditure which States can no longer bear, in order to prevent these disastrous wars, or at least to remove the danger of them as far as possible. So would each nation be assured not only of its independence but also of the integrity of its territory within its just frontiers.

He concludes:

We conjure all, in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, to forget mutual differences and offences, and draw together in the bonds of Christian charity from which none are excluded and within which none are strangers. We fervently exhort all the Nations, under the inspiration of Christian benevolence, to establish a true peace among themselves and join together in an alliance which shall be just and therefore lasting.

Considering the perilous times of his pontificate it may be well doubted if any one could have fulfilled better than Benedict XV the role of Christian teacher and Christian statesman.

And yet the belligerents were greatly dissatisfied: each thought the Pope should have publicly intervened to condemn the acts and methods of the others; should have pronounced the War unjust on the part of the opposite side, and forbidden Catholics to serve on that side. Pacifists blamed him for not having stopped the War and forbidden Catholics to fight. Others looked to him to issue a number of dogmatic decrees on such points as rights of neutrals, contraband of war, right of search, continuous pursuit, effective blockade—as if such points of International Law could be brought under the notice of divine revelation! The Pope did, indeed, declare the bombing of undefended towns and the sinking of non-combatant ships on the one side, and on the other the blockade of the civilian

population of Germany, to be violations of Christian principles. But, of course, all such particular things are beyond the scope of his infallibility. There was a certain humour in the way in which Protestants and men of no religion were looking to the Pope to make infallible pronouncements on points that would be to their advantage in the war. Looking back, it may with justice be said that the claim of Benedict XV was well founded, and that he had maintained a correct impartial attitude of neutrality, befitting him who is the common Father of all Catholics, in all nations. And at the end when it appeared that the Peace was to be imposed, not an agreed one, he declared that he had no wish to take any part, and would not even if invited, in the making of the Treaties.

Benedict XV died, somewhat unexpectedly, at the beginning of 1922. His last public utterance, a Consistorial Allocution on the 21st November 1921, speaking of new concordats with the new States that had been formed as the result of the War, contained the following notable declaration:

Never will We allow that in such agreements anything shall find place that is contrary to the liberty and dignity of the Church; for it is most distinctly necessary in the interests of civil society itself, especially in times like these, that she should be able to live and prosper and enjoy the fullest liberty.

PIUS XI

1922—

THE new Pope, Achille Ratti, Archbishop of Milan, was by origin and formation in many ways a new departure in the Papacy. He came, not of the lesser Italian nobility like Pius IX, Leo, and Benedict; nor of the peasantry, like Pius X; but of the higher industrial middle class.

Born near Milan, a city with a long Ghibelline tradition, a learned man and scholar, a librarian and lover of books, a fearless Alpinist, who had proved himself during the War a capable diplomatist, intrepid in face of real personal danger, he was made Archbishop of Milan and Cardinal only a brief time before the death of Benedict. He was generally looked on as the favourite 'papabile', and after a short Conclave he emerged as Pius XI, February 1922. He was sixty-five years of age, but vigorous and tough for his years. He had proved himself a man of strong character and strong will, a thoroughly modern man to boot, and there was a general sense that the new pontificate was going to stand out as a landmark in the history of the Papacy—an anticipation amply verified.

ENCYCLICAL ON THE CONDITION OF SOCIETY

The first encyclical, issued at Christmas of his first year, was a survey of the post-war condition of society the world over: 'On the Troubles left by the European War'.¹ It exposes powerfully the evils existing and reasserts the great truth, that real remedies can be found only in a general return to God, to religion, to Christianity, to the Catholic Church, whose teaching and persuasion alone will be able to save the social order. It is an eloquent statement of the attitude of the Catholic Church in face of the existing menaces to our modern civilisation.

The picture drawn of the state of things four years after the War was still true ten years later. Though peace treaties had been signed there was no real peace, for 'it was written in

¹ *The Pope and the People*, ed. 1929.

public documents, not in the hearts of men, and the spirit of war reigns there still'. The old enmities, rivalries, mutual distrusts of the nations go on, and keep them on the old war-footing. In the different countries class hatred and class warfare are raging; industry, commerce, and the arts of peace are crippled; greed for money is unrestrained; family ties are weakened; the marriage bond freely broken; morality relaxed; unrest, discontent, insurrection rife; subversive doctrines preached; God and Jesus Christ forgotten; religion despised and abandoned wholesale; the Christian habit of life in great measure gone; 'so that human society does not seem to be progressing on the road to good, as is men's boast, but actually going back towards barbarism'. The root causes of these miseries were in action before the War:

Men have fallen away miserably from Jesus Christ; and that is the reason of the failure of all they do to repair the ills and save something from the wreckage. God and the Lord Christ have been removed from the conduct of public affairs; authority is now derived not from God, but from men, and it has come about that the very foundations of authority have been swept away, by removing the primary reason by which some have the right of rule, others the duty of obedience. It has, too, come to be held that not God, not the Lord Christ, is to rule over the constitution of the family, with the reduction of marriage to a mere civil contract. Lastly, God and Jesus Christ are banished from the education of the young.

The only remedy:

First of all it is necessary to bring peace into the hearts of men: no mere outward show of peace will serve: a peace is needed which goes right into and tranquillizes hearts, bringing about mutual kindness and love. Of this kind there is none other than the peace of Christ.

The principal cause of the disturbed conditions in which we live is that the power of law and respect for authority have been so greatly weakened ever since people came to deny that the origin of law and authority was in God.

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

If one considers what Christ taught and established on the dignity of the human person, on innocence of life, the duty of obedience,

the divine ordinance of human society, the sacrament of marriage, the sacred character of the Christian family; when one considers that these and other teachings were given by Him to the Church, to teach them to all peoples till the end of the world, then surely it will be seen how, and in what great measure, the Catholic Church can and must bring healing help for the pacification of the world.

Inasmuch as the Church is the one and only divinely constituted guardian and interpreter of these truths and precepts, in it alone is to be found true and inexhaustible capacity to cut out of human life and domestic and civil society the plague spot of materialism, and replace it by Christian spiritual discipline of the immortal souls of men; the capacity also to unite among themselves all classes of citizens, and indeed the whole people, in a sentiment of higher benevolence and in a kind of brotherhood. Wherefore, while it is for the Church alone, with the power it has from Christ to form rightly the hearts of men, so it alone can not only bring about the peace of Christ to-day, but also confirm it for the future. It alone, with divine mission and of divine command, teaches that all human actions, public or private, individual or collective, must conform to the eternal law of God.

When States and Peoples shall hold it as their sacred solemn duty, in home and foreign affairs, to obey the teachings and precepts of Jesus Christ, then at length they will enjoy good peace among themselves, there will be mutual trust, and they will be able to settle peacefully any controversies that may arise.

Any attempt of this nature that has been made hitherto has met with no, or at least, very little success. For there is no human institution which can impose on all peoples any code of common laws, adapted to the present times.

But there is a divine Institution able to safeguard the sanctity of the Law of Nations, an institution both belonging to and at the same time superior to all nations, endowed with supreme authority and venerable for the perfection of its teaching office: the Church of Christ; the one institution capable of undertaking so heavy a charge, from its divine mandate, from its own nature and constitution, from the greatness of its traditions and the majesty it has held through the centuries; which was not overcome by the storms of the War, but rather marvellously strengthened.

It follows that no real peace, certainly not the longed-for peace of

Christ, can exist unless the teaching, the commandments, the example of Christ are faithfully followed in public and private life; and so, in human society rightly constituted, the Church carrying out her divine mission could uphold these principles and commands of God Himself among individuals and in society as a whole.

All this is expressed in the short phrase: The Kingdom of Christ. Jesus Christ reigns in the minds of individuals through His teachings; He reigns in hearts through charity; He reigns in the whole life of man through obedience to His law and imitation of his example. He reigns in the family when that family, formed by the Sacrament of Christian Matrimony, keeps inviolate its sacred character; where the authority of the parents is modelled on the divine fatherhood, where the children emulate the example of the Child Jesus, and all the life is redolent of the holiness of the Family of Nazareth. The Lord Jesus reigns in civil society when the highest honour is given in it to God from Whom are seen to come authority and its rights, with the result that there may be found both guidance to rule and the duty and dignity of obedience; above all, when the Church itself is raised to that degree of dignity in which it was constituted by its Creator, a perfect society, teacher and head of all other societies, in such a way, of course, as not to diminish their power,—for all in their own order are legitimate,—but opportunely to perfect them as grace perfects nature, so that in very truth those societies may be of great help to man for the attainment of his supreme end, eternal happiness, and may bring happiness, too, and prosperity in this mortal life.

From this it is seen that there is no peace of Christ save in the reign of Christ, and that there is no surer way of seeking to establish peace than by installing the reign of Christ. So We shall strive with all Our strength to attain 'The Peace of Christ in the Reign of Christ', putting all Our trust in the grace of God, Who in raising Us to this supreme power gave promise of His aid for all time.

This somewhat long piece seemed none too long to cite, as a clear and powerful statement of the attitude, and the claim, and the warning of the Catholic Church in presence of the actual state of modern civilization; and of the only way of saving it from collapse into neo-paganism: namely, by a restoration of Christian principle. It will be recognized as an eloquent and high-minded reassertion of the principles laid down by Leo

1458 THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND MODERN CIVILIZATION
XIII, and it is the latest utterance of the religious Voice of the Catholic Church.

But there will be no question that the outstanding act of Pius XI in the politico-religious order was the Conciliation achieved of the Holy See and the Kingdom of Italy.

CONCILIATION WITH THE KINGDOM OF ITALY

From the Treaty of Vienna, 1815, up to 1860, Italy had been partitioned between seven distinct sovereignties. The Italian movement called 'Risorgimento' aimed at uniting Italy under a single sovereignty; and this was achieved in 1861, when Victor-Emmanuel, King of Sardinia (that is, the Island and Piedmont) was proclaimed King of Italy. The unification had been carried out by a process of conquest and of forcible annexation; and among such annexations were the hereditary States of the Church, except Rome and the Patrimony, or territory immediately round Rome: these remained to the Pope, under the protection of a French army of occupation. In 1870, on the withdrawal of the French army, Italian troops took possession of Rome and it was declared part of the Kingdom of Italy. The annexations of the Papal States were acts of sheer spoliation in defiance of all Law of Nations. In 1860 Pius IX made protests, refusing to acknowledge the annexations, but went on ruling the small dominion that remained to him; but on the taking of Rome in 1870 he emphasized his protest by shutting himself up in the Vatican, refusing to consider any kind of accommodation with the Italian State, or in any way to recognize the seizure of Rome as *fait accompli*. To keep up this protest the Popes for sixty years never left the Vatican precincts. Such an attitude of uncompromising and dignified protest was the only one possible for Pius IX, the monarch dispossessed of his dominions in violation of all right and law. And it was maintained at first as a matter of course by Leo XIII. But as the long pontificate wore on, the word now and then went round of a desire on the part of the Pope to find some solution of the Roman Question, some form of conciliation with the Kingdom of Italy. The ever increasingly aggressive anti-clericalism of successive Italian

Parliaments and Governments, and their open hostility to the Church and the Papacy, rendered any such tentatives impracticable. But the state of things was a bad one for religion in Italy; it was a divorce of religion and patriotism, most trying to the multitudes who wished to be at once good Catholics and good Italians. Italian Catholics were forbidden to take part in political elections to the Italian Parliament, either as candidates or as voters. This abstention meant that the anti-clerical, anti-religious, and also the revolutionary elements had an open field, with the result that the Parliaments and Governments were becoming more and more subversive religiously and politically.

When Pius X came to the throne a change began to take place; the prohibition on Catholics voting at elections was gradually relaxed, with the result that the texture of the Parliament became less hostile; and even a small but growing group of Catholic deputies began to form. On the big question of Conciliation Pius X devised a new formula for the claim of the Holy See: 'The Pope must be not only really independent, but must be seen to be independent.' This formula was adopted by Benedict XV. He also completely removed the prohibition on taking part in parliamentary elections, and a political party of Catholic complexion, the 'Partito Popolare', was formed, which in 1919 returned a hundred deputies to the Legislature, and had a notable effect on the public religious life of the nation.¹

In his first encyclical, already quoted, Pius XI ended on a note that seemed prophetic of adjustment:

Rome became at length the Capital of the whole world, the seat of a sovereignty or divine principality which overleaps the confines of all peoples and nations, embraces all peoples and all nations. But the inviolable right arising from the universality of the Faithful of Christ spread throughout the world requires that this sacred sovereignty shall not appear to be subject to any power, but must be an absolutely independent sovereignty and must manifestly appear as such.

¹ The whole subject of this section has been dealt with fully and impartially by the Rev. Humphrey Johnson in *The Papacy and the Kingdom of Italy*, 124 pages (Sheed & Ward, 1926).

The guarantees which for so many centuries had duly served the divine plan to safeguard the liberty of the Pontiff, and properly to replace which neither the divine Providence has shown, nor the wisdom of man has found, similarly adequate means; those guarantees have been thrown down. We renew the protests which Our Predecessors made for the defence of the rights and dignity of the Apostolic See.

For the rest, Italy will never have to fear hurt from the Holy See. The Roman Pontiff will always be able to say with the Prophet: *I have thoughts of peace and not of affliction*; of true peace, and allied therefore with justice. It will be for the almighty and merciful God to bring about that this most happy day shall at last dawn, fruitful of all blessings for the pacification of Italy and of the whole world. But, that it may not be in vain, all right-minded men must assiduously co-operate.

These words seemed to indicate that the Holy Father had in mind the possibility and the hope of accommodation. Still for seven years nothing was heard. The new formula, 'Securing the independence of the Holy See', came to take the place of the old one, 'Restoration of the Temporal Power'; for that the unification of Italy should be undone had generally come to be looked on as a thing impracticable, unthinkable, undesirable.

During these first seven years of Pius XI a great change had come over the political and social life of Italy. In October 1922 took place the Fascist March on Rome, whereby Fascism was established as the ruling power in Italy, under the dictatorship, it may be called, of that extraordinary man, Benito Mussolini. Under this régime the socialistic and anarchical elements were crushed; the old anti-clerical liberalism and freemasonry were driven underground; loyalty to Country and to King became the watchword; and the Catholic religion was recognized as the religion of the great majority of Italians, and therefore brought back in great measure into the public life of the country.

THE LATERAN TREATY

This was an atmosphere much more favourable for conciliation. Still nothing was heard, until on an early day in February 1929 the news came, like a bolt from the blue, Cardinal

Gasparri, the Secretary of State, assembling the Ambassadors and Ministers accredited to the Holy See, and communicating to them that a Treaty and a Concordat had been negotiated, that would be signed on the 11th. And so in the Lateran Palace, on the 11th February 1929, the Lateran Treaty and the Concordat between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Italy were signed by the plenipotentiaries, Cardinal Gasparri and Signor Mussolini, and, after acceptance by the Italian Parliament, were duly signed by the Pope and the King.

The treaty concerns our subject less than the concordat. Suffice it to say that a territory about a mile square, embracing St. Peter's and the Vatican, was constituted the 'City of the Vatican'; over it the full property, exclusive dominion, and sovereign jurisdiction of the Holy See is recognized, in such wise that no interference by the Italian Government will be possible, and there will be no authority other than the authority of the Holy See. The Holy Father spoke of it as 'a Treaty which recognizes and, as far as human powers go, assures to the Holy See a true, proper, and real territorial sovereignty'. On his side, the Pope declares the 'Roman Question' definitely and irrevocably settled, and therefore eliminated; and recognizes the Kingdom of Italy under the dynasty of the House of Savoy, with Rome as the Capital of the Italian State. Italy recognizes the State of the Vatican City under the sovereignty of the Supreme Pontiff; it will in every case be considered a neutral and inviolable territory. The Holy See will stand aloof from all temporal controversies of other States and from international congresses for such purposes, unless the contending parties make a joint appeal for its pacific mission; but it reserves the right of trying to make its moral and spiritual influence prevail.

Finally, all laws or acts contrary to the Treaty are abrogated; by this a whole series of anti-clerical and anti-religious laws of the Italian Parliaments, extending through seventy years, was swept away.

Fuller explanations of the whole transaction of treaty and concordat in addresses of the Holy Father himself and in the speech whereby Mussolini presented to the Parliament the Bill

for its approval, are to be found in Catholic Truth Society tracts, *How the Roman Question was settled* and *The Sovereignty of the Holy See*.

The Holy Father indicated that he could, for the asking, have had a larger territory than the Vatican City; but he deliberately chose the minimum, the least that could be the real symbol of territorial sovereignty, that there might be no hindrance to the religious governing of the Universal Church; also that he refused any kind of international guarantee, preferring to trust to the good faith of Italy. In both cases the courage and wisdom of his decision must be applauded. Nor should the great political courage of Signor Mussolini be forgotten; it was no easy thing to reverse the Italian policy of sixty years. There was some foolish boasting in the Catholic press that the treaty secured what Pius IX and Leo XIII had stood for; it did not; the actual solution, it may safely be said, did not come into their mental horizon; Pius X may have envisaged some such settlement.

THE CONCORDAT WITH ITALY

The Pope said more than once that the treaty was in great measure for the sake of the concordat, and that without the concordat the treaty would not have been made, so intimately do the two hang together. Of the concordat he said that, 'if not actually *the* very best possible, it certainly is to be reckoned among the best'. This judgement gives it an especial interest for our subject, Italy being essentially a modern State, one of the typical representatives of modern civilization; so that in the concordat, thus pronounced by the most authentic Voice to be a very good one, we have a working example of the attitude of the Catholic Church to modern civilization on the political side, in the mutual relations of the Church and the modern State in a Catholic country.

It will be to the purpose, therefore, to examine in some detail the provisions of this, the nearest approach, and a good one, to ideal relationship of the Church and the modern State. The provisions will be grouped under the chief headings. And Signor Mussolini's explanations from the side of the State, made

when recommending to Parliament the Bill approving of treaty and concordat, will be used.¹

1. *Legal Position of the Catholic Church.*

The first article of the Constitution given in 1848 to the Kingdom of Sardinia had laid down that the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion is the only religion of the State. This had long been a dead letter; the first article of the Lateran Treaty revived and reasserted it, and the concordat interprets it as meaning that the Catholic Church is assured the free exercise of spiritual power, the free public exercise of worship, and its jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters. Also, in consideration of the sacred character of the Eternal City as the Centre of the Catholic world, the Government will prevent in Rome everything that could be in contrast with that character.

In the speech recommending the concordat to Parliament Mussolini said:

As almost the entire Italian population is Catholic, as Catholicism is the glory and the most ancient tradition of Italy, the State, which is the juridical organization of the Italian Nation, representing her spirit and inheriting her tradition, is, and of necessity must be, Catholic.

In a Catholic State it is right that the Catholic Church should enjoy a juridical position of special regard, if not of privilege in the old sense of the word. The principle of separation between Church and State, as understood by the old liberal doctrine, is abandoned. The Concordat establishes a régime of concord and collaboration, not of fusion, between Church and State.

Religion is no longer regarded as a matter concerning the individual conscience, in which the State should take no interest, and the State is no longer regarded as agnostic in religious affairs, and indifferent to all creeds. Though the Catholic is the religion of the State, full liberty is allowed to all and the equality of citizens before the law, whatever religion they may profess, is not, and could not be, in any way affected. The free practice will be guaranteed, by a Bill to be introduced, of any creed not contrary to public order

¹ The speech, well worth reading, is given in full in the Catholic Truth Society pamphlet, *The Sovereignty of the Holy See.*

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and good citizenship; so that a man's religious confession has nothing to do with his civil and political rights as an Italian.

Such freedom of worship, though not mentioned in the concordat, must have been understood as an element of the settlement.

2. *Appointment of Bishops.*

This appertains to the Holy See, the royal 'exequatur' and 'placet' being given up.

But, before appointment, the proposed name will be submitted confidentially to the Government, to make sure there is no objection on political grounds.

Before taking possession of their dioceses bishops will take, at the hands of the Head of the State, an oath of fidelity to the Italian State and to the King and Government established by law; not to take part in any plot or movement against the State or public order; and to enforce the same on their clergy.

The appointment of parish priests rests with the bishop, but the names are similarly to be communicated beforehand to the Government.

All those appointed to any benefices in Italy must be Italian citizens, and must speak Italian.

3. *Freedom of Communication.*

The Holy See is secured the right of free communication with the Italian bishops and clergy and with the whole world, without any interference of the Government; also the bishops are free to issue pastoral letters, ordinances, and so forth for the spiritual government of the Faithful.

Collections may be made in the churches and at the doors, without interference of the Government.

4. *Exemptions of the Clergy.*

The clergy are exempt from military service, except in the event of a general mobilization.

Ecclesiastical students and novices of religious orders can postpone the obligation of military service till their twenty-

sixth year. If by that time they are ordained in Holy Orders (subdiaconate) or have taken religious vows, they are exempt, except in the event of a general mobilization. Then priests will be used as chaplains to the forces, clerics for ambulance and hospital work; priests exercising cure of souls will be exempt from service.

There is to be a Military Archbishop, with jurisdiction over the chaplains, the troops, and the religious (nuns) serving in military hospitals.

The clergy are exempt from serving on juries; they cannot be required by magistrates to give information concerning persons or matters that have come to their knowledge through their sacred ministry.

The income which clergy receive by reason of their office is exempt from taxation in the same measure as that of civil servants.

5. *'Privilegium Fori' or exemption from Civil Courts.*

This old privilege of clergy is abandoned; the concordat simply says that, in case a priest or religious is brought before a magistrate for a crime committed, the Procurator of the King shall immediately inform the Bishop and shall promptly notify him of the decision of the examining magistrate, and of the sentence, should one be given, whether in the first instance or on appeal.

The arrest is to be carried out with due regard to the clerical state; and, if condemned, clerics should, if possible, undergo punishment in places distinct from laymen.

The State will uphold the sentences of the ecclesiastical authority on delinquent ecclesiastics; priests or religious suspended or apostate cannot hold any State office, or wear the ecclesiastical dress.

6. *Religious Orders and Associations.*

The 'Juridical Personality' is recognized of religious associations, with or without vows, approved by the Holy See, which have their principal house in Italy and are of Italian citizens;

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also of Italian provinces of religious associations; also of houses which by the rule of their Order have the power of acquiring and possessing property; also the Generalizia and Procura even of foreign religious associations.

Thus freedom of association is fully guaranteed.

7. *Ecclesiastical Property and Finances.*

For the tranquillizing of consciences the Holy See will grant full condonation to all those who, as a result of the Italian laws appropriating Church property, are now in possession of ecclesiastical goods. (The like provision is found in all concordats since that of 1801.)

The administration of Church property is in the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities; but the State reserves the right of intervention in the investing of the capital of benefices, and in all matters that exceed mere administration; in particular the authorizing any purchase of property.

8. *Marriage.*

The Italian State, desirous of restoring to the institution of marriage, which is the basis of the family, that dignity which is in keeping with the Catholic traditions of the Italian people, recognizes the Sacrament of Marriage as legal when administered according to Canon Law. So that in Catholic marriages no civil ceremony is any longer required by the State; only the banns have to be published both in the parish church and in the communal office, and the parish priest has to send a certificate of the marriage for entry in the public register.

In his speech Mussolini explained that the laws concerning marriage will permit not Catholics only, but also members of other religions admitted by the State, to celebrate marriage before the ministers of their faith; and those who do not wish for any religious ceremony may be married according to the civil rite.

Cases of nullity are to be tried by the ecclesiastical courts, and the decision will be accepted by the State and given its civil effects. The Holy See consents that cases of judicial separation

be judged by the civil court. The question of divorce did not arise: no Italian Government, even in the heyday of anti-clericalism, had been able to get a divorce bill through Parliament.

9. *Education.*

Italy considers, as the foundation and the crown of public education, the teaching of Christian Doctrine in accord with the Catholic tradition. Therefore it agrees that the religious instruction now given in the public elementary schools shall have a further development in the secondary schools, according to a programme to be agreed on between the Holy See and the State. The teachers of religion must have a certificate of fitness from the bishop of the diocese; and the revoking of the certificate will deprive the teacher of the capacity of giving religious instruction. The text-books used for religious instruction are to be only those approved by ecclesiastical authority.

In secondary schools maintained by religious bodies the laws in regard to State examinations are of obligation.

10. *'Catholic Action' and Clergy's Abstention from Politics.*

The Italian State recognizes the organizations dependent on the Italian Catholic Action, in so far as, according to the mind of the Holy See, they carry on their activities outside of any political party and in immediate dependence on the Hierarchy of the Church, for the diffusion and application of Catholic principles.

The Holy See will take occasion of the stipulations of this Concordat to renew to every ecclesiastic and religious in Italy the prohibition against giving their name or their active support to any political party whatsoever.

A word is necessary on 'Catholic Action', on account of grave trouble that arose shortly after. 'Catholic Action' was the name finally given by Pius X and Benedict XV to the organized efforts so strongly urged by Leo XIII and themselves, on the part of all Catholics, and above all the laity, to bestir themselves by taking part in the public life of their country, in order to

make the influence of Christian and Catholic principles felt in the legislation of the social conditions of the different countries of the world. There was, in divers ways in divers countries, a great response to the call of the Popes for such action on the part of Catholics. Guilds, associations, federations, leagues, organizations of many kinds were set on foot, charitable, social, cultural, educational, even athletic, under Catholic religious auspices, all aiming at promoting Catholic life and the spread of Christian and Catholic ideas and principles in the sphere of public life. As the concordat rightly says, the Popes had insisted that Catholic Action, in whatever shape, should be religious in its purpose, and should not take part in any secular politics as such; also that it should always be in dependence on, and under control of, the Bishop of the diocese.

Such organizations of Catholic Action had had a great vogue in Italy before the coming of Fascism; and among its principal forms of activity was a widespread system of Catholic troops of Boy Scouts; also clubs of young men wherein athletic sports and games were the attraction, but the religious purpose was kept up. When the Fascist régime obtained political power over Italy it set up similar organizations: the *Balilla* and the *Avanguardisti*, not anti-religious or anti-Catholic, but frankly political in character and outlook, aiming at bringing up a race of Fascist citizens for the State. Enrolment in the *Balilla* was sought to be made obligatory on boys, and this would have spelled the end of the Scout Catholic organizations. Controversy arose and negotiations were entered on, which resulted in the provision of the concordat cited above. It was one of its features that pleased the Holy Father most, for, like his predecessors, he looked on Catholic Action as one of the chief forces for the restoration of Christian principles and of religion.

His own summing up of the concordat is worthy of record:

When the jurisdiction of the Church as a moral person is recognized with all its rights, when the Sacrament of Marriage takes its proper place in legislation and in civil life, when the juridical personality of religious communities is acknowledged, and when to religious education its proper mission and dignity are assigned,

when the Catholic Action is given its legitimate position,—then truly we can thank the Lord with all our hearts.

It has been right to set out in such detail the terms of the concordat between Church and State in a Catholic country, declared by the Pope to be 'if not actually the very best possible, certainly to be reckoned among the best'.

It may seem that Pope and Church got more from the concordat and treaty than the King and State. In a way this is so. But the King and the Kingdom secured the incalculable benefit of the full validation of the King's title as Sovereign of Rome and the old States of the Church. His title to Lombardy, to Tuscany, to Naples, by right of conquest, no longer was contested by the former rulers, and was recognized without question. But so long as the Popes kept alive their protest, no matter how little any one might think the revival of the old Temporal Power a matter within the range of practical politics, there continued an uneasy sense of a flaw in the King's title of King of Italy, and a wound in the United Italian Kingdom, that did trouble the conscience of very many Italian Catholics in the matter of harmonizing their loyalties to religion and to country. And so the condonation for the spoliation of 1860 and 1870, and the resignation of all claims, and the elimination of the Roman Question, and the recognition of the King as Sovereign of Italy with Rome as capital, all save the minute Vatican City, gave the final touch to the Kingdom of United Italy, and relieved the consciences of Italian Catholics from all scruples as to the legitimacy of the kingdom, so removing what was a real religious trouble. Thus the Pope spoke of the joy it gave him to receive from Italian Catholics the thankful message, 'Now we shall begin again to fulfil our Easter Duties'. And so he said that 'the region of religious pacification, of the pacification of souls and of consciences, was the highest point of view, rather than the civil and political accord of a country, great and inestimable treasure though that is'. He summed it all up in the telling sentence:

Therefore it is with the deepest satisfaction that We are persuaded that We have given God back to Italy, and Italy to God.

CONFLICT WITH THE 'FASCIST STATE'

In 1931 this happy settlement experienced a disturbance that threatened to lead to a serious clash, and gave rise to ugly outbreaks of anti-clerical hooliganism in many parts of Italy, and in Rome itself. The trouble arose over the 'Catholic Action'; asserting that the activities were really political rather than religious, and were directed against the Fascist régime, the Government, by a sudden action of the police, in a single night closed and dissolved all Catholic Action circles of boys and girls and young people, even the world-wide religious institution of Children of Mary for young women. The untruth of the charge of political propaganda was proved by the Pope himself in an encyclical of the 29th June 1931.¹ Though there was wild talk in extreme Fascist circles of denouncing the Concordat, wiser counsels prevailed, and a compromise was effected at the beginning of September that defined more closely the nature and activities of Catholic Action.² Peace was cemented some months later when Pius XI received in private audience Signor Mussolini—a meeting of two strong men.

The episode has been thus introduced here, because the charge of political propaganda on the part of the Catholic Action was but a pretext of the Government: the real question at issue was the Fascist idea of the 'totalitarian State', the theory that the State claims complete possession of all citizens, and above all, the undivided formation of the Young. Such sayings as these of Mussolini himself make the thing quite clear: 'Everything within the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State'; again, 'From the day when a child is old enough to learn, he belongs to the State and the State alone. Any *partage* is unthinkable.' In the encyclical the Pope condemns as a reversion to pagan ideas of the State

the resolve to monopolize completely the young, from their tenderest years up to manhood and womanhood, for the exclusive

¹ *Concerning Catholic Action* (Catholic Truth Society). Any one wishing to understand the question at issue will do well to read this powerful pronouncement, a model of indignant but restrained and dignified protest, and of clear assertion of Catholic principle.

² See *Tablet*, 12 Sept. 1931, p. 341.

advantage of a party and of a régime based on an ideology which clearly resolves itself into a true, a real, pagan worship of the State,—the ‘Statolatry’, which is no less in contrast with the natural rights of the family than it is in contradiction with the supernatural rights of the Church.

A conception of the State which makes the rising generations belong to it entirely, without any exception, from the tenderest years up to adult life, cannot be reconciled by a Catholic either with Catholic doctrine or with the natural rights of the family.

It will be felt that this latest pronouncement on Church and State is but a fresh illustration of the historical truth that Popes, in defending the liberty of the Church, have been at the same time defending the political and civil liberties of all citizens against over-weening usurpations of the State.

The matters over which practical difficulties are most likely to arise in these days between the Church and the Modern State are education and marriage: the trouble just spoken of with the Fascist State in Italy was really a matter of education. On each of these momentous questions pronouncements on the position and claim of the Catholic Church were promulgated by Pius XI in encyclicals weighty in doctrine and in amplitude.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

The encyclical *Divini illius Magistri*, on ‘The Christian Education of Youth’, was issued at the end of 1929, a year after the treaty and concordat, no doubt in view of difficulties already beginning to show themselves in the attitude of the Italian Government towards the educational side of Catholic Action. The burden of the teaching may be summarized:

Man is by nature born into the two natural societies, the Family and the State; and Christians by baptism are born also into the supernatural society of the Church. These three societies have each their part in the education of the Christian.

The Family: In the first place, the Family: it holds directly from the Creator the mission and hence the right to educate its offspring, a right inalienable because inseparably joined to the strict obligation; a right anterior to any right whatsoever of civil society and of the State, and therefore inviolable on the part of any power on earth.

They are in open contradiction with the common sense of mankind, who maintain that the children belong to the State before they belong to the Family, and that the State has an absolute right over their education. The reason they give is untenable, namely, that man is born a citizen, and hence belongs primarily to the State; for before being a citizen man must exist, and existence does not come from the State, but from the parents.

The State: To define the right and the duty of the State in education:

The family is an imperfect society, since it has not in itself all the means for its own complete development; whereas civil society is a perfect society, having in itself all the means for its peculiar end, which is the temporal well-being of the community; and so, in this respect, that is, in view of the common good, it has pre-eminence over the family, which finds its own suitable temporal perfection precisely in civil society.

The true just rights of the State in regard to the education of its citizens have been conferred upon civil society by the Author of Nature Himself in virtue of the authority it possesses to promote the common temporal welfare, which is precisely the purpose of its existence; the function of the civil authority residing in the State is to protect and to foster, but by no means to absorb, the family and the individual, or to substitute itself for them.

Therefore it is the duty of the State to protect in its legislation the prior rights of the family, as regards the Christian education of its offspring.

It also belongs to the State to protect the rights of the child itself when the parents are found wanting either physically or morally in this respect, whether by default, incapacity, or misconduct; this belongs to the vigilance and administrative care of the State in view of the common good.

It pertains to the State, in view of the common good, to promote in various ways the education and instruction of youth.

It should encourage and assist the initiative and the activity of the Church and the Family; and it should supplement their work whenever this falls short of what is necessary, even by means of its own schools and institutions.

Over and above this, the State can exact, and take measures to secure that all its citizens have the necessary knowledge of their civic and political duties, and a certain degree of physical, intellec-

tual, and moral culture, which, considering the conditions of our times, is really necessary for the common good.

The State should respect the inherent rights of the Church and of the Family concerning Christian education, and moreover have regard for distributive justice. Accordingly, unjust and unlawful is any monopoly, educational or scholastic, which physically or morally forces families to make use of government schools, contrary to the dictates of their Christian conscience, or contrary even to their legitimate preferences.

Church: The Family and the State are societies established by God, but in the natural order.

The third society into which man is born when through baptism he receives the divine life of grace, is the Church; a society of the supernatural order and of universal extent; a perfect society, because it has in itself all the means required for its own end, which is the eternal salvation of mankind; hence it is supreme in its own domain.

Education belongs pre-eminently to the Church, by reason of a double title in the supernatural order, conferred exclusively upon her by God Himself: absolutely superior to any other title in the natural order. She has inherent in herself an inviolable right to freedom in teaching. She is independent of any sort of earthly power, as well in the origin as in the exercise of her mission as educator; not merely in regard to her proper end and object—the salvation of souls—but also in regard to the means necessary and suitable to attain that end.

With full right the Church promotes letters, science, art, in so far as necessary or helpful to Christian education, in addition to her work for the salvation of souls; founding and maintaining schools, universities, and institutions adapted to every branch of learning and degree of culture.

Nor may even physical culture, as it is called, be considered outside the range of her supervision, for the reason that it also is a means which may help or harm Christian education.

It is the inalienable right, as well as the indispensable duty, of the Church to watch over the entire education of her children, in all institutions, public or private, not merely in regard to the religious instruction there given, but in regard to every other branch of learning and every regulation in so far as religion and morality are concerned.

The extent of the Church's mission in the field of education is such as to embrace every nation, without exception, according to

the command of Christ: 'Teach ye all nations'; and there is no power on earth that may lawfully oppose her or stand in her way.

In the first place, it extends over all the Faithful. Her mission to educate extends to those outside the Fold, seeing that all men are called to enter the Kingdom of God and reach eternal salvation.

In the work of instruction of youth, the teacher, whether public or private, has no absolute right of his own, but only such as has been communicated to him by others.

Every Christian child or youth has a strict right to instruction in harmony with the teaching of the Church. Whoever disturbs the pupil's Faith in any way does him grave wrong, and abuses the trust placed in him.

Every form of pedagogic naturalism which in any way excludes or weakens supernatural Christian formation in teaching of youth is false. Every method of education founded, wholly or in part, on the denial or forgetfulness of original sin, and of grace, and relying on the sole powers of human nature, is unsound.

Public promiscuous 'sex-instruction' is condemned; also 'co-education' of boys and girls. The so-called 'neutral' or 'lay' school, from which religion is excluded, is contrary to the fundamental principles of education. The frequenting of non-Catholic 'mixed' schools, which are open to Catholics and non-Catholics alike, is forbidden for Catholic children, and can be tolerated only under special circumstances and with the Bishop's leave. Neither can Catholics admit that other type of mixed school in which separate religious instruction is provided, but the pupils receive other lessons in common with non-Catholic pupils from non-Catholic teachers.

Only in a fully Catholic country could the principles and ideals of the encyclical be carried into exercise. Even in Italy under the concordat, Mussolini in the speech to Parliament explained that, in the State schools, only in regard to religious instruction would the ecclesiastical authorities have power of supervision or interference. But the Pope keeps in view countries of mixed religions:

Let no one say that, in a nation where there are different religious beliefs, it is impossible to provide for public instruction otherwise than by neutral or mixed schools. In such a case it becomes the

duty of the State to leave free scope to the initiative of the Church and the Family, while giving them such assistance as justice demands. This is done in some countries of different religious denominations. There the school legislation respects the rights of the Family, and Catholics are free to follow their own system of teaching in schools that are entirely Catholic. Nor is distributive justice lost sight of, as is evidenced by the financial aid granted by the State to the several schools demanded by the Families.

In other countries of mixed creeds the Catholics support Catholic schools for their children entirely at their own expense. If such education is not aided from public funds, as distributive justice requires, certainly it may not be opposed by any civil authority ready to recognize the rights of the family, and the irreducible claims of legitimate liberty.¹

Finally, the end and object of Christian education is to form the true Christian:

The true Christian, the product of Christian education, is the supernatural man who thinks, judges, and acts, constantly and consistently, in accordance with right reason illuminated by the supernatural light of the example and teaching of Christ.

The true Christian does not renounce the activities of this life, he does not stunt his natural faculties; but he develops and perfects them by co-ordinating them with the supernatural. He thus ennobles what is merely natural in life, and secures for it new strength in the material and temporal order, no less than in the spiritual and eternal.

It seemed to be essential, when treating of the Catholic Church and modern civilization, thus to bring out at some length the pith of this weighty encyclical of fifty pages, on that subject which, in greater or less degree, causes friction and variance between Church and State in all countries, Catholic and other. The sheer theory and principle on which the Church's claim and attitude are based is proclaimed with unfaltering intransigence; but the encyclical itself, and still more the concordats, recognize that in practice modifications will be inevitable.

¹ The great coryphaeus of English doctrinaire Liberalism at the middle of the last century, John Stuart Mill, in his tract on *Liberty*, laid it down as an axiom of true Liberty that the father has the right to have his children brought up in his own religion.

CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE

Here we come to the great outstanding clash between the Catholic Church and the State. In all non-Catholic countries and, it has to be said, in Catholic countries too, save Italy, the laws of the State provide for divorce with sanction for re-marriage. The Catholic Church will not recognize divorce from the bond of matrimony, but declares firmly that a marriage validly contracted and consummated cannot be dissolved by any power on earth, for any reason whatsoever.¹ Therefore the Catholic Church, be the laws of the State what they may be, resolutely refuses to recognize the marriages of divorced persons, so long as the other party is alive. Over this, serious trouble between Church and State arises at times, the Church not recognizing marriages that are recognized as legal by the State.

Moreover, the Catholic Church has laws and regulations governing the validity of marriages: so has the State; every marriage, to ensure legality, has to be made in the presence of and to be witnessed by the accredited representative of the State, be it clergyman or civil functionary, and to be registered by him in the public register. If the State insists on this as the condition of its recognition of marriages, it is not unreasonable for the Church to insist, as a condition of the validity of the marriages of Catholics, that they be contracted in the presence of her representative, the parish priest or his delegate.

For the Catholic Church, marriage is not only a contract between the parties, but Christian marriage is also one of the Sacraments of the New Law instituted by Christ. As the Sacrament, Christian marriage falls so much under the power and duty of the Church that Leo XIII declared it 'plainly absurd to maintain that even the very smallest fraction of such power

¹ It ought not to be necessary to emphasize the difference between divorce and nullity. A degree of nullity means that the marriage has been proved to have been invalid from the beginning, and therefore no marriage. The ecclesiastical law and the civil both recognize causes of nullity; and the parties, not being really married, are free to contract marriage. In view of widespread misstatements, it may be well to assert what is a fact, namely, that the official statistics show that decrees of nullity granted by the Catholic Church for the whole world are a negligible number compared with the divorces in England alone.

has been transferred to the Civil Ruler'; but in regard to the merely civil effects of marriage, the competence of the civil power is recognized by the Church, and that such causes pertain to the civil magistrate.¹

And so it is not surprising that Popes should deal exhaustively with the subject of Christian marriage; all the more so in face of the widespread tendencies of recent times to lower traditional Christian ideals on the indissolubility and the sanctities of marriage. Leo XIII in 1880 issued one of his most weighty encyclicals, *Arcanum Divinae*, on this subject.² And fifty years later, in December 1930, Pius XI issued his no less weighty encyclical *Casti Connubii*.³ It is still longer than that on Christian education, sixty-seven pages; but it will not be necessary to treat it at the same length. But this matter of marriage does vitally enter into the attitude of the Catholic Church towards certain aspects of modern civilization.

The encyclical is in three parts. The first draws a picture of the nature, the dignity, the holiness, and the beauty of Christian married life, lived according to the mind of Christ, by good Christians, faithful to the high ideals and the sacred duties of the state of holy matrimony. This portion, and indeed the whole encyclical, cannot be too strongly recommended to married people for spiritual reading, as an eloquent and persuasive instruction and exhortation on living in accordance with the duties, the ideals, the virtues, belonging to their state.

The Pope goes on to condemn and denounce practices which history shows to be parasites of over-civilization, civilization that has passed its high-water mark and is on the wane. He condemns the teaching that marriage was not instituted by God, the Author of Nature, nor raised by Christ to the dignity of a Sacrament. He condemns the idea of 'experimental' or 'companionate' unions; these and other ideas are advocated as part of modern civilization; they are no part of 'culture', 'but are simply hateful abominations which reduce our cultured nations to the barbarous standards of savage peoples'.

¹ Codex of Canon Law, 1016, 1961.

² *The Pope and the People*.

³ Catholic Truth Society.

He speaks with the like plainness of contraceptual practices, so actively advocated in many quarters:

No reason, however grave, may be put forward by which anything intrinsically against nature may become conformable to nature and morally good. Since, therefore, the conjugal act is destined primarily by nature for the begetting of children, those who, in exercising it, deliberately frustrate its natural power and purpose sin against nature and commit a deed which is shameful and intrinsically vicious.

There followed a veiled but evident reference to the Lambeth pronouncement of 1930:

Since, openly departing from the uninterrupted Christian tradition, some recently have judged it possible solemnly to declare another doctrine regarding this question, the Catholic Church, to whom God has entrusted the defence of the integrity and purity of morals, standing erect in the midst of the moral ruin which surrounds her, in order that she may preserve the chastity of the nuptial union from being defiled by this foul stain, raises her Voice in token of her divine ambassadorship and through Our mouth proclaims anew: Any use whatsoever of matrimony exercised in such a way that the act is deliberately frustrated in its natural power to generate life is an offence against the law of God and of nature; and those who indulge in such are branded with the guilt of a grave sin.

He condemns in every shape as a 'very grave crime' 'the taking of the life of the offspring hidden in the mother's womb'; 'nothing could ever be a sufficient reason for excusing in any way the direct murder of the innocent: whether inflicted upon the mother or upon the child, it is against the precept of God and the law of nature'.

'The sterilization of the unfit' is condemned, whether compulsorily by the civil authority: 'Public Magistrates have no direct power over the bodies of their subjects; therefore, where no crime has taken place and there is no cause present for grave punishment, they can never directly harm, or tamper with the integrity of the body, either for the reasons of eugenics or for any other reason'; or even with the consent of the individual: 'Private individuals have no other power over the members of

their bodies than that which pertains to their natural ends; they are not free to destroy or mutilate their members, or in any other way render themselves unfit for their natural functions, except when no other provision can be made for the good of the whole body.'

He speaks of 'equality of rights' of wife with husband, and while recognizing that 'the social and economic conditions of the married woman must in some way be altered on account of the changes in social intercourse', and that 'it is part of the office of the public authority to adapt the civil rights of the wife to modern needs and requirements', still this must so be done as not to alter the husband's position as head of the family and home, or the wife's duty of loving obedience.

But it is the general attack on the religious character of marriage that calls forth the Holy Father's most powerful and sorrowful denunciations:

The advocates of the neo-paganism of to-day have learned nothing from the existing sad state of affairs, resulting from the lowering and loosening of public opinion on marriage; they continue by legislation to attack the indissolubility of the marriage bond, proclaiming that the lawfulness of divorce must be recognized, and that the antiquated laws should give place to a new and more humane legislation.

Opposed to all these reckless opinions stands the unalterable law of God, fully confirmed by Christ, a law that can never be deprived of its force by the decrees of men, the ideas of a people, or the will of any legislator: 'What God hath joined together let no man put asunder.' And if any man, acting contrary to this law, shall have put asunder, his action is null and void, and the consequence remains, as Christ Himself has explicitly confirmed, that the marriage of a divorced person is adultery.

The third part of the encyclical deals with the remedies for evils that are a grave menace to the family, to society, and to the State. The only real remedy is a return to God, to Religion, to Christianity, to the Catholic Church, which alone in these our days upholds firmly the laws of God on marriage as on other great principles of morality and justice.

But Pius XI is so bold in his utterances on the social duty of

protecting and making possible the proper married life of the poor, that his call to the State and to the well-to-do in this matter should cause not merely wonder, but a searching of hearts:

Since it is no rare thing to find that the perfect observance of God's commands and conjugal integrity encounter difficulties by reason of the fact that the man and wife are in straitened circumstances, their necessities must be relieved as far as possible. As laid down by Leo XIII, in the State such economic and social methods should be adopted as will enable every head of a family to earn as much as, according to his station in life, is necessary for himself, his wife, and for the rearing of his children. To deny this, or to make light of what is equitable, is a grave injustice; nor is it lawful to fix such a scanty wage as will be insufficient for the upkeep of the family, in the circumstances in which it is placed.

When other means do not fulfil the needs of a larger or poorer family, Christian charity towards our neighbour absolutely demands that those things which are lacking to the needy should be provided; hence it is incumbent on the rich to help the poor, so that having an abundance of this world's goods they may not expend them fruitlessly or completely squander them, but employ them for the support and well-being of those who lack the necessities of life. They who give of their substance to Christ in the person of His poor will receive from Him a most bountiful reward; they who act to the contrary will pay the penalty (Matthew, xxv).

If private resources do not suffice, it is the duty of the public authority to supply for the insufficiency in the maintenance of the family and of married people. If families, particularly those which have many children, have not suitable dwellings; if the husband cannot find employment and means of livelihood; if the necessities of life cannot be purchased except at exorbitant prices; if even the mother of the family, to the great harm of the home, is compelled to go forth and seek a living by her own labour; if she too in the labours of childbirth is deprived of proper food, medicine, and the assistance of a skilled physician, it is patent to all to what an extent married people may lose heart, and how home life and the observance of God's commands are rendered difficult for them; indeed it is obvious how great a peril can arise to the public security and to the welfare and very life of civil society itself, when such men are reduced to that condition of desperation that, having nothing which

they fear to lose, they are emboldened to hope for chance advantage from the upheaval of the State and of established order.

In this place the Pope puts his finger on the real cause of most of the revolutions of modern times, from that of 1789 onwards. He goes on:

Wherefore those who have the care of the State and of the public good cannot neglect the needs of married people and their families without bringing great harm upon the State and on the common welfare. Hence, in making the laws and in disposing of public funds, they must do their utmost to relieve the needs of the poor, considering such a task as one of the most important of their administrative duties.

History testifies that the prosperity of the State and the temporal happiness of its citizens cannot remain safe and sound where the foundation on which they are established, which is the moral order, is weakened, and where the very fountain-head from which the State draws its life, namely, wedlock and the family, is obstructed by the vices of its citizens.

The most effective remedy, the only effective one, must lie in the harmonious co-operation of the State with the Church in the endeavour to meet the evils, political, social, economic, of the day, that are threatening all modern civilization.

This is the constant burden of the Pope's utterances. The pieces just cited show how little is Pius XI averse to State interference, State assistance, in coming to the help of the indigent; on the contrary he preaches it as among the first duties of the State. His great utterances on education and on marriage are the link between the political and the economic aspects of modern civilization, and lead up to the consideration of his enunciation of the position of the Catholic Church in face of this latter range of problems.

ECONOMIC SIDE OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

We have seen that Leo XIII was the first Pope to lay down in magisterial constructive form the basic principles of the attitude of the Catholic Church towards the economic problems of modern industrialism and commerce. This he did in the most

remarkable of his encyclicals, the *Rerum Novarum* of 1891, the head teachings of which have been summarily set forth in previous pages. His successors Pius X and Benedict XV both took occasion to confirm and reassert his teaching; but it was left to Pius XI, on the fortieth anniversary of the issue of the *Rerum Novarum*, to make a powerful endorsement of it and to supplement it by applying it to the prodigious developments of the intervening forty years.

The encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, 'On the Social Order', May 1931, is a lengthy document of seventy pages. It is well worthy, nay it claims, to be read, and pondered over, and taken to heart by all Catholics of all classes: indeed by all men of goodwill, of all creeds or none, among all circles of society, who are concerned with the economic conditions of the civilized world—workers, employers, capitalists, financiers, statesmen.¹ It is clear and uncompromising in its teaching: courageous, eloquent, uplifting, apportioning blame and condemnation with even-handed justice. It stands out among the encyclicals of Pius, as does the *Rerum Novarum* stand out among those of Leo. It is impossible here to do justice to such a pronouncement of the moral law in its applications to the multitudinous processes of the modern industrial and financial world; but some fair account of it must find place in any presentation of the Attitude of the Catholic Church to Modern Civilization on its most modern side, the most menacing to civil society.

The opening paragraphs recall the condition of things that impelled Pope Leo to act:

The new economic methods and the new developments of industry had made such headway that human society appeared more and more divided into two classes. The first, small in numbers, enjoyed practically all the comforts so plentifully supplied by modern invention; the second class, comprising the immense multitude of working men, was made up of those who, oppressed by dire poverty, struggled in vain to escape from the straits which encompassed them.

¹ The encyclical has been produced as a tract by the Catholic Truth Society, and the Catholic Social Guild, Oxford, at the price of only twopence.

This state of things was quite satisfactory to the wealthy, who looked upon it as the consequence of inevitable and natural economic laws, and who therefore were content to abandon to charity alone the full care of relieving the unfortunate; as though it were the task of charity to make amends for the open violation of justice, a violation not merely tolerated, but sanctioned at times by legislators. On the other hand the working classes, victims of these harsh conditions, became more and more unwilling to bear the galling yoke; some went so far as to seek the disruption of the whole social fabric.

The *Rerum Novarum* laid down for all mankind unerring rules for the right solution of the difficult problem of human solidarity called the Social Question, at the very time when such guidance was most opportune and necessary.

The Apostolic Voice was not raised in vain. It was listened to with genuine admiration and greeted with profound sympathy not only by the loyal children of the Church, but by many also who had wandered far from the truth and from the unity of faith.

The Pope enumerates at some length the benefits that have been reaped from the encyclical: how it strongly attracted public attention to the necessity of taking seriously in hand the condition of the working classes in the modern industrial world; how it challenged the old doctrinaire Liberalism and its political economy, which 'had long hampered effective interference by the Government'; how it proclaimed that 'the civil power is more than the mere guardian of law and order' and that 'the duty of Rulers is to protect the community and its various elements and, in protecting the rights of individuals, to have special regard for the infirm and needy'; how 'the leaders of the nations became at last more fully conscious of their obligations, and set to work seriously to promote a broader social policy'; how, finally, the encyclical asserted the right of association for working men, as for others. So 'this immortal document' 'has proved itself the Magna Charta on which all Christian activities in social matters are ultimately based'.

In short, it would be impossible to have a more complete confirmation and adoption of Leo's encyclical than is given it by Pius XI.

The Pope goes on to assert that it is his right and his duty to deal authoritatively with social and economic problems:

The Church never can relinquish her God-given task of interposing her authority, not indeed in technical matters, for which she has neither the equipment nor the mission, but in all those that have a bearing on moral conduct. For the deposit of truth entrusted to Us by God, and Our weighty office of propagating, interpreting, and urging, the entire moral law, demand that both social and economic questions be brought within Our supreme jurisdiction, in so far as they refer to moral issues.

He finds it necessary to give decisions on certain points of controversy that have arisen over the *Rerum Novarum*.

1. *Rights and Duties of Property.*

Thus in regard to the Right of Property and Ownership, it is laid down that there is a twofold aspect of ownership, which is individual or social, according as it regards individuals or concerns the common good. The right to own private property has been given to man by nature, or rather by the Creator, not only that individuals may be able to provide for their own needs and those of their families, but also that, by means of it, the goods which the Creator has destined for the human race may truly serve that purpose. The social and public aspect of ownership must not be denied or minimized. The right of property must be distinguished from its use. It is idle to contend that the right of ownership and its proper use are bounded by the same limits. In the use of property men must take into account, not only their own advantages, but also the common good.

2. *State Control.*

On the function of the State in controlling the use of property:

To define in detail these duties, when the natural law does not do so, is the function of the Government. Provided that the natural and divine law be observed, the public authority, in view of the common good, may specify more accurately what is licit and what is illicit for property-owners in the use of their possessions. History proves that the right of ownership, like other elements of social life, is not absolutely rigid. When the civil authority adjusts ownership to meet the needs of the public good, it acts not as an enemy, but

as the friend of private owners; for thus it effectively prevents the possession of private property, intended by nature's Author for the sustaining of human life, from creating intolerable burdens and so rushing to its own destruction.

A man's superfluous income is not left entirely to his own discretion; namely, that portion of his income which he does not need in order to live as becomes his station. On the contrary, the grave obligations of charity, beneficence, and liberality are constantly insisted on by Holy Scripture.

3. *Unjust claims of Capital and of Labour.*

Unless a man apply his labour to his own property, an alliance must be formed between his toil and his neighbour's property; for each is helpless without the other. It is therefore entirely false to ascribe the results of their combined efforts to either party alone; and it is flagrantly unjust that either should deny the efficacy of the other, and seize all the profits.

Capital, however, was long able to appropriate to itself excessive advantages; it claimed all the products and profits, and left to the labourer the barest minimum necessary to repair his strength and to ensure the continuance of his class, so that the working man must remain perpetually in indigence.

Equally false is the principle that all products and profits, excepting those required to repair and replace invested capital, belong to the working man.

By the principles of social justice, one class is forbidden to exclude the other from a share in the profits. This sacred law is violated by an irresponsible wealthy class, who, in the excess of their good fortune, deem it a just state of things that *they* should receive everything and the labourer nothing; it is violated also by a propertyless wage-earning class who demand for themselves all the fruits of production, as being the work of their hands. Such men, vehemently incensed against the violation of justice by capitalists, go too far in vindicating the one right of which they are conscious.

Each class must receive its due share, and the distribution of created goods must be brought into conformity with the demands of the common good and of social justice. For every sincere observer is conscious that the vast differences between the few who hold excessive wealth and the many who live in destitution constitute a grave evil in modern society.

Uplifting the Proletariat.

The main object of the *Rerum Novarum* was to urge 'the uplifting of the proletariat':

The immense number of propertyless wage-earners on the one hand, and the superabundant riches of the fortunate few on the other, is an unanswerable argument that the earthly goods so abundantly produced in this age of industrialism are far from rightly distributed and equitably shared among the various classes of men.

Every effort must be made that at least in future a just share only of the fruits of production be permitted to accumulate in the hands of the wealthy, and that an ample sufficiency be supplied to the working men, so that by thrift they may increase their possessions, and may be able to bear the family burden with greater ease and security, being freed from that hand to mouth uncertainty which is the lot of the proletarian. Unless serious attempts be made to put these ideas into practice, let nobody persuade himself that the peace and tranquillity of human society can be effectively defended against the forces of revolution.

The Pope speaks at some length on the question of wages:

Every effort should be made that fathers of families receive a wage sufficient to meet adequately ordinary domestic needs. If in the present state of things this is not always feasible, social justice demands that reforms be introduced which will guarantee every adult working man such a wage. The mere wage-contract ought to be modified by a contract of partnership, whereby the wage-earners are made sharers in some sort in the ownership, or the management, or the profits—that so they may have a chance of rising out of the proletarian condition and acquiring some modest property of their own.

It is not possible here to follow the Holy Father into the details of the remedial measures he urges for the recovery of society; the old doctrinaire political economy of liberalism is condemned, with its theory that the proper ordering of economic affairs may be left to free competition alone; its neglect of the social and moral aspects of economical matters; and its principle that the State should refrain in theory and practice from interfering therein. Against all this, labour must be protected in the

social and juridical order; in place of unrestrained free competition and the struggle for economic supremacy, the economic world must be governed by the principles of social justice and social charity; these, to be truly operative, must be based on a juridical and social order able to pervade all economic activity, and the duty of the State will be to protect and defend it effectively.

A word of guarded commendation is given to the experiment in syndical and corporative organization of industry under the auspices of the State, being made in Italy under the Fascist régime, coupled with the warning that the system, in spite of its good points, is likely to issue in "excessive bureaucratic interference.

But the religious key-note of the teaching is struck again: of all these social evils the only real remedy must be the moral one: 'all that we have taught about reconstructing and perfecting the social order will be of no avail without a reform of morals.'

SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM: HIGH FINANCE

The third and perhaps most striking portion of the encyclical is concerned with the changes that have taken place in the industrial and economic and whole social world since the time of Leo XIII, the evils that then were menacing the social order having now grown to portentous dimensions. The excesses of Socialism and of Capitalism alike call forth very plain speaking from Pius XI.

Of Socialism he distinguishes two kinds: there is the full-blooded Socialism, Communism, which preaches merciless class warfare, even of violence, and the complete abolition of private property, along with open hostility to religion and to God. He deems it needless to condemn 'the impious and nefarious character of Communism', which 'seeks by violence the destruction of all society'. But 'the foolhardiness of those must be condemned, who neglect to remove or modify such conditions as exasperate the minds of the people, and so prepare the way for the overthrow and ruin of the social order'.

But there is a 'mitigated socialism', which condemns recourse to physical force, moderates class warfare and abolition of private property, and seems to be drifting towards Christian

ideas, so that 'its programmes often strikingly approach the just demands of Christian social reformers'. In particular:

The war declared against private ownership has abated in such circles of attenuated socialism, so that it is not really the possession of the means of production that is attacked, but that type of social rulership which, in violation of all justice, has been seized and usurped by the owners of wealth. This rulership in fact belongs not to the individual owners, but to the State. It is rightly contended that certain forms of property must be reserved to the State, since they carry with them an opportunity of domination too great to be left to individuals without injury to the community at large. Just demands and desires of this kind contain nothing opposed to Christian truth, nor are they in any sense peculiar to Socialism.

The Pope faces the very practical question:

If, in questions of class warfare and private ownership, Socialism were to become so mitigated and amended that nothing reprehensible could any longer be found in it, could it be accepted without the loss of any Christian principle, and be baptized into the Church?

He answers:

Whether Socialism be considered as a doctrine, or as an historical fact, or as a movement, if it really remain Socialism it cannot be brought into harmony with the dogmas of the Catholic Church, even after it has yielded to truth and justice in the aforesaid points; the reason being that it conceives human society in a way utterly alien to Christian truth.

He explains that Socialism as such ignores God and the supernatural order in its outlook on life, which is merely natural and material, the object being the production and distribution of the good things of this world; whereas the Christian outlook on the meaning of life is that, by fulfilling faithfully the duties of his station, man may attain to temporal and eternal happiness. He concludes:

If, like all errors, Socialism contains a certain element of truth (and this the Sovereign Pontiffs have never denied), it is nevertheless founded upon a doctrine of human society peculiarly its own, which is opposed to true Christianity. 'Religious Socialism', Christian

Socialism' are expressions implying a contradiction in terms. No one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true Socialist.

It is greatly to be feared, and deplored, that these words are the only ones in the encyclical to which heed has been given by many, even Catholics, of the well-to-do classes; they have been seized on and exploited for political purposes, to the ignoring of the general drift of this encyclical and that of Leo. Such people still dub as Socialism the very reforms urged in the strongest terms by the Popes, and uphold what they have condemned. I have myself heard a wealthy Catholic industrialist say the *Rerum Novarum* is socialistic. They will not recognize that the ground of the Pope's condemnation of mitigated or moderate Socialism is not its programmes and objects—which may approach very nearly to those of Catholics who try to carry into effect the principles proclaimed by the Popes—but the unsound religious and social theories underlying their outlook on life. It is for theological reasons, rather than practical social, that such Socialism is declared to be impossible for Catholics. It will not be questioned that many so-called Socialists, who take the name, are not 'true Socialists' according to the Pope's description. It will be admitted that, at any rate in England, many leaders of the Labour Movement do not hold the material, secular, non-religious view of life said by the Pope to be the characteristic of Socialism irreconcilable with Catholic Christianity.

The Pope asks the question: Why is it that many Catholics, 'while still preserving their true faith and goodwill, have deserted the camp of the Church, and passed over to the ranks of Socialism, or joined Socialist associations'? He answers:

We seem to hear that many of them allege in excuse: The Church and those professing attachment to the Church favour the rich and neglect working men and have no care for them; they were obliged therefore to join the Socialist ranks.

The Pope turns angrily on those Catholics and professing Christians whose acts give colour to such thoughts:

What a lamentable fact that there have been, and that there are even now, some who, while professing the Catholic Faith, are

well-nigh unmindful of that sublime law of justice and charity which binds us not only to give each man his due, but to succour our brethren as Christ our Lord Himself; worse still, that there are those who, out of greed of gain, do not shame to oppress the working man. Indeed there are some who even abuse religion itself, cloaking their own unjust impositions under its name, that they may protect themselves against the clearly just demands of their employees. We shall never desist from gravely censuring such conduct. Such men are the cause that the Church, without deserving it, may have the appearance and may be accused of taking sides with the wealthy, and of being little moved by the needs and sufferings of the disinherited.

He calls on those who have been wandering along the paths of Socialism to return and to join the ranks of those who, under the guidance of Leo and himself, are unremittingly endeavouring to reform society according to the mind of the Church on a firm basis of social justice and social charity.

Pius XI puts his finger more definitely than did Leo XIII on the menace to social and political life arising from what is called the Higher Finance. Since Leo wrote, 'the entire economic scene has greatly changed'.

Capital violates right order whenever it so employs the working or wage-earning classes as to divert business and economic activity entirely to its own arbitrary will and advantage, without any regard to the human dignity of the workers, the social character of economic life, social justice, and the common good.

The capitalist economic régime, with the world-wide diffusion of industry, has penetrated everywhere. In turning attention to the changes which this capitalistic economic order has undergone since the days of Leo XIII we have regard to the interests not only of those who live in countries where Capital and Industry prevail, but of the whole human race.

It is patent that in our days not alone is wealth accumulated, but immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few, and those few are frequently not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of invested funds, who administer them at their good pleasure. This power becomes particularly irresistible when exercised by those who, because they hold and control money, are able also to govern credit and determine its allotment, for that reason supplying, so to speak, the life-blood to the

entire economic body, and grasping as it were in their hands the very soul of production, so that no one dare breathe against their will.

Here is enunciated the problem of Banks and Banking; there are those who hold that the banks are mainly responsible for the depression in agriculture and trade. The Pope goes on in his denunciation:

This accumulation of power, the characteristic note of the modern economic order, is a natural result of limitless free competition, which permits the survival of those only who are the strongest: that is often those who fight most relentlessly and pay least heed to the dictates of conscience. This concentration of power has led to a struggle for domination. First, there is the struggle for dictatorship in the economic sphere itself; then the fierce battle to acquire control of the State, so that its resources and authority may be abused in the economic struggle.

Free competition is dead; economic dictatorship has taken its place. Unbridled ambition for domination has succeeded the desire for gain; the whole economic life has become hard, cruel, and relentless in a ghastly measure. Furthermore, the intermingling and scandalous confusion of the duties and offices of civil authority and of economics have produced crying evils and have gone so far as to degrade the Majesty of the State, which instead of being the supreme arbiter, intent only on justice and the common good, has become instead a slave, bound over to the service of human passion and greed.

As for the remedies for these great evils:

The mutual relations of Capital and Labour must be based on the principles of right reason and Christian social philosophy, and determined according to the laws of strictest justice, supported by Christian charity. Free competition, and still more economic domination, must be kept within just and definite limits, and must be brought under the effective control of the public authority, in matters appertaining to the latter's competence. The public institutions of the nations must be such as to make the whole of human society conform to the common good, i.e. to the standard of social justice. If this is done, the economic system, that most important branch of social life, will necessarily be restored to sanity and right order.

The worst disorder of the modern world is the ruin of souls.

The fundamental cause of the defection from the Christian law in social and economic matters, and of the apostasy of many working men from the Catholic Faith, is the disorderly affection of the soul, the consequence of original sin. Hence comes that unquenchable thirst for riches and temporal possessions, which at all times has impelled men to break the law of God and trample on the rights of their neighbour; but the condition of the economic world to-day lays more snares than ever for human frailty. Under stress of the universal economic struggle many have become so hardened against the stings of conscience as to hold all means good which enable them to increase their profits. By unchecked speculation prices are raised and lowered out of mere greed of gain, making voidable the most prudent calculations of manufacturers. The regulations legally enacted for corporations, with their divided responsibility and limited liability, have given occasion to abominable abuses. The greatly weakened accountability makes little impression, as is evident, upon the conscience. The worst injustices and frauds take place beneath the obscurity of the common name of a corporative firm. Boards of Directors proceed in their unconscionable methods even to the violation of their trust in regard to those whose savings they administer.

It will be readily agreed that here the Pope puts his finger on and denounces with righteous indignation the most colossal and most menacing evil of the time, unscrupulous finance:

A stern insistence on the moral law, enforced with vigour by civil authority, could have dispelled or perhaps averted these enormous evils. This, however, was too often lamentably wanting. For at the time when the new social order was beginning, the doctrines of rationalism had already taken hold of large numbers, and an economic science alien to the true moral law had soon arisen, whence it followed that free rein was given to human avarice.

As a result, a much greater number than ever before, solely concerned with adding to their wealth by any means whatsoever, sought their own selfish interests above all things; they had no scruple in committing the gravest injustices against others. They easily found many imitators of their iniquity, because of their manifest success, their extravagant display of wealth, their derision of the scruples of more delicate consciences, and the crushing of more cautious competitors.

With the leaders of business abandoning the true path, it is not surprising that in every country multitudes of working men too sank in the same morass; all the more so, because very many employers treated their workmen as mere tools, without any concern for the welfare of their souls, indeed, without the slightest thought of higher interests. The mind shudders if we consider the frightful perils to which the morals of workers and the virtue of girls and women are exposed in modern factories; if we recall how the present economic régime, and above all the disgraceful housing conditions prove obstacles to the family tie and family life. Man's one solicitude is to obtain his daily bread. And bodily labour, which was decreed by Providence for the good of man's body and soul, has everywhere been changed into an instrument of strange perversion; for dead matter leaves the factory ennobled and transformed, where men are corrupted and degraded.

For all these evils the Pope again proclaims the only real remedy:

For this pitiable ruin of souls, which, if it continue, will frustrate all efforts to reform society, there can be no other remedy than a frank and sincere return to the teaching of the Gospel. All those versed in social matters demand a rationalization of economic life which will introduce sound and true order. But this order, which We ourselves desire and make every effort to promote, will necessarily be quite faulty and imperfect, unless based on the Divine plan. This is the perfect order which the Church preaches with intense earnestness, and which right reason demands; which places God as the first and supreme End of all created activity, and regards all created goods as mere instruments under God, to be used only in so far as they help towards the attainment of our supreme end. Those who are engaged in production are not forbidden to increase their fortunes in a lawful and just manner; indeed it is just that he who renders service to society and develops its wealth should himself have his proportionate share of the increased public riches. If these principles be observed universally, not merely the production and acquisition of goods, but also the use of wealth, now so often uncontrolled, will be brought back again to the standards of equity and just distribution, and mere sordid selfishness, which is the disgrace and the great crime of the present age, will be opposed by the kindly and forcible law of Christian moderation.

The whole conclusion of the encyclical is very fine, an eloquent appeal.

The teaching of the Pope has been summed up thus:

As industrial capitalism actually developed, there became attached to it certain tenets giving it its distinctive character and identified with its very being: (1) that the rights of owners are absolute and unfettered; (2) that there should be complete freedom of competition in trade and in the labour market, and that the State should not interfere with business or industry; (3) that the employer may give to the worker as little wages as he can; (4) that finance, industry, and commerce are subject to only one law—that of supply and demand.

To these tenets Catholic teaching is diametrically opposed. It holds (1) that property rights are not absolute, but are limited by the duties of property; (2) that the State has the right and the duty to define and to enforce the duties of property and defend the welfare of the community; (3) that labour has the right to a living wage; (4) that finance and industry are subject to the moral law.

AN APOLOGY, IF NEEDED

I am prepared for the obvious criticism that the extracts from the encyclicals of Pius XI are excessive. Yet his utterances, and those of Leo, are the most authentic, the most reliable, and the most complete formulation of the Attitude of the Catholic Church towards Modern, and the most modern, Civilization. They are beyond all compare of more importance and of greater value, for a just estimation of the question, than anything I could say—or any other writer whosoever. When it is realized that the Papal documents of Leo and Pius summarized above run to some six hundred pages of Catholic Truth Society tracts, it may be conceded that, in view of the object of this essay, the amount of direct citation is not inordinate or even unreasonable. I may add that the labour and the time expended in studying, analysing, co-ordinating the contents of this great mass of material, so as to extract its marrow, and serve it up in clear and unmistakable form, ready for consumption, has been far

greater than the labour and the time would have been for composing as many pages of my own. Furthermore, it seemed right to give it all in the Popes' very own language; had I tried to condense it and give it in language of my own there could always have been the suspicion that it was coloured by my own ideas and did not really represent the mind of the Popes.

Therefore, every reader may have confidence that here has been given him the indisputable, up-to-date, authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church by the mouths of her Supreme Pastors and Teachers—a teaching that it would behove the whole world to listen to.

SUMMING UP

WE have now before us the materials necessary for forming a just estimation of the Attitude of the Catholic Church towards Modern Civilization. The process of passage from the era of the absolutist autocratic State of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the democratic State of our own day, and the reactions of the Catholic Church in her gradual acclimatization in the new condition of things set in motion by the French Revolution, have been traced, chiefly in the actions of the Popes, during the century and a half that has elapsed since the inauguration of the modern world in 1775 and 1789. 'Modern Civilization' has been taken in the etymological sense, derived ultimately from the idea underlying the Latin root of *civis*, *civilis*, *civitas*—citizenship, civil society, the State: and so it has been treated of under the twofold aspect corresponding thereto, namely, the political social side and the economic industrial side. The cultural aspect of the civilization of the past century and a half in the realms of literature, art, science, thought, amenities of life, has not been taken into account, for two reasons: it would have swollen this essay beyond all bounds, and the field is quite outside any competence the writer may have.

It remains, therefore, briefly to consider the upshot of the Catholic Church's acclimatization in the New Order as it exists to-day, in regard to the political and to the economic sides of our modern civilization, and to see how she stands to-day, and how she promises for the morrow. And as the economic side is the fresher in our mind, it may be taken first.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

It will be agreed that the two outstanding encyclicals, the *Rerum Novarum* of Leo XIII and the *Quadragesimo Anno* of Pius XI, give a very living and not overdrawn picture of the dangerous conditions that exist in the industrial and commercial world, which constitute a grave menace to our civilization. Statesmen

in every country recognize the danger, and the reality of the gigantic evils pointed out by the Popes, and the necessity of finding and applying drastic remedies if the social order is to be saved; but the evil is of so huge a scale that so far the statesmen have shown themselves unable to cope with it, in spite of leagues, conferences, and well-intentioned piecemeal legislation. In spite of all efforts the evil goes on, and increases in magnitude; while statesmen and politicians seem to look on helplessly, and let things drift and manage themselves from hand to mouth by devastating industrial warfare that, while settling side issues, really aggravates the general disorder.

Amid the confusion the Voice of the Popes has made itself heard, denouncing the injustice and inhumanity of the industrial and social system as it is working throughout the world to-day, as a disgrace and a menace to our civilization; and proclaiming what is the one real remedy, if social order and civilization are to be saved.

They say clearly and boldly that there are only two solutions in the field, the Christian and the Socialistic or Communist; and if the Socialist programme is to be countered, that can only be by a general acceptance of Christian principles and morals on the part of statesmen and legislators, of capitalists and employers of labour and of working men. The vehemence with which the Popes expose and denounce the injustices of the rush for making money at all costs, and by all methods, equals that of the Socialists in attacking the entire capitalist system. But they stand for the position that the salvation of society lies in the acceptance by all, in practical life, of the teachings of Christianity in its ethical code of social justice and social charity. And they utter the solemn warning that, unless something effective be done, and done soon, to redress the flagrant injustices of the actual industrial system, and to relieve the state of poverty, destitution, hopelessness, of the vast multitudes of workers, vain will be the efforts to save the social order from the forces of revolution.

It is a notable thing, that amid all the confusion the one clear Voice raised aloud above the tumult, denouncing the evil and

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proclaiming the remedy, is the Voice that speaks from the Chair of Peter.

The Popes do not condemn modern civilization; they want to save it and the modern social order existing in the modern States. They condemn, as do right-minded men, colossal abuses and evils that have grown up in it as diseases; but their purpose is to point out and preach the only real remedy.

In May 1932 Pius XI issued yet another encyclical, 'On the Troubles of our Time', a grave urgent warning on the industrial and social evils that are afflicting mankind. It lays the responsibility mainly on the great financiers and profiteers, on 'the few who appear to have in their hands, together with enormous wealth, the destinies of the world, and with their speculations were, and are, in great part the cause of so much woe'.

The root of the evil is the prevailing unbridled greed for money, whence comes 'the disorder and inequality which accompany the accumulation of the wealth of the nations in the hands of a small group of individuals, who manipulate the markets of the world at their own caprice, to the immense harm of the masses'.

But this encyclical is in effect a Call to a new Crusade, a Call first to all Catholics, but then to all Christians, and to Believers in God of whatever religion, to unite in a common front in combating an aggressive atheistic Communism that is actively engaged in a warfare not only against the social and political order and the capitalistic system, but against Christianity and all religion, and against God Himself; the chief argument and incentive in promoting the campaign of destruction being the widespread distress and destitution, and the flagrant disproportionate inequalities in the distribution of the good things and even the necessities of life. The Voice of the Popes rings out clearly in denunciation alike of the injustices of actual conditions and of the Communist campaign of destruction of the social fabric. And the forces of Revolution recognize the Pope as Leader of the forces arrayed against them in defence of our civilization and of religion.

It is like a reproduction of a situation that existed once before. Time was, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when a grave menace, the Turkish menace, was threatening the religion, the civilization, the whole social fabric of Europe, when not only the Christian religion, but all Western culture and social and political order were in the balance in face of the Turkish power, then at its height. It is hard now to realize that once the Turks were a real and imminent danger to Europe. After the taking of Constantinople and the conquest of Greece, they occupied Hungary, invaded Poland, penetrated into Austria and laid siege to Vienna; their fleets swept the Mediterranean, threatening the coasts of Italy and Spain. It was a case of saving Europe. And the One Voice that rang out consistently through those two centuries of peril, pointing out the danger and urging the necessity of a new Crusade—not now to regain the Holy Land, but to defend Europe—in which the Christian peoples should combine their forces in defence of the religion, the liberty, the civilization, the culture of western Europe, was the Voice of the Popes. And it was from the Catholic lands that the response to the Call came; it was the Hungarians, the Poles, the South Germans, who fought the Turks by land, and stemmed and rolled back the Turkish armies. And at the decisive sea-fight of Lepanto in the Gulf of Corinth in 1571, the Christian fleet that defeated the Turkish, and really broke the Turkish power, was a Catholic fleet of Spain and the Italian Republics of Venice and Genoa, with the Pope's own little contingent of ships; the British fleet had no share in that day of deliverance.

Is it too much to hope that, as it was then, so may it be now, the Catholic world, responding to the warnings and exhortations of the Popes in face of the crisis of all our civilization, and joined, be it hoped, by the forces of all Christian men of goodwill, and, as the Holy Father hopes, by all Believers in God, may join in this new Crusade of prayer and penance, and realization of the duties of the Christian code of conduct, in defence primarily of religion, and then of our civilization, realizing that the issue joined is in very truth as the Pope puts it: 'For God, or Against God.'

He lays down once again the solemn first principle:

To create the atmosphere of stable peace on earth, neither peace treaties, nor the most solemn pacts, nor international conferences, nor even the noblest and most disinterested efforts of any statesman, will be enough, unless in the first place are recognized the sacred rights of natural and divine law. No leader in public economy, no power of organization, will ever be able to bring social conditions to a peaceful solution, unless first in the very field of economics there triumphs moral law based on God and conscience. This is the underlying value of every aspect in the political life as in the economic life of nations.

The call of the Popes to the modern industrial and commercial world is as the call of the Prophet: 'Cast away from you all your transgressions whereby ye have transgressed, and make you a new heart and a new spirit; for why will ye die?' (Ezekiel xviii. 31). All may agree that such a change of heart and of outlook as would bring in a reign of justice and charity, of brotherly love and peace—in a word a truly Christian atmosphere—would be a really effectual, and the only effectual, cure for the ills of mankind. But it is to be feared that in the case of the great offenders the call will fall on deaf ears and selfish hearts. Yet the Popes are true to the duties of their supreme spiritual and religious station in proclaiming such change of heart as the only hope of curing the existing evils, and warding off the still greater that are threatening our modern civilization.

Since these words were written a ray of hope has dawned—another great Voice has been heard, as if re-echoing the warnings of the Popes. In his inaugural speech, 4 March 1933, as President of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt used such words as these of the financial and industrial crisis.

'Primarily this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence. . . . The practices of unscrupulous money-changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men. . . . They only know the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision and when there is no vision the people perish. The money-changers have fled from their high

seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of that restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit. . . . There must be an end to a conduct in banking and business that too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrong-doing. . . . In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbour, who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others: the neighbour who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbours.

If other rulers of nations follow this lead there will be some hope yet of the Pope's remedial measures working in a distracted world.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE MODERN STATE

On the political side of modern civilization, the Catholic Church has shown herself, in the past century and a half, able to keep pace with, and assimilate herself to, and become acclimatized in, the conditions of the modern State—albeit gradually: Gregory XVI and Pius IX still had their fears—natural enough after their own experiences—and their distrust and disapproval of the developments of the modern democratic States and democratic institutions. Leo XIII asserted clearly and enforced the fundamental truth that no form of government is in itself condemned by the Church, and that she can live and do her work under any kind of government that is just and rules for the general well-being of the people. The Popes, especially by their Concordats, beginning with Gregory XVI, and markedly Pius IX, have shown themselves able and ready to provide, at any rate sufficiently, for the existence and the smooth working of the Catholic Church in modern States, whether Catholic, as the South American republics, or Protestant, as Prussia. And in the great outstanding Concordat of Pius XI with the Kingdom of Italy, in a Catholic and advanced modern State a Concordat was made which the Pope declared to be a good working arrangement for the Church and for religion.

In other modern States other conditions prevail. In some there is no concordat—never has been—in which the Catholic Church lives and functions without let or hindrance. Such are the United States, England, Ireland, Australia. In these countries may be seen what is very like a realization of the old Liberal slogan, 'Free Church in Free State'. Church and State live together, alongside of each other, each recognizing the other and respecting its rights and position, but without privilege on either side. There is no interference by the State in the appointment of bishops, nor in the domestic arrangements of the Church, nor in free communication with Rome and the publication of Papal encyclicals and ordinances, nor in the observance by Catholics of the Canon Law. Catholics are free to have their own schools, both primary and secondary, under their own control, but subject to a certain supervision of the State, which, in England, provides part of the cost. The Church on her side recognizes the independent position of the State, claims no exemptions or privileges, receives the legislation of the State—unless, as in the matter of divorce, it be against the law of God—and accepts the jurisdiction of the civil courts and magistrates. The two societies go their way, living together without conflict as a rule, not being in contact close enough to cause friction. These conditions of practical 'Free Church in Free State' have secured to the Church a real liberty, such as to have more than once won words of recognition and thankfulness from Popes. Under this régime the Catholic Church in the United States, in England, in Australia, has been able to function freely and to thrive exceedingly.

It seems that such conditions have grown up only in Protestant countries, in which the Catholics at first were, and long continued to be, a small, persecuted, penalized, despised minority, politically and socially negligible; but in course of time very gradually the Catholics grew in numbers, influence, organization, until they achieved full emancipation, as a result of the modern liberal idea of freedom of conscience in matters of religion and of worship; and finally the Catholic Church became one of the fully organized and influential religious bodies

of the country, receiving the same kind of unofficial recognition as the Presbyterians and other great Nonconformist bodies. This condition of things seems possible only in Protestant lands; in lands traditionally Catholic the State in most cases will not suffer the Church to be free.

It is a remarkable phenomenon that, whereas the Catholic Church is freest in the great democratic Protestant countries, it is in the countries in which she once held the most privileged dominant position in the State that she now is most the object of furious anti-clericalism, the most persecuted and hampered, the most enslaved by the State: witness Italy before the War, France, Spain, above all Mexico. Up to the severance from Spain, 1820, Mexico was under the same ecclesiastical régime as Spain, of complete supremacy and privileges for the Catholic religion: the Inquisition operated and no other religion was tolerated. But with the freeing from Spanish rule an anti-clerical, anti-religious reaction at once set in, and has been maintained, in ever-increasing violence, to this day. The list of Mexican anti-clerical laws, spread over a century, hampering the Church in every way, as given in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* ('Mexico'), is probably a unique record of anti-Catholic reaction. The like may be seen in Spain, both now and in the revolutions of a hundred years ago.

CAUSE OF DISTRUST OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

It will be germane to the subject of this section to consider, in conclusion, the question: Seeing the enlightened reasonableness of the attitude of the Catholic Church in these our days towards modern civilization, both on its good and on its bad sides, in the domains of politics and economics, what is the explanation of the distrust, nay the fear, even panic fear, felt for the Church by the general run even of religious-minded non-Catholics? There can be little doubt as to the answer. It is no longer theological differences, points of doctrine, or of practical devotional life: those who know, and are not blinded by bigotry and prejudice, will allow the truth of the words of the French arch-Protestant, Auguste Sabatier: 'There is in

Catholicism a deep and beautiful religion, a sap of Christian life, a source of mystic soarings and of heroic devotedness.' No; the reason lies in the memory of things in the past, when the Church was in the heyday of her power, and the deep-rooted conviction that if ever the Catholic Church came into power again these things would be restored and repeated. The 'fires of Smithfield' still burn in the English Protestant mind, with the conviction that if England ever became Catholic and subject to the power of the Pope they would be lighted again and all heretics liable to be burned at the stake. My own personal contact with English Protestants of the lower bourgeois class convinces me that this is the real underlying ground of the anti-Catholic and anti-Papal mentality of the average English Protestant. The intelligentsia knows that such fears are a ghost; but it does fear Papal interference in politics and in social and national life; and that undue pressure might be brought to bear on the conscience of Catholics, even through the confessional, to sway them in things not really religious but political and social. The fact may not be blinked that the Malta episode gave the Catholic Church a bad set-back in the English-speaking countries. It afforded a welcome theme for the Orange orators in the Ulster celebrations of the Twelfth of July, the Battle of the Boyne, and it seemed to rivet the Belfast slogan that 'Home Rule would be Rome Rule'. It is feared that the abstract principle of State intolerance for other religions than the Catholic would again be put in force and Protestant worship suppressed and the churches confiscated. It is said that so long as Catholics are a minority they claim freedom of conscience and of worship, and religious equality, as matter of justice; but when in power they are not willing to give the same rights to others. Cardinal Manning, in his reply to Gladstone's attack on the Vatican decrees, tried to allay these fears, declaring that if England became Catholic to-morrow, and Catholicism the Established Religion, not a church or chapel would be taken from the religious body to which it belonged. But his authority was not enough; the voice of a Higher Authority would be needed to put the Protestant mind at ease.

Such boggy fears of Rome and of the Pope gave occasion to the extraordinary outburst of anti-Catholic and anti-Papal bigotry of 1928 in the United States over the Presidential election, the Democratic candidate, Mr. Al. Smith, being a staunch practical Catholic. It was an outburst of religious passion unparalleled in the violence of the language employed in denunciation of the Catholic Church. Beyond mere religious and political and racial fanaticism, lay the idea, used as the favourite weapon of the speakers, that a Catholic in the White House as President would be under the dominion of the Pope, a puppet of Rome, even in temporal affairs, and that the United States would be covertly ruled from the Vatican. Mr. Smith put out a manifesto declaring roundly that such could not be the case, and that neither Pope nor Church could interfere outside the strictly defined sphere of religion, and could not invade the domain of policy, legislation, or administration, or tamper with the Constitution of the United States in matters of religious freedom and separation of Church and State.¹ During the actual election campaign silence was observed; but no sooner was it over, Mr. Smith being badly defeated, without doubt very largely on the score of his Catholic religion, than a theological controversy broke out, Catholic theologians criticizing his pre-election manifesto as having gone too far in asserting the independence of the State from ecclesiastical control. The thing was referred to Rome and a condemnation sought; but Rome preserved silence and no censure was passed.

It does seem regrettable that while the Popes, by their concordats and the restraint of their official utterances,² have been showing in practice that it is possible for the Catholic Church to take its place and carry on its work in the modern State and to 'come to terms' with modern civilization, in so far as it rightly and truly is civilization and not the so-called civilization of the Revolutionaries reprobated by Pius IX, there should be found

¹ See *Tablet*, 28 May 1927, p. 716.

² The following may be referred to: the Schema *de Ecclesia*, on relations of Church and State, prepared for the Vatican Council (above, p. 1405); Cardinal Antonelli's statement during the Council (p. 1408); Pius IX on the Deposing Power (p. 1410); and the *Immortale Dei* of Leo XIII (p. 1413).

theologians and canonists and philosophers and 'theoricians' to keep on asserting that the Church never really abates or gives up the claims she made in former times and that, if ever she should come by her own again and regain the position of influence and power she once possessed, the old claims would be revived and brought into play; one putting forward in behalf of the Church as a 'perfect society' the abstract right to inflict death for heresy.¹ In this they surely do a great disservice to the Church and to the Catholic religion, playing into the hands of her adversaries, and confirming the forebodings of men of goodwill, whose chief ground for distrusting the Church and fearing her influence is precisely the fear that she aims at dominance not only in the spiritual order, but also in the temporal.

It is one thing to declare, as the Popes do, that only by the acceptance of the Christian law of justice and charity in the minds and consciences of men can the social evils of the modern world be effectively remedied; it is quite another thing to assert, as is done by certain Catholic writers, that only by the general public practical recognition on the part of States, statesmen, governments, and people at large, of Christian and Catholic principles, even in extreme form, all the world over, can modern society and civilization be saved from the ruin to which they have been hurrying since the break-up of a united Christendom.²

¹ On all this matter a Catholic Truth Society tract by Fr. Joseph Keating, S.J., editor of the *Month*, '*Does the Catholic Church persecute?*' may be referred to. It is full of wise words on the causes of the general distrust and fear of the Catholic Church among non-Catholics.

² These reflections are prompted by M. Maritain's *Primauté du Spirituel*, in English *The Things that are not Caesar's* (Sheed and Ward).

This popular and brilliant writer insists that the only sound Catholic attitude on the power of the Pope in temporals is the 'Indirect Power' of St. Robert Bellarmine (see above, p. 1409), but in exaggerated form and extended far beyond anything he laid down; it is in truth, and in all but name, a thinly veiled Direct Power, applied with all the French logicity.

At the Catholic Summer School held at Cambridge in 1932, dealing with 'Moral Principles and Practice', a paper was read on the 'Purpose and Authority of Civil Society', practically, Church and State. The lecturer, a theologian of repute, spoke words that seemed worthy of reproduction here:

'Bellarmine's theory was, that "the Church", in consequence of her divine mission, has power to regulate the temporal affairs of the State if the interests of religion and the good of souls demand it. Those who read the Encyclical of Leo XIII on the "Duties of Christians as Citizens" will gather that to-day the Church has abandoned

This is sheer pessimism. For the state of things contemplated never has in fact existed; and, humanly speaking, of all dreams the least likely to come to pass is any kind of return to the Christian Commonwealth of Nations of the later Middle Ages, wherein, even in secular affairs, the voice of the Popes was predominant, at any rate in western Europe. Instead of harking back wistfully to a past gone beyond possibility of restoration, or looking forward to a Utopia impracticable of realization, the Catholic Church has, here and now, to carry on in the modern world her great work of saving the souls of modern men with modern mentality in modern conditions. It seems a pity that Catholic writers, theologians and others, do not follow the example of the Popes in refraining from theorizings that offend and antagonize the modern mind on points that are not articles of Catholic Faith or essential Catholic teachings: thus raising obstacles to the work of the Church for promoting a return to religion amid the ideas and social conditions and civilization of to-day. The Church has to work *for* the modern world *in* the modern world; and the fewer the causes of friction, of offence, of misunderstanding, of antagonism, the better will she be able to carry out her mission of saving the world in the modern world. There is much to be said for reducing to a minimum, as far as is allowable by the law of God and the divine institution

the idea of interfering directly in temporal matters, even when the State legislates adversely to the interests of religion. (Citation.) We may safely take it that the Church does not require us to defend such a notion of indirect subordination of the civil power as St. Robert Bellarmine defended.'

To what, then, does the Church's power of intervention in the affairs of the State amount? It amounts to moral action on the consciences of governors and Christian peoples. If attacked by the Civil Government she claims the right to put the moral issues in bold relief, to define and proclaim and inculcate the rules of justice, and to appeal to the consciences of men to do her justice. She would not call upon her children to revolt against the Civil Power, but to use all legitimate means of bringing moral pressure to bear upon the Government concerned. This authority to proclaim the moral law to princes and governments quite satisfactorily establishes the juridical supremacy of the Church, and is a purely spiritual authority and power, having as its direct purpose a spiritual matter, the moral law, and, indirectly only, temporal things in so far as they are affected by the moral law. The supporters of this explanation are half a dozen theologians; but its more particular justification is to be found in the language and conduct of the Popes themselves in recent years.

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of the Church, the things that give rise to opposition and irritation and distrust in the minds of modern men, such as claims and privileges that had their use in former ages, but can no longer be effectively asserted, or have lost their value.

A homely, but very practical, concrete example of what is meant may perhaps be allowed: that a priest who rides his bicycle on the foot-path after dark, without a light, and knocks some one down and injures him, may not be police-courted for damages without the permission of the Bishop, is intolerable to the modern mind! As a fact, the *privilegium fori*, as has been seen in the foregoing pages, is habitually withdrawn in concordats with Catholic countries, as in the Lateran Concordat of 1929; but it survives, in very mitigated form it is true, in the Codex of Canon Law, and holds in Protestant countries with which there are no concordats. It may be said that it is not recognized by the laws of any State, Catholic or Protestant, all citizens being equally subject to the laws of the land and the jurisdiction of the civil courts. In this matter there is no question of divine law or of essential Catholic principle, but only of ecclesiastical law; otherwise this privilege of the clergy could not be given up in concordats; the usual formula in those of Pius IX was, 'the Holy See makes no difficulty' about criminous clerics being tried by the civil courts.

CAN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH SAVE OUR CIVILIZATION?

This is the vital question on which to end.

It is a commonplace that the general drift since the War has been away from religion and from God, and towards a naturalism that is spoken of as neo-paganism. It is not that the majority are falling into militant or formal atheism, but into an indifference that makes them say they do not feel the need of religion, and can live all right apart from God, without bringing Him into their lives. Thus, they have given up going to church or chapel, or praying at all, but without becoming immoral or dishonest; most still think it right to lead clean and honourable lives. Such is growingly the case, at least in England, with the great bourgeois middle class. Of course in this same class, and

still more in the working class, there is a rapidly spreading atheism and hostility to religion. And in all classes, including the highest, many alarming symptoms are showing themselves of practices and ideas rapidly making way that may properly be described as the tendencies to a revived paganism that commonly appear in a civilization becoming decadent. It is the same, or worse, in all the countries of Europe—relaxed morality, rejection of the sanctities of marriage, loosening of the family ties, lowering of the traditional standards of public decency, throwing off of the restraints of the Christian code to revert to what is called naturalism. So it is not too much to say that, in addition to the evils of the industrial and commercial and financial world—themselves also due to the abandonment of Christian principle in another direction—the battle which the Catholic Church is facing, under the banner of the Popes, in defence of the root principles of the civilization that she has been instrumental in handing on from former times, is with a general invasion of a revived pagan and purely naturalistic outlook on life.

Will she be able to combat this menace of a renewed paganism and save the old Christianized Civilization?

Well, it is not the first time that the Church has been faced with the task of preserving the traditional civilization of Europe from the inroads of paganism and barbarism. Time was when the barbarian hordes of Celts and Teutons and Slavs were over-running Europe and bidding fair to extinguish and wipe out the civilization and culture, handed on in Christianized form, chiefly by the influence of the Church, from the old culture and civilization of Greece and of Rome. And then it was the Catholic Church, when the Roman Empire was crumbling away, that stepped into the breach, and by slow, patient, persistent endeavour, by converting to Christianity, and christianizing, and civilizing the conquerors, instructing and training them in the arts of peace and ordered family and civil life, by means of the Christian religion, gradually turned them into the peoples that have become the nations of our modern Europe. How slow and painful and difficult the process was may be read in the pages

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of Gregory of Tours's *History of the Franks*.¹ A nation did not become a Christian people by being baptized; it took a long long time to tutor them in the ways of Christian and civilized life. Words of Edmund Bishop may be cited:

It is now recognized on all hands that the action of the Church in those dark ages that lay between the downfall of the ancient civilization and the rise of the new forms one of her fairest titles to the veneration and gratitude of mankind; for the undercurrents of the Church's influence, and her social action on the everyday life of the peoples she was civilizing, persuasively show forth her heavenly mission to teach and guide mankind.

We may well say that the work before the Catholic Church to-day is at least not more difficult or more apparently hopeless than it was then. The Popes have pointed out the way—return to Christian principle and Christian morality by those calling themselves Christians; and a banding together of all professing Christians, and all Believers in God, in a new Crusade to defend religion and civilization, and to withstand the destructive forces that are threatening the social order. If only the Popes' Voice be once again listened to and followed, then once again, as in former ages, the Catholic Church could prove itself the Saviour of Civilization.

This is the Attitude of the Catholic Church to Modern Civilization.

¹ Translation by Dalton, Oxford University Press.

NON-PAPAL CHRISTIANITY FROM 1648
TO THE PRESENT DAY

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NON-PAPAL CHRISTIANITY FROM 1648 TO THE PRESENT DAY

I

THE Congress of Westphalia, which set itself to repair the damages of the Thirty Years War, was the first general congress of Europe. It is as important from the point of view of religious as of secular history. It marked the end of the Counter-Reformation and fixed the limits of Catholicism and Protestantism. It ignored the displeasure of the Papacy and gave to Lutherans and Calvinists the right of exercising their religion and occupying public offices. This did not mean that the three faiths were tolerated within the bounds of each State. Much water must flow under the bridges before that goal could be reached. It meant that the civil ruler had the right of fixing the religion of his subjects but that the States were bound to a mutual toleration. It thus introduced on the Continent that era of National Churches which had begun in England with the Reformation itself.

In France the bulk of the nation had never succumbed to the attractions of Protestantism, and the Catholic future of the country had been assured by the decision of Henry of Navarre that Paris was well worth a Mass. The security of the Huguenots, however, had been guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes, and they had settled down to a kind of semi-independent existence in the towns allotted to them. To subsequent statesmen this condition of things seemed to conflict with the ideal of national unity. The centralizing policy of Richelieu, based upon Catholicism, drove the Huguenots into rebellion. In spite of English help they were beaten into submission, and the fall of La Rochelle marked the end of such political autonomy as they possessed. Nevertheless, the Peace of Alais (1629) guaranteed them religious liberty, and they continued to be a most valuable element in the social and industrial life of the community. This happy state of things was brought to an end in the reign of the *Grand Monarque*. Louis XIV, although he had struggled

against the Papacy for the control of the Church in his dominions, was no friend of heresy. He supported the efforts of the great preachers to win converts by his system of *dragonnades*, the quartering of unwelcome troops in Protestant households. Such methods of persecution resulted in the flight of many Huguenots from the country and, when it was deemed that too few were left for effective resistance, the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685. In accordance with this Revocation reformed worship was forbidden, corporate property was forfeit, and pastors were exiled. Emigration of the adherents was forbidden, but in spite of the prohibition it is estimated that three hundred thousand left the country. Amongst other things France lost its weaving trade to Holland, England, and Ireland. Many of the refugees found a protector in William of Orange, and returned his hospitality by assisting him on his arrival in England for the 'Glorious Revolution'. The Great Elector of Brandenburg was another whose country greatly profited by the protection given to the Huguenots. Other hosts, however, who were within reach of French influence were not so fortunate. In Savoy the Vaudois, or Waldenses, who had sheltered some of the refugees, suffered heavily. The Duke of Savoy was cousin to Louis XIV and obeyed his demand to treat the Waldenses as the Huguenots were already being treated. In the resultant persecution over twenty thousand were killed or imprisoned, while most of the rest escaped into Switzerland, where they were well received by the Protestant cantons. A small body of two hundred, however, remained in the mountain caves and so terrorized the new tenants of their homes that the Duke was glad to open his prison doors and let their comrades migrate to Geneva. But those who thus found a temporary shelter in Switzerland actually made their way back to their mountain fastnesses, defeated a detachment of French troops, and held out against the Duke until in 1694 they were granted liberty of worship. A still worse struggle was in the Cevennes, where the Camisards, stirred up by their prophets, carried on a guerrilla warfare against the royal troops until internal quarrels deprived them of leaders and led to the extermination of those who had

not already escaped to England. Thus in France the principle of 'one people one religion' was sternly maintained. The aim of that policy had been the strengthening of the State during the period of France's ascendancy in European politics. It is one of the ironies of history that its triumph coincided with the defeat of the Gallicanism which had as its object the nationalization of the Catholic Church in that country. It was Rome that reaped the advantage of the religious unity so hardly won.

Sweden, in the early part of the seventeenth century, had seen the tremendous triumphs gained for Lutheranism by the arms of her great king, Gustavus Adolphus. But after the end of the Thirty Years War there came some slackening of partisan zeal, and there were not wanting theologians, like Matthiae and Terserus, who began to ask whether, after all, some *rapprochement* with Calvinism might not be possible. The principle of nationalism, however, proved too strong for what was called the 'syncretistic heresy'. Charles XI introduced absolute monarchy, and the Church followed the usual Lutheran custom of relying upon the prince rather than developing its own system of self-government. Consequently it was possible for this king to issue a new Church Law in 1686 by which there was imposed upon the whole nation not only the Augsburg Confession but the complete Lutheran explanation of it contained in the *Liber Concordiae*. Thus at the time when in England, as we shall see, the royal hold upon the Church was being relaxed and toleration was to make a definite advance, it happened that in Sweden the terms of subscription were tightened and the Church was more securely welded to the Government than ever.

In the Netherlands also the early part of the seventeenth century saw nationalism allied to strictness of credal definition. In 1618 the Synod of Dort had limited religion to a narrow interpretation of Calvinism, and two hundred Arminian clergy had been compelled to leave the country. But Calvinism had never easily brooked control on the part of the State, and in this instance strictness produced a reaction in favour of the Arminians, who had mingled their liberal theology with Erastian views on the proper relation between Church and State.

Consequently the Remonstrants, as they were called, were soon readmitted into Holland, although they did not win official recognition till long after. But after this check Dutch Calvinism began to show itself less rigid than the original Genevan model. Thus Holland was enabled to become the seed-plot of Pietism, its newly engendered spirit of toleration being particularly favourable to the growth of the more ardent and personal type of religion which formed the essential characteristic of that movement.

These events, from beginning to end of the century, had considerable influence in England, whose representatives had attended the Synod of Dort and whose superior clergy, in close alliance with the Crown, were both Arminian and Erastian. But against them considerable opposition was aroused by the Puritans, some of whom under the leadership of men like Robert Browne had become Separatists. For a number of these Holland had provided a refuge, and some formed the Pilgrim Fathers, who emigrated to New England in 1620. There remained, however, many who could not and would not accept the services of the national Church. These consisted mostly of middle-class people whose united disaffection was powerful enough to bring about the Civil War, culminating in the execution of Charles I the year after the Peace of Westphalia had been proclaimed. During the Commonwealth the Church of England had no legal rights. Under the name of Prelacy it was excluded from that measure of toleration which Cromwell granted even to Jews. Commissions of Triers carefully examined not only all candidates for preferment but also those who were already incumbents. The clergy who could not satisfy their Puritan interlocutors were ejected from their office and were forbidden not simply to fulfil their clerical functions but even to act as schoolmasters. The 'Directory of Worship' together with the 'Confession' drawn up at Westminster in 1645 replaced the Prayer Book. Presbyterianism, however, did not gain as much as it expected from this turn of events. Cromwell was himself an Independent, ready to allow to each congregation its own self-government. It was this Independency that became in effect the established

religion of the country. During its reign the destruction of church ornaments was renewed, the Christian festivals were not observed, marriage was looked upon as no more than a civil contract, and such frivolities as dancing were forbidden. Significant as such details are, it is more important for us to notice the political meaning of the conflict. The struggle in England was not for the maintenance of a national Church nor for the establishment of a particular form of religion, but rather for parliamentary control of such church and religion as acquired the status of a national establishment. The question had long been debated. The Tudors, after they had cast off the Papal supremacy, had claimed for themselves the title of Supreme Head or Supreme Governor of the Church. Their method of exercising their supremacy had varied considerably: sometimes they had acted through Parliament, sometimes through the Convocations, sometimes through other means. The resultant doctrine, however, seems to have been that the proper authority for ecclesiastical legislation was that of the Convocations acting with the Royal Assent. Under the early Stuarts the Crown had proved itself unable to sustain its claim and the power of Parliament in ecclesiastical affairs had waxed stronger. Finally the arrival of the Commonwealth signalized the complete control of religion by Parliament. Presbyterianism indeed, if it had been successful, would have imposed its customary discipline to act as some check upon the secular power, but the triumph of Cromwell's Independency precluded that consummation. The extent of his triumph is perhaps best seen in the refusal to fix any standard of dogma beyond the exclusion of Popery, Prelacy, and Licentiousness. During the Commonwealth incumbencies were actually held by men of widely different ecclesiastical views and origin.

It was at the outset of this régime that in 1647 George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, began his ministry. To him it was already apparent that the formalism which he believed to be the besetting sin of the national Church was no less characteristic of the various Puritan bodies. He proposed therefore to dispense with all forms whatsoever and rely solely upon the direct

inspiration of God in the heart of the individual believer. This was to put each private person into the privileged position which even Independency had only demanded for the congregation. Beyond it no further extreme was possible. The fact that such a system could commend itself at all might well be taken to show the impossibility of establishing any form of religious uniformity in the immediate future.

So at least Charles II seems to have thought at the time of the Restoration. In the Declaration of Breda he promised that no man should be called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion. But the overwhelming reaction in favour of Anglicanism and the Crown made such toleration impracticable. The deprived clergy were ordered back to their posts by the Parliament of 1660, and when an attempt was made at the Savoy Conference the next year to reconcile Anglicans and Puritans neither side would make any concession. Such alterations as were made in the Prayer Book did not lean in the Puritan direction, and the last of the Acts of Uniformity (1662) insisted upon episcopal ordination for all clergy. The Puritans thereupon seceded from the Church, two thousand ministers going out into the wilderness on St. Bartholomew's Day. Henceforth non-conformity was synonymous with dissent.

But not necessarily with a dissent which was entirely separate from the Church. Acceptance of the principle of nationality in religion was still to some extent affirmed by the practice of Occasional Conformity. The fact that the religion of the later Stuarts differed from that of the bulk of the people made the Crown anxious to inaugurate concessions for the Dissenters from which their own Roman Catholic sympathizers might also derive some benefit. At the same time it made Parliament more than ever anxious to assert its own right to dictate the religion of the people. During the reign of Charles II we see the interplay of these rival aims in the Clarendon Code, the Declaration of Indulgence, and the Test Act of 1673. Intransigent Puritans were kept out of all offices and were forbidden the public exercise of their religion, but relief was given to all who were willing on occasion to receive Communion according to the Anglican

rite. As was foreseen, this provision was of no value to the Roman Catholics, and the only thing Charles was able finally to achieve for them was to secure the succession for his brother James. During these events the Convocations had little power. In 1664 they had light-heartedly surrendered their right to vote the subsidies of the clergy. Once the Crown became able to secure taxation through Parliament alone it did not bother to summon Convocation again till 1689.

Before that happened James II had forfeited his right to rule. He had been carried to the throne in the reaction that had followed the carefully fostered confusion of the Popish Plot and the Rye House Plot, but had been foolish enough to arouse public opinion against him by defying the Test Act and appointing members of his own Church to posts in the army and in the University of Oxford. Unfortunately for him this coincided with the wave of sympathy which at that time swept the country for the Huguenots fleeing from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. James, however, went on to publish a Declaration of Indulgence, as Charles had done, granting right of public worship not only to the Protestant sects but also to Roman Catholics. The instructions given to the clergy that this Declaration should be read in the churches brought about the famous trial of the seven bishops. The Pope himself recognized the futility of James's action. The infatuated king was left alone to face the revolution he had provoked, and sought safety in flight. With the accession of William and Mary, Parliament saw the triumph of the principle of popular control in national religion.

In the midst of these changes there developed in Cambridge a school of thinkers whose restrained and reasonable piety was at once a protest against over-centralization in religious authority and an effort to find a mean between Puritanism and Prelacy. These were the Cambridge Platonists, of whom the most noteworthy are Whichcote, Smith, Cudworth, and More. They attempted to combine the revealed religion which they found in the Bible with the natural religion which they found in Plato. In this effort they relied, not upon authority, but upon the

enlightened reason of the individual seeker after truth, a trait that naturally made for 'broad-mindedness'. They were therefore called 'men of latitude' or Latitudinarians. Although they made little progress against the theological stiffness of their own day, they kept open the possibility of a philosophical breadth of view, and prepared the way for important developments in the next century.

Meanwhile the Scots were struggling over the question which form of religion should be regarded as national in their country. Episcopacy had been temporarily overthrown by the Assembly of 1638. Six Scottish commissioners were present at the Westminster Assembly of 1645, and the results of that gathering as shown in the Directory of Public Worship, the Confession of Faith, and the Longer and Shorter Catechisms had been more important in Scotland than in England. In spite of the share taken by the Scots in the downfall of Charles I his execution produced a revulsion of feeling, and Charles II, promising to uphold the Covenant, was proclaimed King by them at Edinburgh. In defiance of his promise Episcopacy was restored, but, as no liturgy was imposed, the services differed little from those which had become familiar under the Presbyterians. Enactments somewhat similar to those of the Clarendon Code were introduced, and they had the effect of arousing a new and more violent set of Covenanters who began to win considerable support in the western shires. Bishop Leighton of Dunblane made a vain attempt to procure peace by a modified system of episcopacy in which the bishops should be made amenable to the advice of their presbyters, but the Assertory Act of 1669 subjected the Church to the control of the Crown. In spite of all the repressive measures covenanting conventicles increased and Archbishop Sharp was actually murdered. Some relief from the never-ending strife came with the publication of James's Indulgence in 1687. After that the faithful adherence of the bishops to the Crown brought about their undoing. As they refused to give their support to William, the government of the Church was once again taken out of their hands and in 1690 Presbyterianism was established.

Ireland during the seventeenth century affords an example of a country where the majority of the people were not able to make their wishes in religious matters prevail. The repressive measures adopted by Strafford had done nothing to wean the nation from its old views. After his removal disaffection broke out into open revolt in 1641, and was responsible for many massacres before Cromwell restored order. His harsh method of accomplishing his end affected English royalists and Irish Roman Catholics alike and was not calculated to win popular support for the Puritan régime. At the Restoration matters were in a state of grave confusion owing to the existence of no fewer than five sections of the population with mutually irreconcilable claims on the land. This agrarian difficulty still further embittered religious feeling and made a settlement impossible. For the greater part of Charles II's reign the Roman Catholics escaped the incidence of the penal laws, but Ormonde's efforts to unite the various classes of Protestants into a political unity were defeated by the episcopalians, even the good bishop Jeremy Taylor assisting in the persecution of the Ulster Presbyterians and Independents by turning ministers out of their churches. The Irish Convocation accepted the revised Prayer Book of 1662, and the Irish Parliament passed an Act of Uniformity to enforce its use in 1665. After the Revolution non-conformity abounded. But the tolerant spirit that now began to make headway in England reached Ireland also, and although they were not yet legally recognized both Catholic and Protestant Dissenters found their liberty of conscience but little impeded.

Throughout this period the religious condition of Europe was very faithfully reflected in America. The land colonized by Protestants was parcelled out among the various faiths without much approach to toleration in any one territory. Massachusetts was the home of Calvinistic theology and a Congregationalist form of Church government. The fact that four Quakers were hanged in Boston shows how firmly Puritans held to the right of establishing the exclusive observance of their own precise form of religion when the opportunity presented itself. But

in 1682 the Quaker, William Penn, obtained leave to found for his co-religionists the colony named Pennsylvania. The Anglicans were established in Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas. Their work showed great promise with its carefully organized parochial system and its college built after a design by Wren, but it was condemned to a close association with the Church of the mother country which afterwards did it much harm. Laud had intended to place a bishop there, but his purpose was not achieved when he fell. James II ordered that all the colonial clergy should obtain a certificate from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1668 they were put under the supervision of the Bishop of London. The outbreak of the War of Independence meant the end of establishment as far as Anglicans were concerned, but for the rest privilege survived this cataclysm and in some cases lasted on till the middle of the nineteenth century.

The position of the Eastern Orthodox also presents some points of similarity. The various autocephalous churches into which they were divided were closely associated with the secular governments of the States they served. They were contained within the two empires of the Turks and the Russians. In the former the ecclesiastical organization was carefully used by the conqueror as a means of subjecting the Christian people to taxation and discipline. The Patriarch of Constantinople, with the Greek officials of the Phanar, thus became an instrument of oppression over half the area of Orthodoxy. Cyril Lucar, who had tried to develop a more worthy policy and was interested in reformed theology, had found himself accused of stirring up the Cossacks against their Turkish masters and had been put to death by the Janissaries in 1638. The reaction against his teaching produced the Council of Bethlehem or Jerusalem in 1672, at which the Greeks repudiated Calvinism and accepted the doctrine of Transubstantiation, this being the point at which Greek theology came nearer to establishing accord with Western dogma than at any period since the eleventh century. But on the political side the natural pressure of Turkish rule was towards an ever-increasing centralization within the empire. The less the Turk was able to trust his Balkan subjects the more he

was anxious to fasten upon their necks the yoke of the Phanariot Greeks. Thus Serbia was deprived of its independent patriarchate in 1689 and was put under the immediate ecclesiastical control of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The same fate befell Bulgaria in 1767, when it lost its autocephalous Archbishop of Ochrida. This association with the Turkish oppression and the persistent efforts at Hellenization were to make the Greeks cordially disliked in the Balkans for many generations.

The Church in Russia was also spiritually subject to Constantinople. But in this instance the rapacity of the Sultan led to spiritual liberty. In 1589 the Patriarch had gone to Moscow in order to beg contributions towards the sum owed by him to the Turks. As the price of their help the Russians demanded and obtained the privilege of an independent patriarchate of Moscow. However, in escaping one evil the Russians fell into another. After freedom from outside control had been thus secured two events served to cement Church and State in a closeness of union which was to be a dominating factor in later Russian history. An attack from Catholic Poland made Roman Catholicism in Russia synonymous with treason and Orthodoxy with loyalty, while the fact that the father of the first Romanov Emperor was Patriarch of Moscow tended to make the civil and ecclesiastical governments appear but two sides of the same shield. There were, however, some variations upon this theme. Out of agitation over the alleged heresy of Dionysius, the archimandrite of the Troitski Lavra, emerged the 'Orthodox Confession' of Peter Mogila which was strongly Latin in tone and gave a precedent for the western leaning of that synod of Jerusalem already mentioned. On the other hand, the liturgical reforms of the Patriarch Nikon, and especially his claim to be the true head of the Church in place of the Tsar, led to a still more complete nationalization of the ecclesiastical government. Nikon was deprived in 1666, and although his reforms still affected the liturgy there was no one left to defend the Church from secular encroachment. Nonconformists, impatient both of liturgical reform and State authority, arose in the shape of the Old Believers, but they were repressed with barbarous cruelty.

Finally Peter the Great succeeded in making ecclesiastical administration a department of State. In 1721 he put the Patriarchate into commission, establishing the Holy Synod as a substitute for the person of the Patriarch, and himself appointing a lay Procurator who regulated all its business.

Thus in Russia the Cesaro-papalism, which is sometimes said to be characteristic of Orthodoxy, achieved an almost violent expression, and indeed it was the strongest example of Erastianism that any branch of the old historic Church could at that time afford. But in so far as this represents an ardent nationalism it may be said to have been the prevailing characteristic of seventeenth-century Christianity. In Scandinavia and the north German States it was actively furthered by Lutheranism, in England it was a corner-stone of Anglicanism, in Switzerland, Scotland, and the Netherlands it was actually allied with the proverbial independence of Calvinism. But the spirit spread beyond the bounds of the non-Papal churches. Even in Ireland the strength with which Catholicism was maintained was partly attributable to hatred of English dominance, and the Gallicanism of France shows that continental Catholicism was by no means free from it. But while the Catholic States found its disruptive influence balanced by the centralizing power of Rome, the Protestant and Orthodox States were subject to no such overpowering impulse towards unity. Hence it came about that the seventeenth century confirmed that break-up of Christendom which had occurred in the sixteenth, and which the Counter-Reformation had been unable to repair. It was the logical working-out of the doctrine that lay behind the Peace of Westphalia.

II

The main interest of the eighteenth century lies in the emergence of the spirit of toleration. It may not seem at first sight clear why this principle took so long in making its appearance even after the civil governments had begun to take so controlling a part in ecclesiastical affairs. But it must be remembered that ever since the time of Constantine, the first Christian emperor,

secular rulers had looked upon Christianity as a convenient means of binding their own people together. For this reason it had been their habit to suppress all unorthodox views with a heavy hand. Ecclesiastical authorities with their exalted sense of the importance of correct belief had been only too ready to support this rigidity. But civil government is always more opportunist than ecclesiastical authority, and once it was apparent that men's religious faith was not amenable to physical correction it became the part of statesmanship to provide a *modus vivendi*. The lesson was a simple one, but it took much learning.

In England Cromwell's Independency, with its refusal to fix a dogmatic standard, and the Stuarts' Indulgences, seeking to find a place for the adherents of the Papacy by the general recognition of Dissent, had prepared the way for the work of William III. He had been trained in the later school of Dutch Calvinism, and would have liked to see Puritans and Anglicans united in a common form of worship. The love of the Prayer Book, which had become almost part of the English character during the late struggles, made this impossible. The only alternative was to agree to differ. Thus the logic of facts brought about the Toleration Act of 1689 which granted complete liberty of worship to all but Roman Catholics and Unitarians. This did not imply religious equality, even for the beneficiaries under the Act. The National Church still retained its position of privilege, and it was necessary that every Nonconformist place of worship should be certified by a bishop, archdeacon, or justice of the peace. But at least Nonconformists were exempted from the penalties of the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act, and the Five Mile Act. It is interesting to notice that a reasoned defence of the new attitude was provided in the same year by John Locke, who began the publication of his *Letters concerning Toleration*. He contended that both doctrine and forms of worship were outside the cognizance of the civil magistrate, who is concerned with external matters only. He excluded Roman Catholics and Atheists from the scope of this benevolence on the ground that the former were subject to a foreign prince and that

the latter held opinions subversive of society. Even so the argument, if logically pressed, would not have vindicated the Act for, if religion is not the concern of the State, favour was as unjustifiable as intolerance and the establishment could have been condemned on the same ground as persecution. However, the argument was not pressed, and a common-sense attitude prevailed. This was fortunate, as some degree of toleration had to be found even for enemies of the Crown. We have seen that in Scotland the refusal of the bishops to accept the results of the Revolution had brought about the establishment of Presbyterianism. In England it brought about the Non-Juring Schism. Archbishop Sancroft, eight bishops, and four hundred clergy, who could not feel themselves dispensed from their oath of allegiance to James, seceded from the National Church and started a schism which did not completely die out until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In this case the absence of anything like real persecution shows how far opinion had advanced. In 1707 further witness to this advance was given by the Act of Union, when Presbyterianism was recognized as the established religion of Scotland while Anglicanism was confirmed in its position in England.

However, in the next reign there was some reaction. To many the practice of Occasional Conformity by which the Dissenters still qualified for public office had become a grave scandal. After several attempts to put a stop to it had been frustrated by the Whigs in the House of Lords, an Act forbidding it was at last passed in 1711. Three years later the Schism Act forbade the Dissenters to keep schools, only the death of the Queen staying the execution of the measure. The pendulum swung back again with the arrival of the Hanoverians. The Occasional Conformity Act and the Schism Act were repealed, and from 1727 onwards Walpole passed an annual Indemnity Act granting legal pardon to Dissenters who had failed to comply with the Test Act. This compromise endured for a century, but the practical equality of Churchman and Dissenter was at length made legal by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828. The crown and consummation of this long process was

at length achieved by the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in the following year.

In Scotland the Act of Union had brought some relief to Episcopalians by making the General Assembly less inclined to tyrannize over its defeated rivals, and an Act of Toleration in 1712 allowed them liberty of worship and the use of the English Prayer Book. At the same time the various religions were set free from the jurisdiction and discipline of the established Presbyterians. But in the time of the first two Georges there was a great change. The clergy had become involved in the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 with the result that a series of penal laws was enacted which almost stamped them out. However, relief came in the reign of George III, and, when the clergy had agreed to pray for him as King, the penal statutes were withdrawn in 1792. It has been estimated that during these troubles the clergy of the Episcopal Church in Scotland were reduced from six hundred to forty-four (of whom four were bishops) and the laity from two-thirds of the population to less than a twentieth.

In Germany the eighteenth century saw the last expression of the *cuius regio eius religio* ideal. Firmian, Archbishop of Salzburg, who had become Primate of Germany, actually expelled twenty thousand Protestants from his dominions in 1727. They were received by Prussia and brought much gain to their host. Indeed, Prussia became a home of religious liberty, and Frederick the Great was responsible for a noteworthy act of toleration. When the Jesuits were being expelled from the Catholic countries he offered them a home in his own Protestant territories. Thus he shares with Catherine of Russia the fame of preserving that Order for its future revival. Indeed, he allowed complete religious freedom to all but Jews. But while Christians enjoyed the fruits they could hardly admire the reason of this liberality. Frederick, like his contemporary Voltaire, was completely indifferent to questions of religion.

In the Netherlands the Remonstrants, whose return to their native country had long been unofficially connived at, did not receive legal recognition until 1795. In Savoy the Waldenses were only allowed to exist on sufferance, and had to endure

petty persecution until the French Revolution and the subsequent patronage of Napoleon brought them relief. It was then that in 1806 they built their cathedral at St. Jean. In Ireland Nonconformists gained relief from a Toleration Act passed in 1719, but the Roman Catholics were not emancipated until 1829. In Sweden also complete toleration delayed its coming. Gustavus III, who belonged to the rationalistic school of Frederick the Great, permitted Jews to settle in three towns and gave them certain civil rights, while he allowed to foreigners of other faiths the exercise of their religion. But in the next reign a difficulty could still be made of this question. When it was sought to frame a contract of marriage between the young king, Gustavus IV, and a Russian princess, the proceedings were broken off at the last minute on the ground that it would be impossible to allow the bride a chapel in which to follow her own manner of worship.

But the facts and dates we have enumerated are only the framework of the movement towards toleration. For its motive power we must examine the profound changes that were taking place in the thought of the age. The force which more than any other made for religious liberty was the advance of scientific knowledge. Starting from a profound interest in mathematics, and combining with it a gift for experimentation, the scientists of the period inaugurated an epoch in the progress of mankind. This had an important influence upon theology. All theological reasoning had hitherto been deductive. The divines of the Reformation, although for their religion they had relied upon the immediacy of experience, had in their theology been as completely dominated by the syllogism as had the medieval thinkers whose systems they had sought to overthrow. Comparison between the *Institutes* of Calvin and the *Summa* of Aquinas would be sufficient to bear this out. It can hardly be denied that, whatever merits this method of reasoning may possess, it may readily become the servant of superstition. The new method, with its emphasis upon doubt, observation, experiment, induction, was more likely to err on that side which will give credence only where there is mathematical certainty.

As an example of the influence exercised by the new method we may cite the changed attitude taken up by the eighteenth century to the question of witchcraft. In England the evangelical Puritan, Richard Baxter, the mystical physician, Sir Thomas Browne, and the statesman-moralist, Joseph Addison, all believed in witchcraft. But before the eighteenth century was far advanced the judicial burning of witches was abandoned in most parts of Europe, and in England the laws against sorcery were actually repealed as early as 1736.

Thus the tendency of the time was towards the elimination of the capricious incidence of the supernatural, and there came a consequent desire to reduce all phenomena to the reign of natural law. This inevitably brought with it an ever closer examination of the miraculous element in the Bible. Pascal had complained of Descartes that he would have liked to exclude God from the whole of his philosophy and that he had no further use for Him once He had set the world in motion. Spinoza, in 1670, had actually sought to prove that the so-called miracles in the Old Testament were simply manifestations of physical law. Both Descartes and Spinoza had had to guard themselves against the possibility of ecclesiastical censure. But that was in the previous century, and now the new spirit had come with its emphasis upon reason, its refusal to be bound by tradition, and its respect for experimental inquiry. It is this spirit that separates the modern world from both the Middle Ages and the period of the Reformation. That it was not in its origin opposed to religion is shown by the facts that Descartes himself developed arguments for the existence of God, that it was welcomed by the Cambridge Platonists, and that Newton remained a convinced Anglican. But that it was likely to prove a solvent of old credal definitions and to produce a tolerance that amounted to indifference was early shown by the rise of that type of theology which has since been known as Deism. This first appeared in England, but soon exercised a profound influence upon the Continent.

England under the administration of Walpole, who was using the high ecclesiastical offices as rewards for his own party in the

State, afforded a favourable seed-plot for the free growth of these opinions. When ecclesiastical opposition seemed likely to limit such freedom, as it did in the case of Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, the Convocations were prorogued and not allowed to meet again for the discussion of business for a hundred and thirty-five years. Hoadly had aroused the wrath of the clergy by taking up a position against the Non-Jurors which made the theory of a visible church unnecessary. This practical question gave way to others of a more philosophical character. John Locke, in extending his views on toleration from the political to the ecclesiastical sphere, had wished to drop the creeds altogether and to put in their place a simple acceptance of the New Testament, together with a declaration of belief in Jesus as the Messiah. Upon this there arose the Trinitarian Controversy in which Waterland destroyed the Arian compromise proposed by Samuel Clarke. Although Anglicans as a whole stood firm in their adherence to the historic faith, a large number of Presbyterians at this time abandoned the Trinitarian doctrine. This was the prelude to the Deistic Controversy in which the liberals sought to establish the view that there is an original common stock of 'natural' religion lying behind all the different manifestations of so-called 'revealed' religion. It is this natural religion which is alone worthy of the credence of the scientist and the philosopher. This controversy had an almost overwhelming effect upon all subsequent theological inquiry. In our own day it has entered upon a new phase with the development of historical criticism and the comparative study of religions. But its most important immediate result was that it stirred into activity the great idealist philosopher, Bishop Berkeley, who wrote his *Alciphron* to defend a definite Christian belief against the whittling methods of the Deists, whom he dubbed 'minute philosophers'. Two other champions of the faith in this war of giants were Bishop Butler, whose famous *Analogy* was an answer to Toland's *Christianity not Mysteriorious*, and William Law, whose reasoned mysticism was a match for Matthew Tindal's argument that if God is unchanging there can be nothing in Christianity at once both new and true.

English Deism, and especially that of Toland, had a considerable vogue in Germany, where it was reinforced by the influence of the French Encyclopaedists, who had themselves learned so much from England. The volumes of the *Encyclopaedia* appeared between 1751 and 1776 with the immediate object of producing a complete exposition of all the scientific knowledge of the day and with the underlying purpose of resisting irrationality, corruption, and tyranny in Church and State. Already Bayle, at the end of the seventeenth century, moved by the death of his father, a Protestant minister, had published a lay sermon against persecution from the text, 'Compel them to come in', and Montesquieu, in his *Spirit of the Laws*, had exposed the futility of coercion. Voltaire pointed these shafts with his biting sarcasm, and it was Voltaire, the friend both of Bayle and of Frederick the Great, who made this influence most felt in Germany. The soil had been well prepared. Leibnitz from the court of Hanover had sought to find a basis of union between Catholic and Protestant, Lutheran and Calvinist, and this had naturally turned men's minds to the common ground of all religions. In 1721 Christian Wolff had expended his praises on the moral philosophy of Confucius. Wolff was banished, but afterwards recalled. Henceforth the followers of the *Aufklärung*, or Enlightenment, were free to pursue their arguments without fear of expulsion even from their own church organization, a fact which became at once the strength and weakness of later German Protestantism.

The greatest philosophical representative of this undogmatic religion was Kant, and its best-known literary representative Goethe. But from the more narrowly theological point of view an epoch-making event was the publication from the Duke of Brunswick's library of some forgotten tracts by Reimarus. In these Christ was described as a deluded apocalypticist who thought that the end of the world was at hand and built His doctrine on that supposition. This provoked an era of Biblical criticism and was paralleled in the historical sphere by the new departure of Semler, who taught that some parts of Scripture were better vehicles of revelation than others and that the

Catholic creeds were a late development, thus inaugurating that historical study of dogma which is one of the most striking features of theological inquiry in our own day.

The consequences of this wave of intellectualism were widely different in the countries most affected by it. In France it led to the Revolution, in Germany it produced the great age of philosophy, in England it called forth our greatest Christian apologies. But in all three alike it made ultimately for toleration. While the conclusions arrived at were on the whole conservative in England and liberal in France and Germany, the struggle in both cases was recognized as being over questions much more fundamental than those raised in earlier controversies. The points in which Christians had before differed among themselves seemed no longer of such importance as to warrant persecution. But it would be a great mistake to think that this was the only motive for toleration. If that were so it might be possible to ascribe the increase of liberty to the waning of conviction. But in point of fact there remains still to be considered a movement of first-rate importance, entirely different in character from that with which we have been dealing, but also having the effect of encouraging toleration.

It is always true that the fundamentally religious needs of men cannot be satisfied either by ecclesiastical politics or by intellectual reasoning. In the eighteenth century many vigorous efforts were made to lead the more devout to an experience which would satisfy their craving for moral and spiritual renewal. These were not confined to any one section of the religious community, but a number of standard works of devotion all helped to generate a type of piety that was to find marked expression first on the Continent and then in England. Personal salvation and moral discipline, combined with felt experience of the forgiving love of Christ, were the chief notes of the movement known as 'Pietism'. Its first home was in Holland, where Teelinck, who had learned something from the English Puritans, and Gisbert Voet, the leader of Dutch Calvinistic orthodoxy, contributed to it a certain air of distinction. Its first promoter in Germany was Philip Spener, who towards the

end of the seventeenth century began to gather his followers together into the *collegia pietatis* that gave the movement its name. One of his disciples, August Hermann Francke, began Bible classes for the devotional study of the Scriptures, and was appointed professor at the newly founded University of Halle, which was henceforth the centre of Pietism. One of Francke's disciples, Nicolaus von Zinzendorf, gave a shelter on his estates at Herrnhut to some German-speaking Moravians who had fled from their homes during the Thirty Years War. This resulted in an extraordinary development, for he not only procured their recognition as a branch of the State Church in 1749, but also managed to settle a number of them in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. They accepted the Augsburg Confession but retained their episcopal form of government. It was these Moravians who were largely responsible for the introduction of Pietism to England.

In this country Deism and the intellectual controversies of the time had united with political events to produce a period of religious calm, if not of stagnation. But the vigour with which the attack upon the Christian faith had been met had at least produced a confidence of mind which was peculiarly favourable to the emergence of religious zeal. Some indication of this was given in the revival of those societies for the reformation of manners and the prosecution of good works which had been a marked feature of Queen Anne's reign. It was as such a society that the original Methodists, a little band of Oxford men gathered together about the year 1729 by the brothers John and Charles Wesley, appealed to their contemporaries in the university. Seven years later the elder of the two brothers went on a missionary expedition to Georgia. He came in touch with the Moravians and on his return to England under their influence enjoyed an experience of conversion which had a formative effect on all his subsequent life. He entered upon his career as an itinerant preacher, impelling thousands of the new working-class population, for whom the Church had not yet learned to provide, towards the same emotional crisis through which he had himself passed, and leaving them with such an

assurance of God's love and forgiveness that their lives were both enriched and improved. As the work spread he began to organize his followers and to enlist the help of lay preachers. Since the bishops were suspicious of his 'enthusiasm' and the Convocations were unable to discuss any business, the Methodist Movement was allowed to drift more and more into the position of a sect. In 1784 Wesley ordained a superintendent and two presbyters for the work in America. This was the real beginning of the great Methodist Episcopal Church in that country, and it logically involved a breach with the Church of England. Henceforth the main influence of the movement was to lie outside the borders of Anglicanism. Nevertheless, it left one permanent mark upon its parent. George Whitefield, an early friend of John Wesley, had quarrelled with him on doctrinal grounds; while Wesley was an Arminian, Whitefield was a thoroughgoing Calvinist. The Calvinistic Methodists of Wales are the lineal descendants of one section of the latter's followers. Others, after the partial failure of Lady Huntingdon's attempt to found a separate 'Connexion' for them, remained in the fold of the Church of England. It is their particular form of piety that has formed the strength of the 'Evangelical' party in that Church down to our own times.

The spirit of toleration gained as much from the deepening of religious devotion as it had done from the philosophical tendencies of the century. Unity in a religion of the heart was felt to be of more importance than doctrinal agreement, and the decline of interest in dogmatic theology, already set on foot by the Deistic movement, became more marked than ever. In Germany Pietism had produced a conventicle religion within the recognized ecclesiastical bodies. In England Methodism split off into separate organizations. But all alike benefited from the growing tolerance of variety in belief, which made official persecution impossible.

It remains to mention as a peculiar feature of the century the curious Gnostic system initiated in Sweden by the great engineer and scientist Emmanuel Swedenborg, the contemporary of Linnaeus. His profound and valuable researches in mineralogy and

anatomy led him to inquire into the nature of spirit and resulted in a view which reduced all being to a unity. In London, during the year 1745, he had an experience which brought him into touch with the angelic world, communication with which he believed himself to regain by the simple mechanical means of holding the breath. Henceforth there was for him little real distinction between spiritual and material. Together with a Sabellian view of the Trinity he held a Mohammedan view of Heaven as a reproduction of the material delights of this world. To this was added the belief that the New Jerusalem was immediately to appear. He had no interest in ecclesiastical organization and no Swedenborgian Society was recognized in Sweden till 1885, but a body styling itself the New Church was founded by his followers and has still a small membership in England and America.

III

In the nineteenth century we have to notice first the continued progress of theological liberalism and some remarkable departures in the way of traditionalism. We have seen that while in England Deism was succeeded by Methodism, the opposite process took place in Germany; Pietism had lost its force and the most important development was in the intellectual sphere. To that development a new turn was given by the French Revolution, which had itself followed upon the teaching of the Encyclopaedists. During the period of the Enlightenment rationalism had been triumphant, but now an interest was aroused in the venerable institutions that were being destroyed or threatened. The Romantic Movement was the result. Further, as the Revolution was identified with atheism, there arose a quickened interest in religious belief. The nineteenth century saw the conclusions of philosophical thought applied more closely than ever to Biblical studies. Hegel's system with its emphasis upon the threefold movement of thought was applied by F. C. Baur and the Tübingen school to the history of primitive Christianity. The 'thesis' was provided by the Jewish Messiahship of Jesus as taught by St. Peter, the 'antithesis' was

the divinity of Christ and the universality of His Gospel as taught by St. Paul, while the 'synthesis' was the reconciliation set forth by St. Luke in the Acts and expressed in the creeds and institutions of the early Church. This gave an opportunity for the writing of naturalistic Lives of Christ. D. F. Strauss worked upon the Messianic suggestion, and sought to show how easy it would be for the Jewish believers to build up a Christ-myth around the human form of the Carpenter's Son. The Frenchman, Ernest Renan, who had been a priest but surrendered his orders, published in 1863 a popular and beautiful but unconvincing *Vie de Jésus*, which sought to explain everything on a non-miraculous basis. The Englishman, Sir John Seeley, in his *Ecce Homo*, tried to explain the teaching of Jesus from the same point of view. These books together set forth what may be called the Liberal Protestant explanation of the Gospel narrative. Jesus is a great teacher, perhaps the greatest of all time, but there is nothing supernatural about His life or His views: everything is reduced to the dull level of common sense and all mystery is carefully excluded. It is evident that in painting this portrait the nineteenth century was but drawing a picture after its own likeness. That it was a complete anachronism was shown by the Alsatian, Albert Schweitzer, who in his famous book *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (translated into English under the title *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*) took up the line of Reimarus and showed how impossible it was to explain the teaching of Jesus without allowing for all that was catastrophic and eschatological in His outlook. So far from being built upon the patterns of Old Testament prophecy or even of common sense, it was most closely comparable to that of the Jewish Apocalyptists whose horizon was darkened with the dust of cataclysms and for whom the end of the world was never far away. Thus he explained the exalted morality of Jesus as an *Interimsethik*, which was only practicable on the assumption that the world's dissolution could not be long delayed. Schweitzer may have gone too far in suggesting that Jesus was Himself a deluded apocalyptic dreamer, but there is no doubt that, by bringing into prominence features of the Gospel story that were being neglected, he

effectually prevented the easy triumph of a commonplace interpretation of the life and person of the Christ.

Side by side with this development of New Testament study, investigation was proceeding apace into the literary history of the Old Testament. Already in the eighteenth century the French scholars Simon and Astruc had suspected the work of different hands in such books of the Old Testament as gave duplicate versions of the same event. In 1823 Ewald showed that the question was not merely one of isolated fragments, but that whole documents lay behind our Pentateuch, and by 1834 Eduard Reuss had formed the hypothesis which still holds the field. It is noteworthy that this was a quarter of a century before Darwin published his *Origin of Species*. But when that epoch-making book had appeared the time was ripe for the publication of Reuss's theories by his pupil, K. H. Graf, in 1865. Then the changed views of Jewish history to which the new literary criticism of the Old Testament had given rise were found to fit with remarkable closeness into general evolutionary theory.

In England there resulted from this ferment of thought two sharply contrasted developments, the one Liberal and the other Conservative. It was the former which had the sympathy of the Government. Latitudinarians in theology were generally Whigs in politics, and it was the period of the Whig ascendancy. Rather naturally, perhaps, they thought it quite proper for the secular government to undertake the reform of ecclesiastical abuses. Parliament consequently set itself to a reform of the Church's organization which is not unworthy of comparison with that of the Reformation itself. The scholarly ease of the eighteenth century had reposed in the enjoyment of the fruits of learning and of high office. Into the midst of it had come the stir of the Evangelical revival, which had helped to expose abuses left over from medieval days. Pluralism, non-residence, inequality of revenues were anomalies that had survived so far unchecked. In 1833 the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction was vested in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It was immediately decided to reduce the number of Irish bishoprics from eighteen

to eight. Three years later a permanent Ecclesiastical Commission was created with power to reform cathedral administration and to reorganize the payment of bishops. Two new sees were created at Manchester and Ripon. From this time pluralism was in effect abolished and residence enforced. A change affecting practically all the clergy was the substitution of money payment for the contribution of tithe in kind. Such were the reforms initiated by Parliament, and it must be remembered that, since toleration had now come in, all this was done by a Parliament no less representative of Dissenters and Roman Catholics than of Anglicans.

The conservative reaction against liberalism in thought and against State interference in ecclesiastical government was headed by Keble, Newman, and Pusey, and produced the Oxford Movement. In contrast with contemporary opinion, which had begun to look upon the Church of England as *sui generis*, something simply representative of the national mind and properly controlled by the organs of State, these divines sought to revive the Anglo-Catholicism of the Stuart period, which had regarded the English Church as being part of the great historic Church of Christendom and as being no more peculiar than were the Orthodox Churches of the East in claiming to be Catholic without being Papal. Keble's famous Assize Sermon on National Apostasy in 1833 formed the starting-point of the movement, and in the same year were begun the *Tracts for the Times*, which gave to their authors the name of Tractarians. Their object was to rouse the clergy to a sense of their apostolic descent and the laity to a sense of the religious importance of the Church's routine of services and sacraments, of fast and festival. Thus all alike were encouraged to lean for their religious authority not upon the State but upon the hierarchically constituted Church. At first the movement met with immense success. An address to the Archbishop of Canterbury affirming 'the apostolical doctrine and polity of the Church of England' was signed by seven thousand clergy and two hundred and thirty thousand heads of families. It was obvious, however, that as soon as the logical results of its premisses were realized it

could expect no quarter from the bench of bishops as then determined. Suspicion began to grow against the good faith of the leaders. This came to a head upon the publication of Tract XC, in which Newman so far departed from his claim that Anglicanism was a *via media* as to maintain that the Thirty-Nine Articles were quite compatible with the decrees of the Council of Trent. His position was made difficult by the creation of the Jerusalem Bishopric, which was the result of an agreement between the Church of England and the evangelical State Church of Prussia. He was unable to stand against the apparent failure of his efforts and submitted to Rome in 1845. Nevertheless he had not failed. The movement passed under the leadership of Pusey, whose position in the university gave it some prestige. Before long it was found in parishes, where it began to express itself in changes of ceremonial, which brought its claims before the eyes of the general population. Hence came a sharp conflict with Parliament, which is important as illustrating the incompatibility of the Catholic view of the Church's character with State control. The Convocations renewed their business meetings in 1855 and the new views soon began to find support there. On the other hand, Parliament passed the Public Worship Regulation Act in 1874 which had for its end the putting down of the innovations in ceremonial. This was entirely unsuccessful, the clergy preferring imprisonment to the surrender of their practices. In one respect their triumph over Parliament was complete. The struggle involved a new and closer attention to the details of public worship even on the part of those who were opposed to the movement. The ultimate result was the raising of the dignity and beauty of divine service throughout the country to a pitch never before equalled. All the arts were put under contribution for this purpose, and even architecture, which in the days of Walpole had made very painful imitations of medieval Gothic, seemed at last to penetrate the spirit and feeling of the greatest period of ecclesiastical building.

Another result of the movement was the impetus given to the specialized training of candidates for the ministry. Institutions

for this purpose had already been founded at St. Bees and Lampeter, but it was still thought that the ordinary education of a gentleman was sufficient for the clergy. However, the more exalted standards of clerical efficiency that now came into fashion made a more technical training necessary. In consequence the nineteenth century became the great era of theological colleges, all schools of thought finally establishing their own 'seminaries'. A further result of profound significance was the restoration of the monastic life. Since the effort of the movement was quite consciously to go behind the Reformation and to restore valuable elements of Church life which had been then too lightly abandoned, it was natural that steps should soon be taken to revive the monastic ideal. In 1841 the first profession took place under Newman. Presently various communities were established until the number of nuns in the English Church was reckoned as twice that of pre-Reformation days. Similar institutions for men began with the foundation of the Society of St. John the Evangelist in 1866. Although never so numerous as the nuns, their members won for themselves an important place in the evangelistic work of the Church both at home and abroad and also in the work of theological education.

In the meantime 'liberal' views made considerable progress. In 1860 much controversy was aroused over the publication of a volume of *Essays and Reviews*, by a number of collaborators, most of whom came from Oxford. Their main contention was simply that Scripture must be interpreted like any other book. In their case also there was something of a conflict between ecclesiastical and secular organs of jurisdiction. Censured by the Court of Arches and by Convocation they were saved by the judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and one of them became ultimately Archbishop of Canterbury. Two years later an even more serious controversy arose over the case of Bishop Colenso of Natal. In a book entitled *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* he had not only adopted the composite theory of authorship but had also thrown doubts upon the historical existence of Moses and Joshua. His Metropolitan, the Bishop of Capetown, deposed and excom-

municated him. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council again defended the victim of ecclesiastical censure and confirmed Bishop Colenso in the legal rights and temporalities of his see. Thereupon the Metropolitan, without waiting for a royal licence, proceeded to the consecration of a titular Bishop of Pietermaritzburg to act as bishop in Natal. Thus a schism was created which did not die out for many years. In spite, or because, of this contretemps Biblical studies made rapid progress. Much new textual knowledge was embodied in a Revised Edition of the English Bible. The New Testament was published in 1881, the Old Testament in 1885, and the Apocrypha in 1896. Even among the followers of the Oxford Movement the science of Biblical Criticism made many converts. One of the most significant events in the theological history of the century was the publication of the volume entitled *Lux Mundi* by a group of Oxford friends in 1889. This endeavoured to combine the bases both of evolutionary theory and traditional religious belief, thus suggesting a new synthesis in which should be embodied the triumph of the two most noteworthy movements in nineteenth-century theology.

Indeed, if we remember the social enthusiasms of the writers, we might say that the triumph of another movement was represented in their work. While the progress of thought on liberal and traditional lines was piling up a host of difficulties affecting both the internal administration of the Church and its relations with the State—difficulties with which the next century would have to deal—much work was being done of undoubted benefit to the nation as a whole. It was the Church that led the way in the education of the poor. In the reign of Queen Anne many charity schools had been founded, London alone possessing as many as a hundred and twenty. But the greater part of the teaching of very poor children was done in Sunday schools, which spread rapidly under the inspiration of Robert Raikes and Hannah More at the end of the eighteenth century. Experiments in week-day elementary schools were made by Dr. Bell, a former chaplain in India, and by Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker. The National Society for the support of Church schools was

founded in 1811 and the British and Foreign School Society for the promotion of unsectarian teaching was founded three years later. Government was satisfied at first with watching, and then with assisting, the work of these and similar voluntary organizations. Later it started the Board schools under public control. After 1870 there was given in this latter type of school a 'simple Bible teaching' that was regarded as being free from denominational bias. In spite of many efforts it has not yet been found possible to devise a truly national type of education which shall put a satisfactory end to this dual system.

While interest in education thus accomplished much, the attempts of religious bodies to show a practical interest in the material well-being of the poor were less uniformly successful. Neglect by the Church of the growing populations in the towns had been partly responsible for the spread and separation of the Methodist societies. But even they ceased to have a message for the very poor. The Evangelicals had concentrated much of their attention on the condition of slaves, and they succeeded in getting acts passed first for the gradual abolition and then for the total abolition of slavery, and finally in 1833 for the complete emancipation of the slaves. No considerable effort, however, was made to arouse the Church as a whole to its social duties until Frederick Denison Maurice tried to meet the resentment aroused among the poor by the Bishops' attitude to the Reform Bill by starting a Christian Social movement. He was assisted by Charles Kingsley, whose novels *Teast* and *Alton Locke* castigated the social evils both of town and country life. Both men were engaged in controversies, Maurice with the authorities of King's College, London, who deprived him of both the professorships he held there, and Kingsley with Newman, whose good faith he had impugned. Both, however, were appointed to professorial chairs at Cambridge. Their social ideals were caught up by the Christian Social Union and were impressed upon Oxford by Dr. Gore, who was the editor of *Lux Mundi*.

But on the whole the Church of England failed to synthesize the various lines of thought that clamoured for recognition in the nineteenth century. Up to a point it remained true to the

character impressed upon it at the Reformation. There was the same determination to insist upon the historical presentation of Christianity, the same desire to absorb as much as possible of new thought, the same intolerance of practical abuses. It was, however, ominous for the future that the varied tendencies were being manifested not by the Church as a whole but by different sections within it, each of which, with few notable exceptions, maintained one line of thought at the expense of the rest.

To turn now to Scotland. At the opening of the century, although the penal statutes had been removed, the Episcopal Church in that country was not in complete sympathy with its sister-church in England, owing to the fact that Jacobite feeling had not yet died out. Anti-Jacobite episcopalians were accommodated in chapels served by clergy from England or Ireland who were free from the direct supervision of the Scottish bishops. Further, although the use of the English Prayer Book had become common from the time of Queen Anne, it was followed with much more freedom than the English clergy allowed themselves at this period. However, a synod of 1811 ordered a more faithful use of the English form of Morning and Evening Prayer, and the 'qualified' chapels, as they were called, began to seek full communion with the Scottish Episcopal Church. This, of course, involved a much closer unity of mind and heart between episcopalians in Scotland and Anglicans south of the Tweed, and that meant that every movement of English theological thought would now have its echo in Scotland. The Non-juring traditions of the Scottish Church made it natural that the teaching of the Oxford Movement should find a more general acceptance there than it had done in England. There was indeed some opposition, during which a priest was suspended and Bishop Forbes was censured for too close an adherence to 'Catholic' doctrine on the Eucharist. Nevertheless, the general 'High-Churchly' tone of the Scots could be judged from their devotion to their Communion Office, which, compiled as it was during the troubles of 1735, had been based both upon 'Laud's Liturgy' and upon the English Non-jurors' Office of 1718. This was to have important consequences for the Anglican communion

overseas, especially in America and South Africa, where the liturgy was drawn up after the Scottish model.

In the meantime the established Presbyterian Church of that country was engaged in considerable difficulties over the question of patronage. The claim of the congregation to a voice in the choice of its own minister had produced two different schisms in the previous century, that of the Secession Church in 1740 and that of the Relief Church in 1761. Similarly in 1843 the Free Church of Scotland was formed as a result of the effort to impose 'moderate' ministers upon congregations who were on fire with evangelical zeal. But these frequent disruptions threatened to reduce conscientiousness to the point of absurdity, and the divisions began to be healed. In 1847 the Secession and the Relief Churches were joined together in the United Presbyterian Church, and at the close of the century the United Presbyterian and the Free Churches coalesced to form the United Free Church of Scotland. A small minority, however, of the Free Church, consisting of sixty-three congregations, refused to accept the union, and these 'Wee Frees' made a successful claim to the possession of all the property of the original Free Church, the consequent inequality being only relieved by the intervention of Parliament.

British theological movements were faithfully reflected in America. Since both Wesley and Whitefield had paid visits to that continent, Methodists and Evangelicals were both strongly entrenched there. Their period of first enthusiasm was known as the Great Awakening. It met with considerable opposition from those who shared the characteristic eighteenth-century dislike of extravagance and actually produced schisms in both ecclesiastical and university life. Nevertheless, the Methodist Episcopal Church became numerically the strongest Christian body in that country. Unhappily the zeal now aroused was eclipsed by the anxieties attendant upon the War of Independence. That war, as we have seen, resulted in the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in those States where it had made itself a home. In 1785 an Act was passed for 'Establishing Religious Freedom', which left every man at liberty to support

whatever religious body he pleased, but compelled no man to the support of any. The most complete freedom in respect of religion has been the rule of the country ever since. The Anglicans had been at a great disadvantage in these trying times through having no bishop. That anomaly was ended when, in 1784, Dr. Seabury procured consecration from the Scottish bishops, an event which marked the beginning of a long period of close friendship and mutual influence between the Scottish and American Churches.

English Deism had its echo in a widespread movement towards Unitarianism in America. The Unitarians first acquired a separate organization through the act of the Anglican congregation of King's Chapel, Boston, in omitting all reference to the Trinity from its services and then appointing as its minister without ordination a layman of Unitarian views. No other Anglican congregation followed its example, but over a hundred Congregationalist chapels joined the movement and the University of Harvard professed the same opinions in 1805. By that time, however, a new revival had begun. This was spread by the novel means of camp-meetings, at which vast numbers of people gathered together for religious exercises in sylvan surroundings. Although the good done is unquestioned, these meetings earned an evil notoriety through their arousal of hysterical phenomena exceeding even the emotionalism of the Great Awakening. In this instance also the people affected by the new enthusiasm showed themselves intolerant of their more moderate brethren, and easily split off to form new schisms. Still another cause of division was the sharp conflict between North and South on the question of slavery, the churches for the most part identifying themselves with local opinion on that matter. When the Civil War was over it was found less easy to establish ecclesiastical than secular unity.

A tremendous strain was put upon the resources of all the Churches by the Great Immigration of the first half of the nineteenth century, when the population increased from five to twenty-three millions. A large proportion of the immigrants came from Roman Catholic countries, but in the subsequent

westward movement of population it was the Protestant bodies which, having the greater stake in the country at that time, were better able to take advantage of the situation. To this period also belongs the rise of the Mormons and the Adventists. The former were founded on the basis of a number of visions relating to the establishment of the Kingdom of God vouchsafed to one Joseph Smith, whose conversion had taken place in 1829. By him the 'Kingdom of the Latter Day Saints' was set up in Missouri, but after his murder it was moved by his successor, Brigham Young, to Salt Lake City in 1847. The American rule of complete religious liberty for all was greatly strained by the Saints' practice of polygamy, but on their undertaking to abandon the custom they received the privileges of a State under Young's successor. The Adventists represent a type of thought more common in Christian history, its essential feature being the expectation of the imminent end of the world. On this occasion William Miller fixed the date for 1843, but his followers managed to survive the disappointment of their hopes or fears, and still exist as a sect which occupies itself with prophecy based upon mathematical calculation.

The end of the American Civil War brought an opportunity for Christian statesmanship to share in the work of healing divisions. But, as we have seen, the Churches were themselves divided by the strife and in the case of Methodists and Presbyterians there had been definite schisms. The Episcopal Church, on the other hand, had always regarded itself as still one, and in the very year of the declaration of peace (1865) southern bishops sat side by side with their northern brethren in the General Convention. This Church therefore had the privilege of leading the way towards the new union of North and South. However, it later suffered from a small schism itself. The effect of the teaching of the Oxford Movement, when it arrived across the Atlantic, was to arouse opposition. The leader of this opposition, Dr. Cummin, the Assistant Bishop of Kentucky, unable to convert the majority to his views, seceded and founded the Reformed Episcopal Church. Nevertheless, the influence of the Episcopal Church in America increased rapidly during the

remainder of the nineteenth century. This may have been due to recognition of the dignity of its worship. In 1892 its Prayer Book was revised and the liturgical material drawn through Scottish channels from the sources of historic Christianity was made more readily available to contemporary needs. But what may seem to many a more typical example of the American religion of the period appears in the curious form known as Christian Science. This was founded as a definite organization in 1879 at Boston, Massachusetts. Its originator was Mrs. Baker Eddy, who thirteen years before had enjoyed a remarkable experience. After a fall, from which she had sustained such injuries that no hope was given of recovery, she read the passage in the ninth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel which records the healing of the man sick of the palsy, and felt herself instantaneously cured. She evolved her system in order to enable others to share the benefit of this experience. Christian Science is described as the Science of Divine Metaphysical Healing, and is set forth in the text-book *Science and Health*, which is read side by side with the Bible at all services of the community. God is infinite mind, man and the universe are ideas or images of God, but matter and evil do not exist at all. Sickness is evil, and the healing of sickness is therefore an essential part of salvation. The means to such healing is purely mental and is embodied in prayer. But prayer, to have this healing character, must be based on such a spiritual understanding of God as will enable the patient to see all evil, whether sickness or sin, as nothing but illusion. This system claims the name of Science because it alone of religious faiths rests on demonstration.

If America at this time afforded an example of complete religious freedom, it must not be thought that the days of persecution were over elsewhere. From time to time glowing instances of Christian heroism were called forth in missionary lands. But the most conspicuous example is in the case of the Eastern Churches, which bore sufferings at least equal to those of the Church in the first four centuries. Particularly at this time it was the separated Churches which, under Turkish domination, seemed likely to be altogether exterminated. These

included the Armenians, Jacobites, Copts, and Assyrians. It will be remembered that these Churches owed their separate existence mainly to the centrifugal tendencies displayed by certain portions of the Eastern Empire during the fifth century. Theological differences had deepened and excused their disaffection until their schism from the Orthodox Churches was complete. Thus the Armenians, who had been the first people to accept Christianity as a national religion, were Monophysites, as were also the West Syrians or Jacobites, who were named after James Baradaeus, a leader of the sixth century. The same theological creed was professed by the Copts or native Egyptians, and by their daughter-church of the Abyssinians. The Assyrians, or East Syrians, on the other hand, were Nestorians. All these had, by reason of their isolation, fallen an easy prey to Mussulman arms and had led a troubled existence throughout the Middle Ages. In the general deterioration that fell upon the Turkish administration in the nineteenth century they suffered appallingly. Abdul Hamid II, in the penultimate decade of that century, was responsible for the massacre of a hundred thousand Armenians, and the fear of revolutionary tendencies has brought upon them the wrath of their masters many times since then. The Assyrians, who are the survivors of the ancient Church of Persia and therefore hereditary rivals of the Armenians, have not been behind them in suffering for their faith. They found a refuge from Islam in the mountains of Kurdistan, where they were succoured after 1885 by a mission sent out from England. The services rendered by them to the Allied Armies during the Great War led to their partial extermination by the Turks when that war was over. The remnant that was left after this treatment was then delivered from Turkish tyranny and given a new home in Irak.

The history of the Orthodox Churches in the Balkans during the nineteenth century was taken up with their emancipation, first from Turkish rule and then from the control of their respective States. The Church of Serbia passed from under the rule of the Phanar in 1830 and lived for nearly a century under its own Metropolitan of Belgrade who, in 1921, was raised to the

rank of Patriarch. The independence of the Church of Rumania was recognized by the Oecumenical Patriarch in 1885, but the Church of Bulgaria, which proclaimed its own independence in 1860, has never been successful in obtaining the same recognition. Greece followed to some extent the example of Russia, framing for its organ of self-government a Holy Synod, an arrangement which received the sanction of the Oecumenical Patriarch in 1850. By thus gaining their freedom from the control of the Phanar these Churches escaped from Turkish influence. Ecclesiastical liberty in the countries represented sometimes followed upon and sometimes prepared the way for national independence. It was perhaps natural that where religion and politics were so closely intertwined the respective States should take a controlling interest in ecclesiastical affairs. This was most obvious in Rumania, where the Church was placed under the Ministry of Education. But even in Greece in 1834 the Government undertook the suppression of no fewer than four hundred and twelve monasteries. More recently, however, these Churches have gained greater powers of self-administration, and especially in Greece a reform of the Holy Synod has made a more representative method of government possible.

But during this period the larger part of Orthodox Church life was concentrated in Russia. And there the tendency to yield to State control was more apparent. The Holy Synod was little more than an ecclesiastical committee, in which the ruling power was held by a Procurator nominated by the Tsar. The tolerant spirit shown by Catherine II and maintained by her successors Paul and Alexander I died out under the suspicion of all foreign thought engendered by the excesses of the French Revolution. This was manifested in the expulsion of the Jesuits from Russia in 1815. Under Nicholas I began the long-drawn-out struggle of the Government to prevent revolution. Inability to accept the national religion was regarded as synonymous with treason. The Doukhobors, a Quaker-like sect who refused to bear arms, were the chief sufferers, but torture and transportation only resulted in their increase. Under Alexander II and

Philaret, the enlightened Metropolitan of Moscow, there was a change of method, the serfs being emancipated in 1861 and some attempt being made to revise the system of education. Unfortunately little was gained, the serfs being on the whole rather worse off than before, while the intelligentsia had little use for religion of any kind. This led to reaction in the reign of Alexander III. The clergy ranged themselves definitely on the side of the Government; the Jews were persecuted, and such new sectaries as the Stundists and Baptists were imprisoned or exiled. Thus some strong religious elements were added to the growing influence of the revolutionary leaders and the way was prepared for the disasters of the following century.

It is easy to understand, from the number of points already touched upon, how rich and varied is the Church History of the nineteenth century. But we have not yet brought out the feature which was most characteristic of the period. If nationalism was the most prominent note of the seventeenth century, and toleration that of the eighteenth, then the aspect of Christian life most characteristically developed in the nineteenth was that of missionary activity.

There had, of course, been some preparation for this development. The heroic zeal displayed by the Roman Catholic missionaries of the two preceding centuries was in too glaring contrast with the apathy of Protestantism to fail of its effect. But the lesson was slow in being learnt. It is true that Sir Walter Raleigh had shown sufficient interest in the work being done in Virginia to subscribe to it, and that Cromwell had concerned himself with the work of John Eliot among the Red Indians. But the first important step taken by English-speaking Christians was the foundation, in 1698, of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In 1701 the founder of this society, Dr. Bray, achieved an even more notable advance by inaugurating the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. But at first these societies were able to do little. In the home country the Anglican Church lost something of the dominating position held by it at the moment of their inception, and the coldness of Deism was an effectual check upon missionary zeal throughout the next

century. A change, however, came over Protestant Europe under the influence of Pietism. The Moravians led the way in the recognition of the part that ought to be played in Christian life by efforts to convert the heathen. In 1784 they are said to have supplied half the number of non-Papal missionaries in the whole world. Response to the friendly challenge thus thrown down came from the circles most closely affected by the Evangelical revival. But whereas the whole Moravian body was its own missionary organization other Churches could do no more than found societies of their more enthusiastic members. Some of these, like the Church Missionary Society (1799), represented the interest of a particular denomination or even of a particular school of thought within the denomination, while others, like the London Missionary Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society, were interdenominational. The result has been the spread of Christianity over an area and with a rapidity that have had no parallel since the first evangelization of the Roman Empire. But the types of Christianity thus presented to the heathen are also without parallel in their manifold variety.

The rapid spread of Christianity has been most evident in Africa, where the preaching of the Gospel has kept pace with discovery, and tribes whose culture was that of the Stone Age have been prepared by the missionaries for their contact with the mingled good and evil of modern Western civilization. The work in the interior of the continent dates from the foundation of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa in 1858 in response to an appeal made by the explorer Livingstone. But much work had already been done on the west coast and in the south. It so happened that at this very time Japan, which had been a closed country, opened its ports to foreigners. Immediate advantage was taken of this opportunity by missionaries of many nations. The result has been the building up of a considerable native Church by the Orthodox from Russia, and another by members of the Anglican communion, in addition to others of a non-episcopal character. Similar work was done in China, and it has prospered in spite of such hindrances as the Boxer

rising and the Revolution. Thus the effect of Christianity upon the Far East, although it has not yet been exercised for a complete century, is already incalculable. There was a moment, indeed, when Japan seemed likely to accept the Christian faith as a national religion, but the divisions of Christendom and the doubtful witness of Christians' lives to the sincerity of their belief are said to have prohibited this choice. In China it is sometimes alleged that the Christian faith, with its teaching of the essential equality of all men, has proved too strong a wine for undisciplined heads and that it has produced the present chaos. But to this a threefold reply might justly be made: that the subversive elements were in point of fact drawn not from the spiritual but from the material side of Western culture; that if Christianity had been wholeheartedly supported by the home countries it would have enabled the Chinese to have absorbed modern culture without fear of anarchy; and that, as things are, Christianity still holds out the only hope of a lasting peace for that vast and distracted population.

In India, also, the year 1858 was a turning-point for missions. It was the year in which, as a consequence of the Mutiny, the Crown took over the administration from the East India Company. This opened a wide door to the missionaries, who did a particularly noble work in providing for the education of the higher castes. Later the outcastes began to respond to their appeal, and the extraordinary spectacle has since been witnessed of the rescuing and training of many thousands of this forsaken element of Indian society. So far has the work advanced that it has been possible, for instance, to unite into one Indian Church the Europeans and natives who are in communion with the Church of England and to form them into an independent and autonomous Church of India. Thus in India, as in Africa, Christianity has been much more than an organization struggling to proselytize amongst a welter of rival creeds. While it brings its message to members of old and tried civilizations, it has acted as nurse and teacher to the child races of the earth. An even more striking example of this could be found in Polynesia, where industrial training has been mingled with the

teaching of the rudiments of science and religion, with the result that a primitive people has traversed in a few generations as many stages in cultural development as might have occupied in normal circumstances a thousand years. Indeed, it may be said with truth that in some instances it is only this fostering care that has enabled certain backward races to preserve their existence at all in face of the onrush of Western civilization. And even the sociologist who has no interest in religion would be compelled to pay a tribute of admiration to the work of medical missions, which have done at least something to save the West from the charge of having kept its knowledge of the healing art to itself.

One result of this unprecedented expansion of Christianity needs to be noticed. It has profoundly affected the outlook and even the organization of many of the Churches. Although not much more than one-third of the human race is yet Christian, nearly all the British denominations have had to deal with problems arising out of great accessions of numbers from among native peoples, and to these have been added problems arising out of the growth due to colonial extension. Thus the Methodists, who number a million and a half full members in Europe, have five times as many members across the Atlantic. The Presbyterians during one generation (1888-1918) actually doubled their roll of communicants until it reached a total of over six millions. And it must be remembered that to obtain the number of adherents of such bodies we should have to multiply the number of full members by at least four. The Anglican communion has also gained by the building up of daughter-churches in such countries as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. This has definitely affected its character and constitution. From being a somewhat isolated phenomenon in Christendom, fighting even to retain its prestige in its own land, the Church of England has emerged as one member of a world-wide confederation of autonomous Churches, most of which owe their origin to her.

But apart from all questions of colonial expansion the number of converts from heathenism increased so rapidly throughout the

nineteenth century that by the end of it there was a native community following the principles of the reformed Churches of no less than six millions, drawn from almost every race and cultural type. The fact that these conversions imply not only the communication of a religious belief, but also teaching in the arts and sciences of civilization and the administration of medical relief implies on the most modest calculation the conferring of a very great boon upon humanity at large.

IV

We come now to consider the position in the twentieth century. It is characteristic of this period that we see most, if not all, of the movements we have already outlined coming to a head. In the sphere of thought we notice that reformed Christianity has become more conscious, and more critical, of its own history than ever before. The Reformation, for instance, is seen in better perspective and, while it cannot be said that all the questions then raised have even yet been answered, it is becoming increasingly clear that, so far as concerns fundamental Christian doctrine, there was more in common between the Reformers and the adherents of the Papacy than was recognized in the subsequent centuries. At the same time it is obvious that since then other questions have arisen, which, although they have not produced so great a cataclysm, are, from the point of view of essential Christianity, distinctly more important. Thus a number of ecclesiastical historians now consider the period of the Enlightenment of more consequence for the religious progress of mankind than was the period of the Reformation. It is pointed out that the modern scientific precision in research has applied the methods of 'natural science' to the solution of religious questions, and has thus removed us to such a distance from the warring factions of the sixteenth century that to our eyes the differences between them must appear comparatively insignificant. Further, it cannot be doubted that in the course of time the term Protestant has to some extent changed its meaning. Whereas it was originally applied to those who protested against the annulling of the *cuius regio eius religio* principle

at the second Diet of Spier in 1529, and was then employed to cover all the Western dissidents from Papal rule, it is now taken to imply a whole cultus and polity which is supposed to derive itself from the Reformation. But in point of fact many of those who find themselves separated from the Papacy actually pride themselves upon the retention of a faith and culture which they suppose to be essentially that of the great historic undivided Church of Christendom. Such non-Papal Catholicism is to be found in Germany and Sweden as well as in Britain, and it would claim some affinity with that Eastern Orthodoxy which was but barely conscious of the Reformation. One feature of this gradual drift of thought is the realization of the inadequacy of the confessions or credal forms which were built up during the Reformation struggles. They seem to many to be concerned with bygone controversies and to lay undue emphasis upon points that have little meaning for modern minds. Of this feature the dissatisfaction of Anglicans with their Thirty-Nine Articles is perhaps the most conspicuous example.

The result of this quickened sense of the history of doctrine has been twofold. On the one hand, some have followed with a clearer view and a more obstinate (or logical) determination the particular line of development which they have been able to isolate as being alone genuine. Others on the contrary have endeavoured to show how all the lines derive from the same ultimate source, and have therefore tried to link all together again in one comprehensive type of Christianity. Thus the twentieth century has already seen both the underlining of distinctions between schools of thought within the Churches and also attempts to break down all barriers between the Churches, and everywhere the cross currents offer a bewildering variety. In evangelical Germany, the home of scientific research, there have been two High Churchly movements and a recrudescence of Calvinism combined with post-war pessimism. In Sweden those who have been accused by their compatriots at home of encouraging Romeward tendencies have been accused by their critics abroad of aiming at a pan-Protestant league. There has been one 'Catholic' movement in Presbyterian Scotland, another

in English nonconformity. And in all the Churches there have been those whose sympathies have lain with an extreme rationalization of doctrine.

The conflict, as seen within the bounds of one communion, can be best illustrated from conditions in the Church of England. That Church, which has maintained with pride its identity with what it believes to be historic Christianity, has also shown itself conspicuously ready to be influenced by every new development of scientific thought. In the sixteenth century it emerged from the Reformation with the definite intention of preserving together the best elements of the old and the new piety. The seventeenth century, however, already saw these draw apart into the Laudian and Puritan types, which presently became recognized as the High and Low Church schools of thought. The Evangelical revival of the following century emphasized the latter, while the Oxford Movement of the nineteenth century revived the former school. In the meantime, partly as a result of the Deistic movement, a third party of Latitudinarians, or Broad Churchmen, had sprung up. These laid no particular stress on doctrine, but placed their hopes in scientific study and education. The twentieth century saw these three divergent views more sharply contrasted than ever. The followers of the Tractarians became notorious as 'Anglo-Catholics', a name which they had themselves employed as expressive of their doctrine of historic continuity, but which was now taken by their opponents to imply affinity with Roman Catholicism. The Broad Churchmen became known as Modernists—a name originally given to a body of thinkers in the Roman Church whose critical methods seemed to have removed the factual basis of the creeds, while their philosophy allowed them still to desire membership of the Church. The Evangelicals, although they had adopted some of the milder ceremonial practices of the Tractarians, and had lost the sharp edge of their Calvinism, became more loudly vocal in their determination to preserve the general traditions of the Reformation. It was perhaps natural that to many it should seem as if the effort to hold together Protestantism, Catholicism, and scientific thought in one com-

prehensive Church had produced a strain almost to breaking-point.

But new movements were already obscuring some of the lines of distinction. The Evangelicals, who in their simpler manner of worship carried with them the Modernists, were sharply divided among themselves on the question of the attitude to be adopted towards questions of Biblical criticism, some showing themselves willing to use the new methods while others clung to the theory of verbal inspiration. Ultimately the division showed itself in their missionary activities, the sphere in which evangelicalism had won its greatest successes. In 1922 the 'fundamentalist' section of the Church Missionary Society broke away and started a Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society with its own theological college. On the other hand, the vast majority of the Anglo-Catholics adopted critical and historical methods from which Pusey, having tried them, had recoiled with horror. Thus the effort to reconcile traditional and modern thought which had been begun in *Lux Mundi* was carried still farther in *Essays Catholic and Critical* and was popularized in a *New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, which was published in 1928.

In spite, however, of these modifications a definite conflict between High and Low views could not be avoided. The field was cleared for it by what was originally thought to be the practical elimination of State control. For long the intervention of Parliament in ecclesiastical affairs had become irksome to Church and State alike. The Church was often compelled to wait an absurd length of time for the passing of necessary Bills, while Parliament, with the business of the Empire becoming more and more congested, was frequently irritated by having to concern itself with minute details of ecclesiastical administration. A solution might have been found in the complete severance of the spiritual from the secular side of government. That was the solution already adopted in the case of Ireland, where disestablishment of the Church in 1869 had the further justification that that Church represented only a tenth of the population. It was also the solution proposed for Wales, where again the Church represented only a small minority of the people. (The

Welsh Church Disestablishment Bill was passed in 1912, but the outbreak of the Great War delayed its execution until 1920.) This solution, however, was not tried in the case of the English Church. Instead of it legislation was proposed which sought at once to give the Church a truly representative machinery of its own and to facilitate the passage through Parliament of measures produced by that machinery. The Church of England Assembly (Powers) Act was passed in December 1919. It set up a National Assembly for the Church and gave that Assembly power to debate and prepare ecclesiastical bills for presentation to Parliament. Such bills were to be considered by a committee of Parliament; if the committee reported favourably upon them, Parliament would have the right of accepting or rejecting, but not of amending them. Thus the Enabling Act, as it was called, empowered the Church to initiate its own legislation, leaving to Parliament a right of final veto. At first the new arrangement worked smoothly and great strides were made with overdue reforms of the Church's administration. Thus, for instance, five new bishoprics were created and a pension scheme was completed for the clergy. In two cases, however, Parliament showed that it did not regard its right of veto as merely nominal. It refused to sanction the creation of a bishopric of Shrewsbury, and rejected the proposal to remove to other sites some of the churches in the City of London. But these were matters of organization. It still remained to see what Parliament would do when it had to face questions dealing with deeper matters of faith and worship.

The difficulties caused by the spread of 'Catholic' opinions among the clergy and the consequent changes in the conduct of public worship had been increased by the failure of the coercive measures of the last century. A Royal Commission, appointed in 1904 to investigate the matter, had reported, after two years' inquiry, that peace was impossible on the basis of the existing Prayer Book, and suggested its revision. Royal Letters of Business had then been issued authorizing the Convocations to proceed with the task of liturgical reform, and the Convocations spent fourteen years upon the work. Then the new legisla-

tive machinery came into operation, and the freshly created National Assembly had to prepare the proposed changes for presentation to Parliament. This involved a further six years of discussion, but finally it was agreed, in 1927, to present for Parliamentary acceptance an alternative Prayer Book for use side by side with the existing book. Now was seen the weakness of the new arrangements. Ignoring the overwhelming majorities that had passed the new book in the National Assembly, the House of Commons rejected it by a majority of thirty-three. It was again presented, with some explanatory amendments, a few months later and again rejected by a majority of forty-six. This amounted to a vote of 'no confidence' in the bishops, and is of great importance as having produced a position of real strain between Church and State. But it is even more interesting to the historian as showing that the religious rivalry produced by the Reformation was not yet dead. There is little doubt that in the excitement aroused by the discussions many of those who voted against the proposed book believed that they were standing for the principles of Protestantism against those of Roman Catholicism, which were thought to have invaded the National Church.

Thus the early part of the twentieth century witnessed a severe stressing of the differences between the various schools of thought in a particular communion. But what is of much greater importance is that this tendency has been more than balanced by the close drawing together of many communions hitherto separate both in spirit and organization. Indeed a movement towards the ultimate reunion of Christendom may justly be regarded as the most characteristic feature of the period. For such success as it has already attained long preparation had been made both by the conscious labour of individuals and in the natural ordering of events. As we have seen, the scientific criticism of the Bible and the historical study of dogma had made some of the old divisions hard to justify, while the practical needs of the mission field and of the 'home' parishes had alike shown the necessity of presenting a united front against the common enemy. But the Great War, by throwing members of the various Churches into close contact with one another, gave a sudden

impetus to the growth of sympathy, and the post-war development of materialism showed vividly enough that the task of all Christians is fundamentally the same.

Perhaps it was natural that the schisms most easily made should be the most easily remedied. Certainly it is true that the greatest progress towards reunion was made in Presbyterian Scotland, where the differences had arisen over questions of patronage, and had not involved more serious doctrinal matters. In 1929 the United Free Church and the Established Church were united together into one organization which now embraces the vast majority of Presbyterians in that country. In Canada the various Presbyterian bodies had already been united in 1875, but they now constituted themselves the instruments of a wider union and were actually able to bring about a combination of non-episcopal communions in 1925 under the title of the United Church of Canada.

These instances may serve as examples of the way in which Protestantism can follow the method of organic union. Another method sometimes followed by those who wish to forgo rivalry and be at peace among themselves is that of federal union. An example of this is afforded by some of the nonconformist bodies in England. A Free Church National Council, formed in 1892, offered a platform for mutual conference. Originally composed on a voluntary basis, it was later transformed into a Federal Council of official representatives. This proved of great service in breaking down barriers between the more closely related communions and in some instances prepared the way for organic union. Thus the *rapprochement* between certain sections of the Methodists, which had shown itself in the formation of the United Methodists in 1907, was accelerated, and an Act was passed through Parliament, to take effect in 1931, with the object of combining into one organization the Wesleyan, the Primitive, and the United Methodists.

In Germany Protestantism pursued the federal method. In 1817 the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Prussia had been joined together on the understanding that each should be allowed to retain its own credal definitions and liturgical forms.

After the Great War this system was extended to the whole of Germany. The old antagonism between Lutheran and Calvinist was thus laid aside and the various organizations were gathered together into one 'German Evangelical Church Federation'. This was inaugurated in 1921, when twenty-eight national Churches from the various States entered the combination. A somewhat similar federation of the Protestant churches of Switzerland had been formed the year before, and a federation of the French Protestant Churches goes back to 1909. The same method was followed in the United States of America, where a federation of twenty-eight different denominations in the American Federal Council was completed in 1908. This is claimed to be 'the most powerful and efficient federation of churches in the world to-day', to which even the responsible members of the United States Government pay deference.

Even where both union and federation were found to be outside the range of immediate possibility a desire was often shown for co-operation in social service. This was manifested in two remarkable gatherings. The first was the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship, which met, after a long and severe course of preparation, at Birmingham in 1924. The second was the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, which met at Stockholm in 1925. It almost justified its title in that it was attended by five hundred representatives from thirty-seven nations and from most of the Christian communions, even including the Eastern Orthodox. This was the first time that Orthodox and Protestants had met together in such an assembly. Meetings for the discussion of subjects belonging to the more definitely evangelistic and theological sphere were also held during this period. The most important of these were the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne in 1927, and the Conference of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem in 1928. The frequency of these gatherings and the number of divines who flock to them from all quarters of the world recall not inaptly the period of the great Oecumenical Councils.

Ever since the Oxford Movement the Anglican Church had

taken a growing interest in the life and work of other Churches and had explored the possibilities of union in many directions. Official expression was given to this interest by the Lambeth Conferences. These were started in 1867 as gatherings of bishops from all parts of the Church of England and its daughter-churches, and ultimately came to be recognized as 'the visible bond which unites the different portions of the Anglican Communion to one another'. Thus, although they are definitely conferences and not legislative assemblies, opinions expressed by them obviously carry great weight with the constituent Churches of the Anglican Communion. The Conference of 1888 had marked a stage in the development of the reunion movement when it accepted from the American Episcopal Church as a basis for negotiations the famous Quadrilateral. The four points of this basis are the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, the sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion, and the historic episcopate. No further step of importance was taken until the Conference of 1920, but that marked an epoch.

Impatience with the slow progress hitherto made had become particularly marked in some parts of the mission field. At Kikuyu, East Africa, in 1913, a premature attempt had been made to inaugurate a federation in inter-communion of the local churches without waiting for the solution of outstanding difficulties. This had been checked, but upon it had supervened the Great War with its rebuke of ecclesiastical supineness. The Lambeth Conference of 1920 met in the atmosphere of expectation created by the unanswered questions arising out of the Kikuyu incident. The subject of reunion naturally occupied the chief place in its discussions and in the end the bishops issued an appeal on the matter to the whole Christian world. This contained the famous proposal for solving the question of the ministry, namely that if other terms of union could be satisfactorily arranged each party might accept from the other a form of commission or recognition which would be accepted by that other as a satisfactory form of ordination. Although this proposal did not meet with approval among other religious

bodies, it nevertheless did more than anything else could have done to draw attention throughout Christendom to the urgency of the problem. It served as a gesture proving to the world what importance the Anglican Churches attached to the question of reunion, and how far they were willing to go in order to find a solution.

In point of fact specific negotiations of great importance did arise out of the proposal. Attempts had already been made to heal the breach with Rome, and Leo XIII had, in the previous century, appointed a commission to inquire into the validity of Anglican orders. Although he had finally pronounced against them in 1896, fresh conversations were now opened at Malines in 1921. These were of an unofficial character, although in their final stages they were held with the cognizance of Rome and Canterbury. But in the end they proved abortive, and the Papal Encyclical *Mortalium animos* of 1928 forbade further conferences on the subject of unity.

With the Eastern Orthodox much more progress was made. Already in 1907 the Lambeth Conference had set up a permanent committee on relations with the Eastern Patriarchs, and the Great War drew the two communions very close to each other in mutual service and sympathy. In 1922 the Patriarch of Constantinople, with the agreement of his Synod, declared that 'the Ordination of the Anglican Episcopal Confession of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons possesses the same validity as the Roman, Old Catholic, and Armenian Churches possess, inasmuch as all essentials are found in them which are held indispensable from the Orthodox point of view for the recognition of the "Charisma" of the Priesthood derived from Apostolic Succession'. The following year the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Church of Cyprus concurred in this judgement on the validity of Anglican orders. An official delegation from all the Patriarchs and Autocephalous Churches attended the Lambeth Conference of 1930. A very large measure of agreement was evident in the consequent discussions and a joint theological commission representative of both parties was proposed for the continuance of the negotiations.

The Lambeth Conference of 1930 was also attended by a delegation from the Old Catholic Church, a body which owes its origin to the refusal of Döllinger of Munich and a number of followers to accept the dogma of Papal Infallibility as promulgated in 1870. In 1925 the part of that Church resident in Holland had declared its recognition of the validity of Anglican orders and in the same year the Conference of all the Old Catholic bishops had concurred in that judgement. The Lambeth Conference on its side now agreed that there was nothing inconsistent with the teaching of the Church of England in the Declaration of Utrecht, a document which had been formulated by the Old Catholic bishops in 1889 and is regarded as their fundamental profession of faith. In this case also a doctrinal commission representative of the two Churches was recommended in order to consider further steps towards union.

Relations between the Anglicans and the Church of Sweden have grown in cordiality ever since the former have become officially convinced that the succession of bishops has been maintained unbroken by the Swedes. In 1920 two Anglican bishops assisted in the consecration of two Swedish bishops and in 1927 a Swedish bishop took part in the consecration of three Anglican bishops. Arrangements have also been made by which the members of the two communions may have the privilege of sharing in each other's sacraments and worship. With the Moravians protracted negotiations have been going on since 1888. The great uncertainty whether the Moravians had retained the Apostolic Succession in the usual meaning of the term might have been met by inviting Anglican bishops to share in their ordinations, but the way to the acceptance of such an invitation was barred by certain apparent anomalies in the administration of Confirmation and in the celebration of Holy Communion among the Moravians. In certain circumstances, however, the Moravians were willing that these difficulties should be removed by giving authority to presbyters at their ordination to administer the sacrament of confirmation and by restricting the right of celebrating Holy Communion to

bishops and presbyters. A committee still carries on negotiations between the two Churches.

With regard to what is technically known as Home Reunion the situation was made much clearer by the Lambeth Conference of 1920. Its appeal was expounded to the General Assemblies of the Scottish Churches, but as they were at the time busied with their own reunion nothing definite could be done. Conferences were also held between representatives of the English Free Churches and the Church of England. In 1922 a report was issued by the two Archbishops and the Moderator of the Free Church Council, which recognized the spiritual reality of the Free Church ministries but claimed episcopacy as the necessary form of government for the United Church of the future. The Federal Council itself, however, could not accept the insistence on episcopal ordination, rejected the proposal for mutual commission, and finally dismissed the committee appointed to consider the subject. Nevertheless, there seems wide agreement on the subject of episcopal government. This was shown in the proposed scheme for church unity in South India. The Presbyterians and the Congregationalists in that part had already joined together to form the South India United Church. Proposals were then instituted for a wider union which should embrace that Church, the South India province of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and the southern dioceses of the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon. These proposals would have the effect of creating a new Church, which, while being in communion with the parent-churches, would not be an integral part of any of them. Nevertheless, it would be under the superintendence of bishops who would be linked on to the Apostolic Succession as received in the Church of England, and after a period of thirty years all ministers undertaking duty in it would receive episcopal ordination. Much attention was directed to that part of the scheme which allowed the interim period during which only those ministers would receive episcopal ordination who desired to do so. It was pointed out that for a generation there would exist two different types of ministry side by side in the same Church. The Lambeth Conference of 1930

was willing to countenance the anomaly, only asking that the promoters of the scheme should place it beyond all doubt that the ultimate method of ordination in the United Church would be episcopal.

Such, then, is the emphasis already laid by the twentieth century on the question of Reunion. One may justly feel that in this characteristic the present century is not altogether unworthy of comparison with the centuries which were marked by the growth of toleration and missionary zeal. But it would be a mistake to think that the events of this century have been entire gain for Christianity. For instance the sufferings of many Eastern Churches recall some of the hardest periods of ecclesiastical history. We have already seen what havoc the Great War and its consequences brought upon the Separated Churches of the East. The Orthodox Churches also felt its effects. The Patriarchate of Constantinople was reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. Although the Patriarch's own place in Constantinople was secured by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), all his congregations in Asia Minor had been either destroyed by the Turks or driven into Greece. Consequently he now rules over a Church of no more than three hundred thousand souls.

In Russia the Revolution brought about the collapse of the Church's organization. At the time when the troubles began a National Assembly was revising the ecclesiastical constitution, and actually restored the Patriarchate of Moscow, enthroning Tikhon in the chair which had been vacant since the days of Peter the Great. But the Bolshevists disestablished the Church, confiscated its landed property, closed its monasteries, and put to death more than a thousand of its clergy. The new Government further tried to undermine the Church's influence both by inaugurating an atheistic campaign, and also by forwarding a schism which took a third of the parishes out of the hands of the Patriarch. Tikhon died in 1925 and no one was allowed to succeed him, although the Government seems to have given some sort of recognition to a Central Synod. But that synod had a much reduced territory to supervise. The Churches in Poland, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were organized as

free and autonomous bodies, and the Churches in Georgia and the Ukraine were also divided off. Thus the twentieth century now sees the whole Orthodox communion with its hundred and fifty million souls divided into twenty autocephalous Churches. With magnificent heroism it has set itself to win good out of evil. Almost everywhere the bonds that bound it so close to secular government have been broken and, with its 'Cesaro-papalism' forgotten, it pursues its spiritual ends on independent lines.

V

Is it possible now to draw any general conclusions from the very complicated period of Church History with which we have been dealing? The broadest survey is sufficient to convince us that in some respects at least Christianity has beaten a retreat. The ideal of the *societas perfecta* is no longer held among the non-Papal Churches. Christianity is no more the whole of life in which the two sides of government, civil and ecclesiastical, are but complementary aspects. Rather is it a stranger in an alien world, the leaven that seeks to leaven the whole lump, the divine that seeks to incarnate itself in the human. A return has thus been made to the ideal of one of the earliest Christian writers outside the New Testament: 'What the soul is in the body the Church is in the world.' This is seen clearly in the relations between Church and State. Disestablishment is now the general rule, and where any form of establishment still exists it remains as an apparent anachronism and is consequently on the defensive. Nowhere in any country can any branch of the Church now claim to include all the citizens, and often the Church which still claims to be the national expression of Christianity can claim to represent only a minority. This has had a profound effect upon all departments of modern life. Society is no longer organized upon a consciously Christian basis; education gives to religion a merely voluntary place in its syllabus; learned thought no longer starts from Christian presuppositions.

But this retreat from the position held throughout the Middle Ages and still maintained in the days of the Reformation does not imply defeat. There are exceedingly few representatives of

Christianity who are willing to give up the world in despair and to entrench themselves within the bounds of a narrow ecclesiasticism. The vast majority welcome the opportunity of following the example of the earliest evangelists and, indeed, of the very Founder, in an attempt to reconcile the world to God. The outstanding question, that which produces the greatest apparent differences between the various religious bodies, is the problem of the proportions in which social endeavour and ecclesiastical claims should be combined. It would indeed be comparatively easy to make a survey of modern Christianity, using this criterion as the basis of distinction. Thus we might begin with an institution which is not reckoned as a Church at all and show how, among Anglo-Saxons, Freemasonry, with its emphasis on brotherhood and its lack of theology, has, since the establishment of its first Grand Lodge in 1717, become the practical religion of an increasing number of Englishmen. Among other bodies whose social work, while being based upon Christianity, is not conspicuous for any leaning towards ecclesiastical Christianity we should number the Y.M.C.A. (founded in 1844), the Salvation Army (1880), and perhaps also the Quakers. Then, with an increasing emphasis upon definiteness of Christian belief, we should enumerate some of those Churches which in England are called Nonconformist. And here we should have to lay stress upon the evangelism of the Methodists, the sacramentalism of the Baptists, and the claim to an apostolic ministry on the part of Presbyterians. Thus already we have arrived at types of Christianity in which social welfare is no longer the predominant interest. Then would come those Churches which claim to reproduce the conditions of historic Christianity while still adapting themselves to modern needs. Such are some at least of the Lutherans, the Anglicans, and the Old Catholics. Finally would come the Eastern Orthodox, whose peculiar strength lies in their combination of mysticism and ecclesiasticism. The value of such a survey is that it shows that in the countries affected by the Reformation there is no impassable gulf between the Church and the world. However alien the world may be from true spiritual religion, the social services of what many

would consider a reduced Christianity have built a bridge between the Church and the world and kept the way open for ultimate reconciliation. And there can be little doubt that, while the less definitely ecclesiastical organizations have been in closest touch with the irreligious world and have drawn converts most freely from it, there has been during the present century a continual drift of numbers from the less to the more definitely churchly representations of Christianity.

But if there is thus an advantage in the multiplication of the degrees of churchliness, there is a decided disadvantage in the disagreement and disunion involved. To many, indeed, this would seem the most pronounced feature of Church life in the present day. During the Middle Ages Christianity in the West appeared as a highly unified organization. Such quarrels as had taken place were quarrels within one family, and they had no greater effect upon the essential unity of the Church than family quarrels have upon the ties of blood-relationship. But the Reformation produced more serious cleavages, and, the sectarian habit once begun, separations multiplied themselves apace almost to our own time. Such few pacific efforts as were made from the seventeenth century onwards only resulted in the hopeless recognition of this disunion. The most that Christians could do was to agree to differ, not to unite. Consequently we have had to deal here not with one Church but with a bewildering variety of Churches each embodying some particular aspect of the common faith. If our work had been exhaustively done, we should have dealt with the formation of some six hundred separate organizations.

It is true that not all of these divisions have occurred on strictly religious grounds, nor even on grounds of purely ecclesiastical polity. Some have arisen out of local conditions and do not imply an essential disunion. Such are those that have taken place when a body of emigrants has conserved its religious identity but has developed an administration separate from that of its co-religionists in the home country. But the more serious divisions have occurred on religious grounds. These have often arisen over acute dogmatic divergence, sometimes as the result

of a deepening of the spiritual life in a section of the members who have become dissatisfied with the lukewarmness of the rest : sometimes as the result of intellectual movements which seemed to those unaffected by them to be so liberal as to annihilate the distinctive characteristics of the body involved : sometimes, again, as the result of a conservative reaction which has resisted change of any kind or has wished to wipe out changes already made : or, lastly, as the result of reforming movements which have valued purity of faith, life, and administration above the present unity of the Church.

But it would be going beyond the facts to regard this disunion as completely hopeless. As we have seen there have been many signs in the most recent history of the Church that the evil is recognized and that steps to remedy it are already being taken. The merely local reasons for disunion are less potent than they were. The progress of modern mechanical developments has done much to bridge the gulfs between the nations, and the growing insistence on the need for ecclesiastical freedom from State domination has already made some unions possible. Further the more definitely religious situation has been profoundly affected by the conviction, now very widely held, that it was the intention of the Founder of Christianity that His Church should manifest a visible unity upon earth. The strength of this conviction is reducing to their proper proportion those other convictions which in earlier days proved themselves the cause and basis of division. Naturally this process is viewed with some alarm by those who feel that the old strength of conviction is being lost and that union is only being won by the weakening of sincerity. In consequence of this fear the efforts of those who work for unity are being concentrated on attempts to evolve schemes by which it may be possible to embrace the different views of Christianity in one comprehensive organization which shall still preserve all the essential features of the historic Church. 'Unity in diversity and diversity in unity' has been proclaimed as the watchword of the movement. It is believed that the modern scientific study of the Bible and of Christian history will help to the attainment of this goal.

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